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STATE CENTENNIAL

HISTORY OF OHIO

Covering the Periods of Indian, French and British Dominion, the Territory Northwest, and the Hundred Years of Statehood

By ROWLAND H. RERICK

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NORTHWESTERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
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PREFACE

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The object of this work is to present in narrative form the principal facts attending the growth of the State of Ohio, from its organization until the close of the first century following the adoption of the Constitution. Introductory to the record of the Hundred Years, several chapters are devoted to the earlier events that affected the people formerly living in Ohio and created the conditions that made possible the founding of an American State. The era of territorial government is also given such attention as its importance demands. Altogether, the volume covers an historical period of about four centuries.

In the preparation of this volume recourse has been had to a great many general and local histories and biographical collections relating exclusively to Ohio, and the publications of historical societies and official documents. Besides, information upon various subjects has been sought in other publications of a more general scope. The extent of this research is partly indicated in the foot-notes, but many authorities that have been referred to are not so mentioned, for want of space. It may be said that there is hardly a page in the book that is not the result of comparison of several authorities. Special indebtedness is acknowledged to those excellent abstracts of official records, William A. Taylor's "Annals of Progress," and "Ohio in Congress."

Throughout the work it will be found that there has been included sketches or biographical mention of the governors of the State, United States senators, the presidents and great generals she has given the Republic, the most eminent jurists and statesmen, and others famous in different careers, with the object of showing the

characters of the men who gave Ohio prominence and affording illustrious example and patriotic inspiration. These notices of prominent men have been woven into the narrative, where they belong, and are necessarily brief, but it has been sought, in every case, to present the essential facts of the individual careers.

The political history of the State has not been avoided. The aim of the author was to describe fairly and impartially those political differences that have occupied so large a part of the thought of the people of the State from the days of the Northwest Territory. Without imposing any judgments upon the reader, the purpose has been to present the main features of these political conflicts, the opinions of the leaders, the names of the candidates for high office, and the vote of the people.

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CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF OHIO

CHAPTER I.

THE ANCIENT DOMAIN.

Natural Importance of Ohio—Geologic History—Ancient Races—French Exploration—The Iroquois Dominion.

AT THE beginning of the great colonial systems of North America, while the English occupied a strip of the North Atlantic coast, their rivals, the French, advanced along an interior and parallel line, by the St. Lawrence and the lakes. The French had the advantage, flanking the English advance toward the interior. But beyond Lake Erie the St. Lawrence water way makes a sudden retreat in the far northwest, and the French parallel line would fail if it were not extended to the Ohio river. The key to the situation was the land of portages, from the Alleghany river on the east, to the Miamies on the west. It followed naturally that this land, now mainly included in the State of Ohio, became a battle ground and the cause of war in other regions, from the beginning of European rivalry in North America. It was the most important region of the continent; the key to all the country west of the Alleghanies; commanding the commercial outlet toward Europe of a vast and fertile country, destined to be the richest in the world. Ohio began to be of this surpassing importance in the sixteenth century, in the eyes of Europe, and there are evidences that in more remote ages the region was the seat of the greatest towns and the theatre of the most stubborn wars known to the ancient Americans.

It is natural therefore, that the history of Ohio should be rich with interest, that it should involve the rise and fall of political power in both the old world and the new, and not at all strange that

the State, from its foundation, should show a rapid progress toward a position of dominance in America.

Of the origin of this fair land geologists are able to give us an account from the evidences of the rocks. Once, we are told, a shallow sea of warm salt water, an extension of the gulf of Mexico, overspread the country between the Alleghanies and Rocky Mountains. In Ohio the first land to emerge was about Cincinnati, an island of which the rock had been deposited for many centuries in the sea bottom, forming a peculiar dark limestone called the Trenton, famous in our time as the impervious roof of the underground collections of natural gas. In succession northward and eastward, layers were built up under water, raised above, submerged and lifted again, the most recent of all being the Carboniferous or coal-bearing rocks that are the foundation of the eastern strip parallel to the southwestward course of the Ohio river. These successive pushings-up of land from the waters would have formed a vast level plain, if the face of the country had not been worn by rivers, and, ages after solid land was established, by the icy torrents of melting glaciers. By such erosions the hills were formed and the beautiful valley vistas and romantic gorges. "The aggregate thickness of the entire series of rocks," says Ohio's famous student of nature, Edward Orton, "is about one mile, if we may consider the thickest known section of each deposit, but, taking the average thickness, about 3,500 feet. For the accumulation and growth of this great series of deposits, all of which were in salt water except the coal bearing strata, which imply fresh water marshes, vast periods of time were required. Many millions of years must be used in any rational explanation of their origin and history. All the stages of this history have gone forward on so large a scale, so far as time is concerned, that the few thousand years of human history would not make an appreciable factor in any of them."

It was long after the upper coal strata had been covered by other carboniferous deposits barren of coal in profitable quantity that some great change in world conditions put a stop to tropical conditions in Ohio, and brought down vast fields of ice and snow from the north. Several milleniums after the ice had departed, and the contour of the land was established as it is today, that race of human beings lived in Ohio that is known to us through the remains of great earth works.

The pioneers of the modern State were interested in these ancient relics as they felled the trees and cleared the fields to make way for civilization. Indeed, the first two important settlements, at Marietta and Cincinnati, were located where there were abundant signs of ancient seats of population. "When I first saw the upper plain on which the city [Cincinnati] stands," General Harrison wrote, "it was literally covered with low lines of embankments. I had

the honor to attend General Wayne two years afterward in an excursion to examine them. The number and variety of figures in which these lines were drawn were almost endless." Many years later, after Messrs. Squiers and Davis published their work on "The Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," the discussion of theories concerning the builders of these works was greatly increased.

The ancient works in Ohio are of three classes: heavy embankments peculiar to the level or low lands of the southern half of the State; the larger works composed of earth and stone on the hilltops in the same region, and the smaller mounds scattered everywhere on high or low ground indefinitely.* The principal low land enclosures are confined to the valleys of the Muskingum, Scioto and Little Miami, and the magnitude of the enclosures compel wonder and admiration. The Newark works, the most remarkable of their class ever discovered, have "mile after mile of embankment—circles and other geometric figures, parallels, lodge sites and mounds, covering an area of more than four square miles." The Marietta works, of similar magnitude, are particularly interesting as containing a sort of flat-topped mound peculiar to the southern states, a famous example being the great Cahokia mound at St. Louis. The hill-top enclosures, in the same region as the variety last mentioned, were evidently for defensive purposes. Examples are Fort Hill, in Highland county; the one on the high hill overlooking the mouth of the Great Miami, where the earth walls are very massive, and Fort Ancient in Warren county, which a proper garrison could hold against a large army. Yet there is no sign of a water supply in any of these so-called forts. There are many simpler works, some of them covering acres, evidently designed to strengthen places of natural adaptability for defense, and these are found also in the Lake Erie region. In a few cases traces remain of palisades built upon them, according to the custom of Indians within the historical period. Small enclosures, some apparently foundations for lodges, others enclosing burial mounds, are found in all parts of the State, and in the Scioto valley there are some considerable excavations surrounded by embankments.

Most curious are the effigy mounds, surpassed, however, by those in Wisconsin and Iowa. Notable among these are the Alligator mound, which might as well be called the Opossum mound, in Licking county, and the Great Serpent of Adams county, with the semblance of an egg at one extremity, commonly supposed to be the mouth, though some archeologists take another view.

The mounds-simple in Ohio are moderately estimated at ten thousand, and there is scarcely a township in any part of the State except the Black Swamp country and the rugged southeast, in which they

*Notes on Ohio Archeology, by Gerard Fowke, which is followed in this brief outline, and seems to be a fair and trustworthy authority.

are not found. Ross county had five hundred or more, and Butler and Licking counties hardly less. The greatest is that which overlooks Miamisburg, piled up sixty-eight feet on the summit of a hill precipitous to the river. But there are no others approaching it in size, and few as large as twenty feet high and one hundred feet in diameter. The hilltop mounds have been explained as signal stations, upon which fires were lit, and to accommodate the theory the mound on Mount Logan has been said to be almost entirely composed of ashes, quite different from the facts. Nearly all these mounds contain burial places, and in many are found rock-built ovens or furnaces blackened with fires, possibly for funeral rites. Undoubtedly some of the human remains deposited in the mounds have entirely disappeared, but many mounds were evidently erected over one body. Others were built over log structures containing the remains of a considerable number. There were stone mounds built where stone was convenient, the greatest being eight miles south of Newark, from which was taken all the stone for the retaining wall along the north side of the Licking reservoir, leaving several thousand yards in place. Along the Ohio, there are also stone graves or tombs, of flat slabs, such as were built by the Shawanees. Some remains of villages are disclosed, but little if anything that testifies to a race essentially different in customs from the modern Indian. The only evidence found in any mound in Ohio certainly older than the colonial period, showing skill and culture beyond the apparent ability of the Indians of Ohio, is some engraved objects of sheet copper found in Ross county. But their rarity is almost conclusive proof that the people who put them there obtained them, probably from Mexico, in the course of the trade that is known to have existed over all the continent. "Omitting from consideration the few articles so plainly of foreign derivation, a comparison of all the relics collected from the mounds with those picked up on the surface and those of known Indian manufacture will show that the former do not surpass the latter in any particular denoting superior skill, knowledge, or discernment of harmonious proportion."* If the greater works, such as those at Newark and Marietta, be taken as the remains of a people distinct from the common "moundbuilders," their country apparently did not extend much more than a hundred miles in a radius about Chillicothe, excepting some indications at Charleston, W. Va., and on the upper Ohio.

The building of any of the works was not prodigious. It is estimated that the greatest mound could be erected by a hundred persons, each carrying half a bushel of earth, in forty-two days, and that a thousand men, working one hundred days in the year, could construct all the works in Ohio in a century.

*Gerard Fowke, in the work referred to.

The tendency of students at the present time is to deny the great age assigned by early explorers to these earthworks. The evidence of the trunks of trees rooted upon the mounds is not to be accepted without qualification. It is known also that the homes of the Indian tribes changed so rapidly, according to their own accounts, before they were crowded by the white men, that the fact that some red men found in Ohio after 1750 could give no account of the origin of these mounds, is very weak proof of a great antiquity. Of some of the works, the Indians did have traditions. Wider knowledge of the early Americans, furthermore, reveals to us that in the gulf region they were yet making use of mounds when the first Spanish conquerors journeyed through that country. An artificial mound, surmounted by the temple and the houses of the chief and the great men, sometimes with a spacious stairway of hewn timber on one side, and surrounded by the dwellings of the people, was the striking feature of the main Muskogee towns found by De Soto. Mounds were also built by both southern and northern people, within the historic period, in honor of the dead interred beneath them.* Interesting papers have been published to sustain the theory that such well-known tribes as the Cherokees and Shawanees were mound-builders. Embankments in Ohio, enclosing a rectangular space, with passage ways at the corners, strikingly suggest the great town houses of the Apalachee Indians of Florida, built in the form of a hollow square, with the main entrances at each angle. The embankment, it may be suggested, is an incidental detail of building, added either for purposes of defense against enemies, or as a foundation of the structures, a laborious feature that greater security or the enervating effect of change of climate would persuade the red men to omit. The great serpent mound, and other animal representations, though at first thought inexplicable, might have been constructed as monuments of the totems and symbols of the tribes of red men of the historic period.

It may be considered definitely settled, says Mr. Fowke, that in no particular were the moundbuilders superior to many primitive Indian tribes. They hunted with the same kind of weapons, worked with similar tools, were patient and plodding, and had no appliances for saving labor. Under such circumstances there could not have been a dense population, as some writers have imagined. Yet the ancient works in Ohio attest a population more dense than in other regions, a more permanent settlement, and a more tenacious effort to hold the country against prehistoric invasion.

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*In the summer of 1642, as told by the Jesuit priests, the Hurons, north of the lakes, had a great feast of the dead, attended by delegates from many friendly tribes, even from Lake Superior. Amid solemn rites and ceremonial games the bones of the dead, temporarily buried in the past ten years, were committed to a common grave, richly lined with furs, and with the relics of the dead were deposited many articles of great value to the red men.

Among the attempts to describe the origin and movements of the former inhabitants of Ohio the most elaborate is that of Dr. C. S. Rafinesque, in his "Ancient Annals of Kentucky." By a picturesque use of the imagination he traces the American folk well-nigh back to Adam. When the mythical empire of Atlantis was in the height of its glory, he says, America was first discovered and the Ohio country became the center of the Atalan people. Later they were divided in two branches, the Apalans of the north and the Talegans of the Ohio valley, who warred against the Istacan and Siberian invasions that finally resulted in the driving of the ancient people to the south and the founding of Mexican civilization. This, Dr. Rafinesque assigned to a period two thousand years ago. Then came the Lenap and Menguy invaders across Bering's strait, to possess the Ohio and St. Lawrence country, and a period is approached in which definite dates can be assigned. Whatever may be the basis for Dr. Rafinesque's theoretical account, it may be suggested that it is as good history as any of the time before the coming of the "Lenap and Menguy" forefathers of the red men found in the north after the Columbian discovery.

The Indians who inhabited the northern region east of the Mississippi at the beginning of historic times were, in language, of two great families, which are given the French names Algonquin and Iroquois. These are not the Indian names. In fact, from the word Indian itself, which is a misnomer—arising from the slowness of the early voyagers to admit that they had found unknown continents—down to the names of the tribes, there is a confusion of nomenclature and often a deplorable misfit in the titles now fixed in history by long usage. The Algonquin family may more properly be termed the Lenape, and the Iroquois the Mengwe, which the English frontiersman closely approached in the word, Mingo. The Lenape themselves, while using that name, also employed the more generic title of Wapanackki. The Iroquois, on their part, had the ancient name of Onque Honwe, and this in their tongue, as Lenape in that of the other family, signified men with a sense of importance—"*the* people," to use a convenient English expression.

According to the Lenape tradition, that people came from a distant home to a great river, which they called the Nameesi Sippee, where they found another nation, the Mengwe, engaged in a similar migration. On crossing the river a powerful nation was discovered in possession of the country, called the Tallegawi or Allegawi, a race of tall, stout men, who had large towns and built fortifications and intrenchments. Meeting with a desperate resistance from this people, the Lenape and Mengwe made an alliance, agreeing to conquer and divide the country between them, and after many great battles and probably many years they were successful. Such is the tradition of the conquest as gathered from the Lenni Lenape (Delawares),

"the grandfather people," by Heckewelder.* Observing the fortifications on the Huron river (Ohio), he was told by an Indian that under the mounds between the two forts were buried hundreds of the Allegawi who fell in battle for their homes. There is no reason to discredit the tradition in its essential particulars. Some students prefer to interpret the Nameesi Sippee as the Detroit river rather than the Mississippi, according to their notions of a northeastward starting point of migration, but this is not material to our narrative. Unfortunately the Indian habit of giving names to rivers and places according to some striking physical characteristic, each nation or tribe bestowing a name of its own, does not warrant the certain application of Nameesi Sippee to the Mississippi. The title might be given to any "great river," that being its signification. The Allegawi left their name, as a perpetual monument, attached to the mountain chain of the east, and to the Ohio river in the language of one of the conquering nations. As Dr. Brinton has pointed out, the name Tallegawi means, the Tallega or Tallika people, and suggests Tsalaki, the Indian name of which "Cherokee" is a corruption. Before the Tallegawi, according to the ancient painted record of the Lenape, translated by Rafinesque, there were the "Snake people," who might have been the first moundbuilders.

The Lenape became the most wide-spread of the new peoples. Some tribes remained west of the Mississippi, while others pushed on to occupy the Atlantic coast from Virginia to Labrador. They were typical Americans, up to the stature of the best European nations, well-formed and stalwart.† They had the physiognomy of warriors, prominent nose, thin lips, piercing black eyes. Their black hair was carefully pulled from their heads save a patch on the crown from which grew long locks on which they bound gaudy feathers. Their hands and feet were of aristocratic smallness. Each family lived alone, in wattled huts, the little towns being surrounded with palisades of stakes. They cultivated grain and vegetables, made coarse pottery, wove mats, and dressed the skins which they were good enough hunters to obtain from the deer and bear and buffalo, though they had no better weapons than stone-tipped arrows, chipped out most artfully from flint or chert. They dug copper, and in the remotest parts of their territory had the red pipe bowls from Minnesota or the black slate pipes from Vancouver island. The sun, with fire as its symbol, was their chief object of adoration, and the young warrior must make his sun-vows at dawn from a solitary hill-top before he became worthy of place among men. The four winds that brought the rains were also objects of reverence, as well as the animal that was the symbol of the tribe, and the Lenape remembered

*Rev. John G. E. Heckewelder, in his "History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations."

†D. G. Brinton, "The American Race."

with pious faithfulness the hero god Michabo who taught them laws and gave them maize and tobacco, and some time would come again. These Indians were those known in later years as the Delawares, the Illinois, the Maumees,* the Mohegans, the Manhattans, the Piankeshaws, the Pottawotamies, the Shawanees and numerous other tribes. All were one family in the likeness of their language, though they often had their family quarrels, and they bear in history the name given them by the French from one of their most unworthy tribes, the Algonquins.

The Mengwe made their homes along the lower great lakes and the St. Lawrence river, never reaching the coast, and thus they came to be wholly surrounded by the Lenape. They were a fiercer people, and models of physical development.† Though the Lenape regarded them as inferior, and called them cannibals, they held themselves superior to all races, and certainly gave some proof of superiority in their history. The women among them had more than ordinary respect, at least in ancient times, and were represented by a speaker in all councils. In the Wendat tribe the women of each gens elected the chief, who represented it in the tribal council. The "long house" was a distinctive feature of Mengwe life—large communal log houses, fortified with palisades, and so strong that the white pioneers did not err in calling them castles. Included in this stock of people were the Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Cayugas, Eries, Cherokees, Wyandots, Tuscaroras and others, these being the names commonly given them in history. The Washash (Osage), it is believed, they left beyond the Mississippi in the migration. But the Cherokees among the Mengwe and the Shawanees among the Lenape are people difficult to classify.‡

The language of both races was copious, admirably constructed,

*The Indian name of this nation was something like Omaumeeg, and is said to have meant people of the peninsula. The French name which came into general use was Miami, pronounced Me-ah-me, though the English sometimes used Omee. The names of the river that both bore the French name, Miami, as late as 1835, have now been given different spellings, Maumee and Miami, and different pronunciations. But the Indians were never known, at least not in early times, as My-am-ies. Consequently the spelling Maumee is used in this work.

†Physically the stock is unsurpassed by any in the world. It stands on record that the five companies of Iroquois of New York and Canada during the civil war stood first on the list among all recruits of our army for height, vigor and corporeal symmetry.—D. G. Brinton, "The American Race."

‡The word Shawanee, as a name for an Indian people, evidently originated with the Delawares, in whose tongue "Shawan" means South. It means simply "Southern people" and probably is not the name the Shawanees applied to themselves in their own language. The Cherokees were a Southern people from colonial times, though a few were found along the Ohio. The Shawanees were for a time, at least, Southern, and introduced into Ohio geography such words as Wakatomica and Chillicothe, that are suggestive of Chocktaw and Creek names.

flexible and generally melodious. That of the Lenape was the more guttural, the sounds represented by *ch* or *g* in printed words closely approximating the German *ch*. They also had delicately sounded nasal vowels resembling the French. Onondaga, for instance, was pronounced something like O-nong-dah-gah. The dictionaries and grammars of the languages that have been published demonstrate the remarkable richness of the tongues in words and their inflection and combination. The clans of the Lenni Lenape (called Delawares by the English) were known among the Indians by their totems, the Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, the Turtle being the highest in honor, while among the Mengwe there were the clans and totems of Turtle, Wolf, Bear, Deer, Beaver, Hawk, Crane and Snipe, each having separate towns. There were no Indian kings. The government was in the hands of the elected chief and the council of old and worthy men. The chief was the keeper of the wampum, used for tribal negotiations, and he was authorized to control the clan or tribe as far as his diplomacy could carry him, but no orders or attempts at forcible discipline would be tolerated. He could not make war or peace, or levy taxes, and was required to hunt for his living the same as any warrior. There was no limit of lands; all belonged to all. There were scarcely any penal laws, but unless some atonement were made murder could be avenged by the friends of the victim. The most generous hospitality was the rule, and when anyone needed a necessity of life, there was no harm in taking it without asking. Said James Smith, who passed some years as a forcibly adopted Indian among the Ohioans at a later day: "They are not oppressed or perplexed with expensive litigation; they are not injured by legal robbery. They have no splendid villains that make themselves grand and great on other people's labor. They have neither Church nor State created as money making machines."

In war they were very skillful. Such maneuvers as marching forward in line (not in file) a mile long through the woods, forming a circle or semi-circle to surround an enemy, or a hollow square from which to face out and repel attack, they could perform to perfection, and they closely obeyed their leaders. They won famous battles, wholly or almost unaided by Europeans, against white troops in historic times, and could teach strategy to white commanders as well as the highest statecraft.*

Of another side of their character Gen. William Henry Harrison has left an interesting suggestion. "By many," he said, "they are supposed to be stoics, who willingly encounter privations. The very reverse is the fact; for if they belong to either of the classes of philosophers that prevailed in the declining years of Rome, it is to that

*The Iroquois advised the union of the American colonies, when the colonists, like inferior Indians, were too jealous of each other to consent to it.

of the Epicureans. For no Indian will forego an enjoyment or suffer an inconvenience if he can avoid it. Even the gratification of some strong passion he is ever ready to postpone, when its accomplishment is attended with unlooked for danger, or unexpected hardship." Another qualified to speak said of the Shawanees, popularly known as ferocious and discontented: "They are the most cheerful and merry people that ever I saw. The cares of life, which are such an enemy to us, seem not to have yet entered their mind. It appears as if some drollery was their chief study; consequently both men and women in laughing exceed any nation that ever came under my notice."* "They are also the most deceitful in human shape," said the Rev. David Jones, referring particularly, it seems, to their diplomacy. For all he charges them with in particular is that "when they imagine anything in their own mind about you, they would say some one told them so, and all this cunning to find out your thoughts about them." They were "perfect *traiteurs,"* as the French observed in Florida, meaning treators or negotiators. If diplomacy could have kept out the Europeans the red men would still hold the Ohio valley.

There were, of course, darker sides of the picture, of which enough will appear in the course of this history. The women did not enjoy too much honor, and there were some rites that remind one of the ancient people of the Mediterranean whose civilization is admired. Their marriages were made with as little ceremony as among the ancient Hebrews, and often were temporary. The warriors were cruel, perhaps more so than Europeans of their day, and possibly there were more horrible atrocities on the borders of the colonies than occurred during the Thirty Years' war in Germany, or in the Irish wars, or in the Netherlands. Captives were sometimes burned at the stake, and once in awhile portions of them were eaten, as a sort of religious rite. But, originally at least, captive women were treated honorably.

Volney, the once famous French philosopher, who studied the Indian after he had suffered much from conquest and the strong drink of the whiter race, remarked: "I have often been struck with the analogy subsisting between the Indians of North America and the nations so much extolled of ancient Greece and Italy. In the personages of Homer's Iliad I find the manners and discourse of the Iroquois and Delawares." After he had visited the Maumees and talked with Little Turtle, he remarked that Thucydides, in describing the Greeks at the period of the Trojan war, very closely pictured the mode of life of the western Indians.

The red men were superstitious, or religious, as one may choose to call them. They believed in two supernatural powers, the Kee-

*Rev. David Jones, a missionary in 1772.

chee manitoo, or good spirit, and matchee manitoo, or satan, like the ancient Persians, though the Ahura Mazda of the latter was the good god. To the good spirit they made prayers and offerings of baked meats, which, however, all shared in eating, having no priests with special privileges. The matchee manitoo was perhaps more the object of concern, but he could be driven away and his evil influence averted by the shaking of gourd rattles or by the smoke of tobacco, thrown upon a fire. The eagles and owls, to the old Ohioans, were the watchers by day and night for the Carreyagaroona, or heavenly inhabitants, and their appearance required a smudge of tobacco as a token that the red man was not forgetful. The Iroquois had a notion that they were all formerly animals under the earth, and in their emergence the ground hog had been left behind. They would not eat that animal therefore, for fear of devouring a relative. The rattlesnake was "grandfather," and must be let alone, or all its race would rise against the red men. When a bear, sorely wounded, would cry in almost human fashion, the Indian hunter would stand and talk to him in scorn, upbraiding him for weakness, and exhorting him to bear misfortune bravely.

Their most common remedy for illness was as far advanced as the practice of those people today who have found that cleanliness is often preferable to drugs. The Turkish bath was common in Ohio hundreds of years ago. The Indian would take it in a little tent of hides over some hot stones, and if he could stand a tobacco smudge in addition to the hot air, the bath gained the merit of a religious ceremony.

Such were the ancient people of the Ohio valley in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. About the year 1459 the greatest event affecting their history, after the conquest of the Allegawi, occurred, namely, the confederation of the five Mengwe tribes known to us as Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas, under the leadership of the great chieftain and statesman, Ayoun-wat-ha, familiar in romance as Hiawatha. This confederacy was founded to maintain quiet among those tribes, and was called the Kayanerenhkowa, or "great peace," whence the French, "Iroquois," or Eroke people. Their nation, from Lake Champlain toward Lake Erie, including the upper waters of the Ohio, they called the Kanonsionni,* or Long House, with the Sonontowa (Senecas) as doorkeepers on the west. This "great peace," while it held the five tribes in firm alliance, did not forbid war with their neighbors, the Lenapes, or other tribes of the Mengwe family.

A wonderful happening in 1535 was the appearance of Cartier and his Frenchmen in the St. Lawrence river, as high as Hochelaga (Montreal). It was the advance guard of the new era, in which the

*The People of the Long House, by E. M Chadwick.

Iroquois confederation should be conspicuous for more than two centuries and then pass away, with all the Indian power. Cartier was met in friendliness by the Indians and told of a great river that could be followed for three moons to the southward from Hochelaga. This, Cartier reported as a probable route to Cathay, for which all the explorers of America were hunting. But it was not until 1608 that the first permanent settlement was made, by Champlain at Quebec. Champlain at the outset made friends with a tribe inhabiting that region, which the French called "good Iroquois," Chariogorois or Hurons.* They were a powerful people, of the Mengwe family, but at war with their cousins, the Iroquois of the confederation. While the little island settlement of the French was but a year old Champlain consented, with fatal effect upon French dominion in America, to join in an expedition of Hurons and Adirondacks against the Iroquois, and the arquebuses of the French routed the red men of the confederacy at Ticonderoga. But it was only two months later that Hendrick Hudson sailed up the river that bears his name, and in a few years a great trading station was established at the place that the Delawares came to know as Manahachtanienk (Manhattan), meaning "the island where we all got drunk." The Iroquois speedily made a covenant chain, a treaty of lasting peace, with the Dutch, and obtained the European firearms, in the use of which they soon became masters. But even when equipped with bow and arrow alone they made an effectual barrier to French progress to the southwest. Because of the hostility he provoked, Champlain turned to the Ottawa river and visited Georgian bay. Within a quarter century after the unfortunate battle of Ticonderoga Nicollet discovered Lake Michigan, and as late as 1648 the French knew more of the far western lake of Winnebago than they did of Lake Erie, or even the falls of Onyagaro (Niagara), of which they heard tales from the Indians. It was not for want of enterprise that the French submitted to this restriction. In 1615 Champlain invaded the Iroquois country and laid siege in a medieval manner to the walled capital, Onondaga, but was repulsed and compelled to retreat. Then in 1629 the English captured Quebec, and for a little while Canada and the right of exploring the unknown rivers and lakes of the interior were granted to a favorite of Charles I. But Charles had a claim against the king of France for promised but unpaid dower, and when his father-in-law had settled this, the English charter was annulled. Meanwhile the Puritans had made their settlement among the Lenape of Massachusetts, and Jamestown had been established in Virginia, both with grants from the English monarch

*This was a nickname for the Wendats or Wyandots, also called Tiontaties, or tobacco Indians, or Petuns, from an obsolete French name for tobacco derived from Brazil.

reaching to the western seas, though no one but the Spanish had an adequate conception of the vast territory that lay between the Atlantic and Pacific.

The Christian religion, as taught by the Franciscan fathers, was brought to the Indians about Niagara in 1626, but the adventurous priest, Joseph de la Roche Daillon, barely escaped with his life. After Quebec was restored to the French in 1632 came the Jesuits, who had some success in instructing the Hurons, but none with the Iroquois. Some Jesuit fathers visited Sault St. Marie in 1642, and on their return were taken by the Iroquois and savagely tortured. Father Joques, the only survivor, was carried across New York state before his release.

With the advent of the French and Dutch the Indians found they could obtain wampum, clothing, guns and ammunition and many trinkets dear to both warriors and women, as well as the "firewater" that might serve even better than their ancient besum (herb drink) in fortifying themselves for hunting or fighting excursions, all in exchange for beaver skins and other peltry. The Iroquois held a position commanding the channel of trade both with Dutch and French. The French had humiliated them in war; the Dutch had sought their friendship and encouraged them to control the trade. It was natural therefore that they should seek to cut off the French trade and possess for themselves the hunting grounds of all the adjacent regions. Thus the fur trade became a controlling motive in the politics of the northwest and continued so until the war of 1812. Its first effect was that the Iroquois launched upon a great career of conquest. In 1643 they attacked the Attiwondaronks, called the "neutral nation" by the French, living north and south of Niagara, and these were driven out or absorbed in the victorious tribes. Within a few years the Huron towns in upper Canada, though strong enough to be called palisaded castles, were stormed and captured, the inhabitants driven far to the west, and the country made desolate and empty of people. The last great battle, according to the Huron tradition as told to General Harrison, was fought in canoes on Lake Erie, in which nearly all the warriors of both nations perished. The story of this campaign was told in Europe, and divided attention with the ghastly details of the massacre of fifty thousand English in Ireland.

About 1654 the Iroquois, flushed with success, turned their arms against the nation possessing at that time the rich hunting grounds of Ohio. These were also kindred to the Iroquois, but this was immaterial to the conquerors. The Ohioans were called Riquehronnons (Rick-ehr-rons) by the Jesuit fathers, "or those of the Cat nation," probably from their totem. Part of the original French name survives in Erie (pronounced by the French airy). Rick-

ahickons, the English of Virginia called them, when several hundred Eries fled to that region in 1655. They were good enough fighters to repulse the attacks of the English and Pomukies, but were powerless before the Iroquois. Eastern Ohio, it seems, was swept clear of them by the invincible New York confederates, and given over to solitude as a game reserve of the conquerors. But two great Indian powers remained to the westward, the Twigtwees or Maumees and the Chigtaghicks or Illinois.

Peace was made for a few years with the French, and the Jesuits established a mission at Onondaga, but the fathers were soon compelled to retire, and devote themselves to Wisconsin, following the paths of the fur traders. Jesuit supremacy and French influence were inseparable after 1632, and the Iroquois refused both. Their attitude must have been influenced somewhat by their friends, the Protestants of New York. The Dutch came to America from a country for many years the battle-ground of religious wars, and the English who succeeded them in 1664 were no less hostile to the power of Rome. It is not an unwarranted statement, though rather startling, that the Iroquois were the outposts of Protestantism. Nor were they, at that time, allies of which to be ashamed. In the tremendous struggle that had distressed Europe for a century there were participants whom the Iroquois could not surpass in ferocity and cruelty. It may be doubted if women and children were safer in any war cursed region of Europe at that day than they would have been on the Indian border.*

On account of the hostilities mentioned, the French map makers did not know of Lake Erie as distinct from Huron for many years. It first appears as a separate lake in the map of Creuxius, published in 1660, doubtless by reason of the tracing of the north coast and the discovery of the Riviere De Troit, or strait, by the fur traders.

The French made some headway against the Iroquois after this, and Remy de Courcelles invaded their "long house" in 1665, and chastised the Mohawks. This was followed by important advances in exploration. Robert Cavelier, who also bore the title of de la Salle, a scion of an old and wealthy family at Rouen, France, ambitious to establish a trading house and explore the interior, determined to put to proof the Indian stories of a great river in the interior that he imagined might empty in the Vermilion sea (gulf of California) and afford a short route to India. Some Sulpitian fathers at Montreal decided to carry the gospel to the dwellers along the great river at the same time, and the two joined in an expedition of eight canoes

*The religious influence was more apparent in later periods, when the New Yorkers were shocked by the story that the Jesuits, seeking the favor of the Iroquois, assured them that the king of France was the eldest son of Jesus, probably a misunderstanding of the anxious efforts of the French to establish the superior claims of his Christian Majesty.

that set out from La Salle's post near Montreal, in July, 1669. They were about to seek the headwaters of the great river that had its sources partly in the Iroquois country, but the Sulpitians were either dissuaded by the Senecas with stories of hostile Shawanees above the Ohio falls or by the representations of Louis Joliet, who met them on his return from the copper district of Lake Superior. The party separated, the missionaries going to Long Point, on Lake Erie, and paddling their canoes thence, in the stormy waters of Lake Erie, to Point Pelee and Detroit, a place they were the first historic characters, save Joliet (possibly), to visit. This is the first recorded use of Lake Erie as a route to the west.

As for La Salle, his doings in the next two years are matters of warm dispute among historians. The Jesuit fathers, with whom he became hostile, do not give him credit for great discoveries afterward claimed by and for him. An eminent authority* dismisses his career at this period with the words: "La Salle, by way of Lake Erie, reached the Illinois, or some other affluent of the Mississippi, but made no report and made no claim, having failed to reach the main river." With the dispute regarding the comparative honors of Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle, as discoverers of the Mississippi, we have little to do here. Each of them saw a river which had been known to the Spanish for more than a century. But it is of interest in connection with the history of Ohio to know if La Salle in this disputed period navigated the river from which the State obtains its name. It was not then definitely known as the O-hee-o, for the Iroquois gave that name also to the Mississippi, and possibly to other great rivers, and the Lenape called it Alleghany. The authorities for claiming that LaSalle was the first European to visit it are, first, his memorial to Count Frontenac, governor of Canada, in 1677, in which he declares: "In the year 1667 and following he made divers voyages, with much expense, in which he was the first to reach the countries south of the lakes, and discovered among others the great river of Ohio; he followed it to a narrow place where it fell from a great height into vast marshes, after having been reinforced by another very large river from the north." This is construed to mean discovery of the river now called Ohio, as far south as the falls at Louisville.

The other authority is an anonymous history of La Salle, published at Paris in 1679, which relates that the explorer, with an Indian guide, navigated the Ohio until he "found a *sault* [falls or rapids] which fell toward west in a low country, marshy, all covered with old *souches* [stumps or trunks], of which some are yet *sur pied* [standing or alive]." In 1670, by the same authority, he coasted Lake Erie (on the Ohio side, doubtless) and on to Lake

*John G. Shea, "The Catholic Church in Colonial Days."

Michigan, and descended a river to a great stream, apparently the Mississippi, which he followed until sure that it emptied into the gulf of Mexico and not, as he fondly hoped, into the gulf of California. Joliet observed the mouth of the Ohio when with Marquette on the Mississippi, and in 1670 he made a map showing the Ohio unmistakably, though not correctly. Along its course is inscribed: "River by which the Sieur de la Salle descended in setting out from Lake Erie to go into Mexico." Another map of Joliet's, four years later, shows an exactly similar trace of the Ohio, with the inscription, "Route de M. de la Salle pour aller dans le Mexique." It is charged, however, that this trace and inscription have been added by another hand to the original chart. A curious feature of both maps is that the great northward bend of the Ohio, where it receives the Miami, is made to approach closely to Lake Erie. The Maumee is also shown, apparently as far as Fort Wayne, and dotted lines indicate that the portage there is directly from the Maumee to the Ohio. This seems to reinforce the opinion of Gen. J. S. Clark, that La Salle went down the Wabash instead of the Ohio, and saw the falls and marshy country at Logansport instead of Louisville. But in that case the tracing of the upper Ohio, to its source in two rivers, must be explained. This error regarding the close approach at the Maumee portage was accepted for a long time, and when it was known that the Ohio did not flow so far north, Hennepin, the companion of LaSalle in later voyages, mapped the lake far enough southward to maintain a similar distance. Thus it was delineated as late as 1697, on a Hennepin map which (significantly) does not show the Wabash.*

The conclusion of Parkman is that "La Salle discovered the Ohio, and in all probability the Illinois also, but that he discovered the Mississippi has not been proved, nor in the light of the evidence we have, is it likely." Winsor, a more recent authority, says: "Margry [the main champion for La Salle of the honor of discovering the Mississippi] has ceased of late years to claim that LaSalle reached the Mississippi by the Ohio, but is content to assert that he did nothing more than to follow the stream to some distance."

There can be no profitable denial, however, of the greatness of La Salle and the tremendous energy that carried him through a career of discovery and adventure unparalleled in the West, and sustained him in misfortunes that would have crushed an ordinary man. Save

*In the map of Monet (1685) the upper Ohio is called the Ouabache (Wabash), the lower Ohio the Choucagua (Chicago). In 1688 the name "Ohio" or Belle Riviere appears on the map of Franquelin. LaHontan's map, a little later, shows "Lac Errie or De Conti," with some correctness, and south of it a dotted line marked, "The route that the Illinois, Oumamis, and other savages take by land, same as the Yroques follow to make war with savage nations as far as the Mississippi."

De Soto, and he had an army to support him, there is no hero in the early history of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys to compare with this Robert Cavelier. We next hear of him as seigneur of Fort Frontenac, on the northeast shore of Lake Ontario, the first French fort that far west, where, aided by his family in France, he might have quietly rested, ruled all the lake and grown wealthy in the fur trade. But he was determined to extend his influence and that of France, to the great rivers southwestward. In one of his visits to Europe he secured a helper of like spirit, Henri de Tonty, an Italian, and in 1678 they established a fort at Niagara. Above the falls, carrying the material twelve miles, they built the Griffin, the first sail boat on Lake Erie. This pioneer of the wonderful inland navy of the great lakes, of forty-five tons burden and carrying five small cannon, was launched in 1679. In it La Salle and Tonty sailed to Mackinac and up Lake Michigan. From St. Joseph the boat was sent back for supplies, and was never again seen. Going down the Kankakee and Illinois, La Salle and Tonty built Fort Crèvecœur near Peoria, and then the indomitable captain sent Hennepin to explore the Mississippi. He returned on foot and by canoe over Lake Erie, to Fort Frontenac, to find his property seized by creditors, his supply ship from France wrecked on the coast, and a band of deserters who had destroyed Fort Crèvecœur and the post at St. Joseph seeking to waylay and kill him. While he was surmounting these difficulties, the jealous Iroquois, being informed of his traffic with the Western Indians, journeyed to that distant country, through the forests of Ohio and Indiana, and according to their story, utterly destroyed the chief town of the Illinois and drove its inhabitants across the Mississippi.

Under such circumstances, with the influence of the Jesuits against him, La Salle regained his credit, returned to Illinois, hunted the wilderness for Tonty, went down the Mississippi in 1682, returned to France, sailed at the head of a fleet to establish French dominion at the mouth of the great river, and though he failed and died in the wilds of Texas, succeeded in giving the impulse of enterprise that resulted in founding the vast interior empire of New France, from the St. Lawrence and Lake Superior to the Gulf. Already, at Sault St. Marie, the sovereignty of "the most high, mighty and redoubtable monarch, Louis, fourteenth of that name, king of France and of Navarre," had been proclaimed over all lands between the seas of the north and west and the South sea.

Meanwhile the enemies of French dominion were active. Renewing their career of conquest, the Iroquois established their towns as far west as the Cuyahoga, routed the Canois in West Virginia; dispersed the Shawanees who had their seat on the Skenota or Deer river (Sciota), followed them across the Ohio and drove them from the "meadow land" (Kentakee), and made war on the Cherokees.

Long before this, in the east, the Andastes (the tribe that bore specially the title of Mengwe), had been reduced to subjection, and the most dangerous enemy of the Iroquois, the Delawares or Lenni Lenape, had been persuaded by the Iroquois and Dutch together to abjure war and take the part of arbitrators and mediators. As it was always left for the women to demand peace, this diplomatic triumph was called by the Iroquois "putting petticoats on the Delawares," and the latter were denied the title of men.

The supremacy of the Iroquois throughout the lake region, south to the Tennessee river, and west into the Maumee and Illinois country, meant British trade supremacy in the Ohio valley, if not actual possession, and the severing of the French domain. The situation demanded vigorous effort on the part of the French. Negotiation was given a trial in a conference held with the Iroquois in 1684 at the Cuyahoga river, but this was unavailing, and the haughty lords of the west continued their forays against the Maumees, Illinois and Ottawas. The crisis arrived in 1686 when two New York trading parties, composed mainly of those hardy Irish and Scotch-Irish who were the pioneers of British power in the interior, ventured to navigate Lake Erie and trespass upon the Huron trade. They were promptly arrested and sent out of the country, and next year the marquis Denonville, governor of Canada, rebuilt Fort Niagara in the country claimed by the Iroquois, and, aided by a force of western Indians, ravaged the Seneca towns. Governor Dongan, of New York, remonstrated against the invasion of the Iroquois country, and inquired why the New York traders were captured in a land where they had a right to be, under the covenant chain with the Five Nations, who were lords of the domain. Why not let the British have a finger in the pie, he inquired. "If the sheep's fleece be the thing in dispute, pray let the king of England have some part of it."*

The French laughed at the Iroquois claim to the west, but soon found occasion to admit the Iroquois power. The Five Nations, under some great leader whose name has vanished, destroyed Fort Niagara, invaded Canada itself (1688-89), ravaged the whole country in the west, up to the gates of Montreal. Dongan proposed to seize the island of Mackinaw, but the ambitious project was abandoned. The Iroquois occupied the country north of Lake Erie, and on the south pushed westwardly to the confines of the territory held in Ohio by the Maumee nation. This strong confederation of tribes, with its seats of power on the three rivers rising in northwest Ohio that were the channels of ancient transportation, the Maumee of Lake Erie, the Miami that gave a canoe route to the Ohio, and the Wabash that led to the Mississippi, vigorously resisted the extension of Iroquois conquest. There was continual war in Ohio between the

*The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days," Berthold Fernow.

two nations, whose outpost tribes, the Senecas for the Iroquois and Twigtwees for the Maumees, bore the brunt of the conflict. In 1696 the Iroquois and Canada made a peace that lasted for sixty years, but the hostilities continued in Ohio, with such success on the part of the western red men that the haughty Iroquois were forced to ask the governor of New York to intervene.*

* Journal of Capt. William Trent, notes by Goodman.

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CHAPTER II.

THE WAR AROUND THE WORLD.

Colonial Charters—Intrigues for Indian Trade—Expedition of Celoron—Croghan, Montour and Gist—Events at Pickawillany—The Skirmish that Set the World on Fire—Braddock's Campaign—Founding of Pittsburg—Expedition of Rogers—The Moravians—Pontiac's War.

THE BRITISH colonists, though laggards in the work of exploring west of the Alleghanies, were not slow in seeking the trade of the Indians in that region, or asserting their claims to sovereignty. Under the charter of 1609 Virginia claimed "all lands, countries and territories" two hundred miles south from Point Comfort and as far north, "and up into the mainland throughout from sea to sea west and northwest." The crown treated this grant as annulled, and chartered Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina within its limits, but Virginia went to the verge of war in later years for a part of the Quaker dominion. Massachusetts and Connecticut also had charters for land from sea to sea. In 1701 the Iroquois made a sort of quit claim of the country northwest of the Ohio to New York, and in 1726 Governor Burnet obtained a deed of trust to King George of a strip along the south shore of Lake Erie as far west as the Cuyahoga. But the French were the only explorers and possessors, except some Virginians sent out by General Wood in 1671, who claimed to have traced the Kanawha river down to the falls.

Before 1690, as has been noted, Irish traders were in the Ohio region, but the Maumees continued to be firm supporters of France and an embassy from the earl of Bellemonte, governor of New York, was sent as prisoners to Canada. The Iroquois war toward the close of the century went against the western nation, and in 1702 a peace was made, and part of the nation agreed to trade with the British colonists, and compelled M. de Jucherau and a party of Canadians to abandon their projected settlement on the lower Wabash. At this time France and England were at war, both involved in that great

struggle that was incited by the succession of the Bourbons to the throne of Spain, in which the English Marlborough upheld the right of Queen Anne to the throne of England, where France would have put a Stuart, and the rival French and British colonists were urged to greater effort in their struggle for Ohio and the Northwest. In 1705 Governor Vaudreuil, of Canada, sent M. de Vincennes to persuade the Maumees to expel the British traders, and this was followed by a military expedition, under Cadillac, to force a reconciliation, but a few years later the Maumees sent a delegation to New York to talk of trade relations. In the midst of the European war the king of Spain, who had not yet recognized the right of the French in the Mississippi valley, ceded France all the vast interior claimed under the name of Louisiana, including Ohio, and this was confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht, 1713. By the same treaty, which terminated the conflict at that time between England and France, the Iroquois were recognized as subjects of Great Britain not to be molested by the French, and England at the same time agreed to keep peace with the Indians of the West who were under French influence. The subjects of each nation were to enjoy full liberty going and coming in trade.

But in spite of the peace the Iroquois influence and the proximity of the British settlements seem to have closed eastern Ohio against French trade. The Iroquois barrier extended westward to the Sandusky at least. Beyond them lay the Maumees, divided in allegiance to France, receiving British traders on the Wabash as early as 1715. At Kekionga, the main Maumee town, at the head of the Maumee river, and near where the portage was made from that river to the Wabash, forming the shortest channel of transportation from Canada to Louisiana, a French mission was planted early in the century. In 1719 a post was established on the Wabash among the Weas (Ouiatenon), and some years later Post Vincennes was founded. In 1725 the French were asking the Maumees to renew the war on the Iroquois, in the hope that that might keep out British traders. But now and then French traders were killed, while the British were favored, and the repeated intrigues of the French to involve the Maumees in war with the Iroquois or to drive out the English, failed of effect. Further east the first aggressive step of the French in opposition to the adverse possession of the Iroquois and the British, that threatened the center of their long line of dominion from Quebec to New Orleans, was to rebuild Fort Niagara. New York made a counter-move in 1725 by establishing the long-contemplated trading post and fort at Oswego. The French had the advantage in position here, and the New York traders were presently complaining that the fur packs from the distant "Wyaektenocks," Maumees and other tribes, were intercepted at Niagara.

Traders from the English colonies also established themselves on

the Ohio, as far down as Logstown (14 miles down the river from Pittsburg), and some adventurous spirits went much farther into the western wilds. Tradition says that John Howard, of Virginia, went down the Ohio to the Mississippi in 1742, and was made a prisoner by the French. In 1744 occurred the famous treaty of Lancaster, Pa., between representatives of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, and the Iroquois nation; Conrad Weiser, the great interpreter of that day, assisting. The Indians were persuaded to make certain concessions of land, under which the Virginia settlements were pushed west of the Alleghanies, but the treaty was repudiated by the red men as obtained by unworthy means, though a ratification was obtained in the same way at Logstown in 1752.

The English speaking traders who were endangering the supremacy of France in the west, were, if we may wholly accept the contemporary accounts, to a considerable extent unprincipled or lawless. Poor Mary Harris, captured at the burning of Deerfield, Mass., in 1704, and reared among the red men, with her home finally on the Walhonding, remembered that in her childhood they used to be very religious in New England, and wondered how white men could be so wicked as they were in the woods.* But whatever their failings, the traders were enterprising and tireless travelers. To the number of three hundred a year they went over the Alleghanies, their goods packed on the backs of horses, and followed the Indian trails and buffalo tracks into the interior, or floated down the Ohio in canoes. Some crossed the Mississippi and traded with the Osages.

George Croghan, whose name is the most conspicuous of all in this commercial invasion of the Ohio valley, had come to Pennsylvania from Ireland in 1743, and within three years was trading as far west as the Maumee country. In 1748 he had a trading house at the mouth of Beaver river, and others were soon established in the principal Ohio villages. He urged the policy adopted by Pennsylvania, of weaning the western Indians from the French by presents and trade concessions, and in 1747 he was sent out by the colonial government to deliver presents to the various tribes, thank them for a French scalp sent in, and announce a proclamation prohibiting the trade in strong liquor.† This prohibition, it may be said, was not effective, and the chiefs who thanked Croghan for it, suggested that as they had never tasted English rum, a little would be acceptable for experimental purposes.

During this first half of the eighteenth century there was a considerable resettlement of Ohio by Indian tribes. The Hurons or Wyandots, who had been driven west by the Iroquois and back from Lake Superior by the Sioux, to settle, greatly reduced in numbers,

* Gist's Journal.

† "Gist's Journal," note by W. M. Darlington.

about the French post of Detroit, pushed eastward to Sandusky* bay, and through central Ohio to the Beaver river, and began to assert a sovereignty over all the land between the Ohio and Lake Erie. The Ottawas (Ottaw′wahs), also exiles from upper Canada, shared the eastward migration of the Wyandots, and frequented the islands of Lake Erie and the peninsula of Sandusky. The Shawanees, after leaving their old homes on the banks of the Ohio and in Kentucky and Tennessee, had moved southward, some to the Carolina borders. In 1698 a considerable body settled on the upper Potomac, and many, returning from the south, moved into the country of the Delawares, where there had been Shawanees at the time of Penn's treaty. In 1728 some sought French protection on the Alleghany, and some, crowded out of Pennsylvania with the Delawares, moved into southern and central Ohio west of the Scioto. Later, about 1755, other Shawanees came back to Ohio with a story of wanderings as far south as the salt water where there were ruins of white settlements, evidently middle Florida, where, according to some writers, they gave their name to the Suwannee river. Beginning in about 1740, the Delawares, by permission of the Wyandots, established towns on the upper Muskingung (Elk's Eye) river. Their most western town was on the Scioto, and their total military strength in Ohio was about five hundred warriors.

The friendship of the tribes was won by Croghan's policy. Declaring that the French traders had cheated his people, the Piankeshaw chief, called "Demoiselle," left his home near the French posts, and established himself at the site of an ancient town of the Twigtwees, a village called Pickawillany,† on the Great Miami, north of the present town of Piqua. By reason of friendship to the Pennsylvania traders the chief earned the name of "Old Britain." His capital was a great rendezvous of traders, who built a log fort and storehouse and raised the British flag in the heart of the region claimed by France. In 1747 the hostility roused against the French culminated in the league of seventeen tribes, including some of the Iroquois, formed under the leadership of Nicholas, a Wyandot chief, who had established himself on Sandusky bay about 1745. Many French traders were killed in all parts of the west, and trading posts broken up. The Maumee fort was captured, but a timely warning saved Detroit

*It is said that the Wyandots bestowed the name Outsandoukie, meaning "there is pure water there." Another story is that Sandusky derives its name from Jonathan Sodowsky, also called Sandusky, who came to America in the time of Queen Anne, and was an Indian trader at that port. His son, James, built Sandusky's station in Kentucky about 1776, and Jacob, another son, went down the river to New Orleans in the same year.

†According to Gist, the "Pickwaylinees" were a tribe of Twightwees. The name in various forms, Piqua and Pickway and Pickaway, became rather common in Ohio. The remarks in Howe's History regarding the correct form of the word, and the meaning of it, are evidently erroneous.

from falling into the hands of the conspirators. In the following year peace was made, the Maumee fort was rebuilt, and Nicholas abandoned his Sandusky village and retreated into the wilderness. But this French victory was more than offset by the treaty of peace and commerce made by the Maumees, Iroquois and Shawanees, at Lancaster, Pa., in 1748. In the following year the Maumees sent seventy-seven packs of skins to Oswego.

Not only were the western Indians being detached in friendship and commerce from the French, but schemes for English colonization in the Ohio valley were on foot toward the middle of the eighteenth century. The Ohio company, formed in 1748, in which Thomas Lee, president of the Virginia council, and Augustine and Laurence, brothers of George Washington, were stockholders, was granted 200,000 acres south of the "river Alleghany, otherwise called Ohio," with a promise of 300,000 more when a fort should be built and a hundred families located. This meant encroachment upon the territory of Louisiana, which included, by the French claim, all the country drained by the Mississippi river and its tributaries.

While all these events were preparing a crisis in the relations of the French and English colonies, the mother countries were absorbed in the wars which followed the accession of Maria Theresa to the throne of Austria, and the attempted partition of her domain, begun by Frederick of Prussia and the king of Spain. When the quarrel between Frederick and Maria Theresa was quieted for a while by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, both France and England had time to listen to the complaints of their American colonists. France sent over as temporary governor of Canada the valiant Marquis de la Galissoniere, humpbacked but keen in intellect, and the chief representative in France of the spirit of American expansion. He was prompt, upon his arrival at Quebec, to announce the determination of France to hold the Ohio valley. The Sandusky and Maumee hostiles were subdued, and, in the summer of 1749, Celoron de Bienville (or Blainville), a captain of colonial troops and chevalier of St. Louis, was sent out to mark the claims of New France and warn the English trespassers. With fourteen officers, twenty French soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, and a band of Indians, embarked in twenty-three birchbark canoes, Celoron sailed up Lake Ontario, portaged around the falls of Niagara, coasted along Lake Erie to a portage, and, by Lake Chautauqua and its outlet, reached la Belle Riviere June 29th. On the south side, opposite the mouth of the Alleghany, he affixed the arms of France to a tree, and buried at its base a lead plate, which, according to its inscription, was "a token of renewal of possession heretofore taken of the River Ohio, of all streams that fall into it, and all lands on both sides to the sources of the same, as the preceding kings of France have enjoyed or ought to have enjoyed, and which they have upheld by force of arms and by

treaties, notably by those of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle." They then floated down the river, or marched along its shore, "buried in the somber and dismal valley," as it was described by Father Bonnecamp, the astronomer of the expedition; posting the lilies of France upon the trees of the wilderness and burying their futile lead plates at the mouths of important tributaries. After passing a new town of the Wyandots, at the mouth of Beaver, where they were saluted in friendly spirit with volleys of musketry, they went through their ceremonies at the mouths of three rivers, one of which, the Muskingum, they called Yanange konan, Iroquois for "tobacco people," revealing the presence of the Wyandots. Soon afterward, they noticed the "Illinois cattle" (buffaloes) in small herds. At the mouth of the Sinhioto (Scioto) was found a village of sixty houses, of Chaouanons (Shawanees), who pierced the flag of Celoron's embassy with bullet-holes, but finally consented to an amicable council. Here five English traders were ordered out of Ohio, as a larger party had been at the Big Beaver. A village of Maumees was found at the mouth of river Blanche (Little Miami), and on July 31st the party left the Ohio to go up the River of Rocks (Great Miami), to visit the redoubtable chief whom they called La Demoiselle. Though they tarried for some time at his village, "Old Britain" remained within his log fort, refused to see them, and trifled with Celoron's order to return to his former place. Burning their canoes, Celoron's party marched northward, past the dilapidated French fort on the Maumee, and so on to Detroit. In traveling one hundred and eighty-one leagues on the Ohio river, said Father Bonnecamp, but twelve Indian villages were found, but the reports received indicated a greater population in the interior, among which the English traders were established. "Behold then," said he, "the English already within our territory, and, what is more, they are under the protection of a crowd of savages whom they entice to themselves and whose number increases every day."

Celoron's expedition was followed by three very important events: the death of Conestoga, the great chief of the Iroquois nation; the succession of a chief who adhered to the Catholic church and was favorably disposed toward the French; and the capture in northwest Ohio and haling to Canada of some Pennsylvania traders. The Pennsylvania assembly, usually very cautious in expenditures, opened the colonial purse in this emergency. A hundred pounds were voted for the purchase of presents to the Iroquois, a hundred for the Twigtwees, and five hundred for "the natives of the Ohio" generally, who were to be invited to a great council in western Pennsylvania. About the same time, to placate the Delawares, the white settlements west of the Susquehanna were broken up, household goods moved, and cabins given to the torch.

The mission to the Indians was entrusted to George Croghan, and Andrew Montour, the "White Mingo," a picturesque character, of French Canadian and Indian descent, who was famous as an interpreter of many Indian languages and exerted great influence for the English during the succeeding years. On state occasions he was a striking figure, attired in brown broadcloth coat, scarlet damaskeen waistcoat, breeches over which his shirt hung, the shoes and hat of civilization on his head and feet, and the favorite "basket-handle" pendants of the Indians dangling from his ears. These ambassadors of Pennsylvania commerce arrived at Logstown in November, 1750, and thence set out with a small party for an overland trip through Ohio, following the great trail to Pickawillany from the mouth of Beaver river.

Croghan and Montour were not to be alone in this famous journey. Christopher Gist, son of one of the commissioners who platted the city of Baltimore, had started out in September, 1750, as the representative of the Ohio company, to view the western land. He took occasion to assert the claim of Virginia to the country south of the Ohio, and was very much embarrassed by a shrewd Delaware chief, who asked him where the Indian land lay, if the French owned all on one side and the English all on the other. As Gist approached the Wyandot town on the Muskingum,* he caught sight of British flags flying from Croghan's trading house and the house of the chief, and was soon told that Croghan was stirring up the red men regarding the capture of traders, and the French were building a new fort on one of the branches of Lake Erie.† At this place was the first observance of Christmas in Ohio, December 25, 1750. Gist, a loyal member of the church of England, invited the white men to join him in reading prayers, but they, not being "inclined to hear any good," and prejudiced against the established church, hung off until Thomas Burney, the blacksmith, a jolly man, no doubt (who, poor fellow, stood a French siege on the Miami and lost his life with Braddock), brought some of the frontiersmen around in the afternoon, while Montour led in a party of red men. Gist, explaining that he meant no harm, or offense to any sect, read to them of salvation, faith and good works, from the homilies of his church.‡ Then Montour gave Gist great distinction in the eyes of the Indians by remarking that he was of the true faith of the great king. Crowding around, they thanked the explorer, called him Annosanah, the name of a good man who once

*Muskingung, meaning Elk's Eye, was the Indian name for the Tuscarawas as well as the Muskingum. This town was on the Tuscarawas near the forks.

†Supposed to refer to Sandusky bay.

‡This was no doubt the first Protestant service in Ohio. In 1766 the Revs. Charles Beatty and George Duffield, Presbyterians, preached at Newcomerstown, and March 4, 1771, the Rev. David Zeisberger, United Brethren, delivered his first sermon at the same town.—Notes to Gist's Journal.

dwelt with them, and begged him to take up his abode in Ohio and baptize their children. One of them surprised Gist by bringing a pin calendar, of French contrivance, to show that he always observed the Sabbath day.

But life in an Indian town had its vivid contrasts. On the day following, Gist made this entry in his journal: "This Day a Woman who had been a long time a Prisoner, and had deserted and been retaken, and brought into the Town on Christmas Eve, was put to death in the following manner: They carried her without the Town & let her loose, and when she attempted to run away the Person appointed for that Purpose pursued her and struck her on the Ear, on the right side of her Head, which beat her flat on her Face on the Ground; they then stuck her several times through the Back with a Dart to the Heart, scalped her & threw the scalp in the Air, and another cut off her Head. There the dismal Spectacle lay until the Evening, & then Barney Curran desired leave to bury Her, which He and his Men, and some of the Indians did just at dark."

From the Muskingum town Croghan, Montour, Gist and Robert Callender, with their party and pack horses, proceeded through Ohio to the west. They passed through the little town on the Walhonding where the white woman lived (Mary Harris), and followed the great trail to the most westerly town of the Delawares, on Scioto, where the chief was Windaughalah, whose name signified "ambassador." He was the great war chief of the Delawares, and conspicuous in the treaty making of subsequent years. The name of his son, Buckongahelas, is perpetuated in the geography of the country. On January 28th the party reached the main Shawanee town, at the mouth of the Scioto. "The Shannoah town," wrote Gist, "is situate upon both sides of the River Ohio, just below the mouth of Sciddoe Creek, and contains about 300 Men. There are about 40 Houses on the South side of the River and about 100 on the North side, with a Kind of State house of about 90 feet long, with a tight cover of Bark, in which they hold their Councils." A few years later the northern part of the town was destroyed by flood.

In the middle of February Croghan and his companions came in sight of Pickawillany, and after firing a few volleys in salute and greeting, and smoking the warrior's pipe that was sent out to them, they entered the town, with hearts warmed despite the wintry weather by the sight of the British colors flying upon the log fort. They were entertained in the chief's house, where all the white traders in town were called in to meet them, and then went to the long house to meet the chief and council. Montour opened the negotiations in the figurative style of the red men, with whom, though their vocabulary was rich and copious, friendship was poetically styled "an open road." "You have made a road for our brothers, the English, to come and trade among you," he said, speaking in behalf of the Shawanees and Dela-

wares, "but it is now very foul [alluding to the capture of traders], great logs have fallen across it, and we would have you be strong like men, and have one heart with us, and make the road clear, that our brothers, the English, may have free course and recourse between you and us. In the sincerity of our hearts we send you these four strings of wampum." This was received with the usual deep-voiced "Yo-ho," from the seated council, the calumet of peace was passed about, and the offerings made, of tobacco, clothing and shirts. The pow-wow, with intermissions enlivened by dances, lasted two weeks. Hardly had Croghan and Montour begun to make headway when some Ottawa Indians came in with wampum, tobacco and brandy from the French, but when their speaker first entered the council, "Old Britain" reproached the French for "fouling the road," and turning his back upon envoy and brandy, abruptly left the house. The French ambassador went out among the Indians, and finding his arguments futile, sent up a wail of lamentation. Two days later the final answer was given the French ambassador, not by "Old Britain," but by the captain of the Maumee warriors, who, holding up four strings of black and white wampum, declared in a warlike voice: "Brothers the Ottawas, you are always differing with the French yourselves, and yet you always listen to what they say; but we will let you know by these four strings of wampum that we will not hear anything they say to us, nor do anything they bid us." They had made a road to the sea by the sunrising, he continued, and taken the hand of the English, the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanees and Wyandots. "Brothers of the Ottawas, you hear what I say; tell that to your father, the French, for that is our mind, and we speak it from our hearts."

Finally, on March 1st, the orator of the Maumees, another officer subordinate to the chief, delivered the answer of the confederacy to the governor of Pennsylvania. They had come to a resolution, he said, never to give heed to what the French said, but always to hear and believe the English. They would come to Logstown for council as soon as the corn was planted, and the distant tribes had come in. Though they were poor, they hoped their brothers would accept the gift of a bundle of skins for shoes on the road, and on their part they were heartily grateful for the clothes, which they had put on the women and children.

These proceedings, recorded by Gist in his Journal, are of interest as the first great treaty in Ohio, and convey some idea of the dignity and statesmanship of the red men. The deputations returned to the east, Gist going by the Ohio river and visiting the then famous Big Bone lick, though warned that French Indians were seeking to waylay him. After inspecting the lands south of the Ohio, he reached the Ohio company's warehouse, on the Potomac, opposite the present town of Cumberland, and fifteen miles from the Shawanee headquar-

ters in 1698 to 1728. At the latter place was the residence of the famous Col. Thomas Cresap, then a member of the Ohio company, whose capture in 1736 by a Pennsylvania sheriff was a notable part of the Virginia and Pennsylvania hostilities, which led to the running of Mason's and Dixon's line (begun in 1769). His son, Michael Cresap, afterward figured in the border raids of Ohio.

In May, 1751, Croghan and Montour met a great concourse of Iroquois, Delawares, Shawanees and Maumees at Logstown, and were successful in making a commercial treaty with them, although the French sent several canoe loads of presents down the Alleghany and contended for the Indian favor.

Unfortunately for the English colonies, the assembly of Pennsylvania was displeased with Croghan's negotiations, on account of the expense involved, and jealousy of the power of the proprietors of the colony. New York, for awhile, was left alone, by the dissensions of Pennsylvania and Virginia, to oppose the French aggression. In its behalf Col. William Johnson negotiated with the eastern Iroquois, while Joncaire and Father Piquet labored with the Senecas in the French interest. Piquet was encouraged to suggest that an army of eighteen hundred Iroquois and Ohioans could be raised to drive the English from the disputed territory and make war on Virginia. The Marquis de la Jonquiere, then governor of Canada, was asked by Governor Clinton to dismantle the new fort at Niagara, in the territory of British subjects (the Iroquois), and release traders captured in Ohio, but the Frenchman spurned the pretensions of English authority over the Five Nations, and offered a reward for the head of George Croghan, asserting that the latter had instigated the killing of Frenchmen. Jonquiere sent sharp orders to Celoron, now in command at Detroit, to break up the trading post at Pickawillany, and was worried by equally urgent orders from France to drive out the British intruders, though France could not spare him money to build forts on Lake Erie. Yet France was at that time the powerful nation of Europe, and even on the sea, her fleet, under the command of Galissoniere, who had returned from Quebec to resume that honor, humiliated the British. Jonquiere died, in the midst of his anxieties, and was temporarily succeeded by Longueil, who received reports from Celoron, from Raymond at the Maumee fort, and Saint Ange at Vincennes, all telling of the hostile influence of the traders at Pickawillany, the Indian threats of war, and the killing of French traders. The red men yet adhering to the French sought refuge at Detroit, but refused to aid Celoron in the expedition he was ordered to make against Pickawillany. Though militia were sent on from the east, no move was made until Charles Langlade, a young French trader who had married a Green Bay maiden, came down the lake to Detroit with 250 Ottawas and Ojibwas. These did not shrink from conflict

with the Maumees, and on the morning of June 21, 1752, Celoron's force, having marched down by Kekionga, came in sight of the British flag waving over the fort of the Piankeshaw chief.

The fight that followed did not demand much valor on the part of the victors. Most of the Maumees were away on the summer hunt, and when the squaws came in shrieking from the fields, "Old Britain" and some of the others in the village did not have time to gain the protection of the fort. Three traders were taken outside, and three others were given up by the Maumees within the fort, on condition that the siege should not be prosecuted, and the prisoners should be well treated. Two traders, Andrew McBryer and the blacksmith of Muskingum, Thomas Burney, were hidden. The storehouses were plundered, a wounded trader was stabbed to death, fourteen Maumees were killed before they could reach the fort, and the proud chief who was England's hope in the West was put to death, roasted and eaten by his savage enemies.* As soon as they could take a French scalp in retaliation, the Maumees of Pickawillany sent Burney with it and a message to the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, saying: "We saw our great Piankeshaw king taken, killed and eaten within a hundred yards of the fort, and before our faces. We now look upon ourselves as a lost people, fearing our brothers will leave us; but, before we will be subject to the French, or call them our fathers, we will perish here." Captain William Trent and Montour, carrying presents to the Maumees from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, met McBryer and Burney at the Shawanee town on the Scioto in July, and was told of the sack of the western outpost of trade. Trent went on, and though he found the town deserted, raised the British flag again. In his journey he met the young Piankeshaw king, Assapausa, the Maumee chief Meechee Konahkwa or Big Turtle, afterward famous in frontier history, and the widow of Old Britain, who attended the Carlisle council in 1753 and put her son under the protection of the British colonies.

The Marquis Duquesne, a heroic figure in the history of New France, had by this time arrived at Quebec as governor, and he followed up the Pickawillany stroke by an attempt to make good the frontier sign posts of Celoron. One night in the spring of 1753 some Mohawk couriers roused William Johnson from sleep by whooping and yelling to tell him that the lake was covered with the French canoes for an invasion of the Iroquois country. Fifteen hundred men, French, Canadians and Algonquins, had been sent under Marin, to

*The Pennsylvania and Virginia assemblies voted aid to the Maumees on account of the sack of Pickawillany and killing of Old Britain, but becoming fearful of the loyalty of the Indians, held back most of the presents. The Maumees then went over to the French and sent warriors to the battlefields of New York and Pennsylvania in the following war.

occupy the upper Ohio. They were the first, says Parkman, to follow the Presque Isle route, and they fortified upon the lake and erected Fort Le Bœuf at the other end of the portage to French creek. Marin died there, and all suffered terribly from sickness, but the Indians were effectively impressed with the military power of France. The Iroquois as well as the Shawanees and Delawares on the Ohio sent embassies to Philadelphia and Virginia, declaring that they had ordered the French to keep out of the country, and asking for help. At the same time they demanded that all English settlers should be kept out of the Ohio valley; that the numerous traders, who had provoked French jealousy, should be restricted to the head of the Ohio, Logstown, and the mouth of the Kanawha. Especially should the sale of liquor be stopped. "Your traders," said the Indians, "bring scarce anything but rum and flour. They bring little powder and lead or other valuable goods. The rum ruins us." Had these conditions been complied with, says a document of that period, the English might easily have conquered the trade and secured the affections of many of the Indian nations; "whereas by neglecting this and suffering a parcel of banditti under the character of traders to run up and down from one Indian town to another, cheating and debauching the Indians, we have given them an ill opinion of our religion and manners and lost their esteem and friendship."*

In this emergency the central colonial governors, though much embarrassed by the tendency of the representative assemblies to devote their time to remonstrances against taxation, did the best they could to defend their claims to the interior. Johnson, Croghan and Montour were untiring in their efforts to checkmate the French intrigue. The friendly Iroquois chief, Scarroyada, or Half-King, at a treaty in September, 1753, assented to an English fort at the head of the Ohio, and promised to fight the French, though he refused to permit any English settlements. Soon after, with Gist as his guide, and a few followers, George Washington set out from Will's creek station of the Ohio company, to carry to the French the order of Governor Dinwiddie that they should at once withdraw from the territory of the King of England. From the forks at the head of the Ohio he proceeded to Logstown, and up to Venango, the French outpost. There, when the wine had flowed, "They told me," said Washington, "it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by God, they would do it: for though the English could raise two men to their one, yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs."

Washington, of course, got no satisfaction from the commander at Le Bœuf, whom he visited in December. On his return he narrowly

*"Inquiry into Cause of Alienation of Delaware and Shawanese Indians. from the British Interest," 1759.

escaped death from the bullet of a treacherous guide and from drowning in the icy water, but finally reached Will's creek, exhausted, and Gist half frozen.

Then came actual war. The vigorous efforts of Governor Dinwiddie, who ordered a draft of two hundred men, to be commanded by Colonel Washington, and called for aid from the Ohio Indians and the other colonies, resulted in the construction of a little fort at the head of the Ohio by the advance guard of the forces of defense. But Contrecœur came down upon this post in April, 1754, and compelled its surrender. Against Washington, who had marched with the main body of colonial troops to Great Meadows on hearing of the French advance, Junonville was sent in reconnoissance, fatally to that gallant young officer, who fell in the combat that compelled the retreat of his command. In France it was told that Junonville was treacherously murdered by "the cruel Washinghton," and there was a general cry for revenge. "This obscure skirmish set the world on fire."* With it may be said to have begun the war for Ohio, which presently broadened into a struggle the issue of which founded the modern conditions of Anglo-Saxon and German supremacy around the world.

After his success in this skirmish, Washington advanced, but being unsupported, soon found it desirable to fall back to his post, called Fort Necessity. There Contrecœur attacked him July 3d, with a force of French and Indians, and after a fight in a dismal rain for nine hours, Washington capitulated. It was on July 4, 1754, that he marched out with his band of colonials from the advanced post of Anglo-Saxon power in America and in humiliation trudged back toward the upper Potomac.

He could do no better with the support he received. No Indians were with him, and the French had plenty. The advantages gained in trade in the Ohio country vanished as soon as the red men perceived the bold show of the French and the feeble motions of the English. Even the Iroquois were cold. It was dangerous to mention the Lancaster and Logstown "treaties" to them. At one of the councils where they were asked for aid, an orator said: "We don't know what you Christians, English and French, intend. We are so hemmed in by both of you, we have hardly a hunting place left. In a little while, if we find a bear in a tree, there will immediately appear an owner of the land to claim the property and hinder us from killing that by which we live. We are so perplexed between you that we hardly know what to say or think."

The colonies were embarrassed in defensive operations by the rising tide of resistance to proprietary and royal authority, and Great Britain itself was exhausted by the recent European war, and had no worthy leaders in power. The second of the Georges, somewhat

*Parkman, "Conspiracy of Pontiac."

more of a king than the third of that name, but possessing, says Lord Mahon, "scarcely one kingly quality except personal courage and justice," was then upon the throne. The army had become corrupt and inefficient, and was commanded by men of pompous assumption and pitiable incapacity. The first shock of war, that presently followed, was so disastrous to England that it forced the cry from Chesterfield that the nation was ruined.

From London came an order, at this crisis, that had vast but unexpected significance. Commissioners from the various colonies were to meet together to make treaties with the Indians and devise a plan of common defense. It followed that most of the provinces were represented in the first American congress, at Albany, in 1754, as a result of the contest for possession of Ohio. The Iroquois, who participated in the deliberations, pointed to their own success gained by union, and advised the colonists to forget their jealousies and follow the example of the Five Nations. Benjamin Franklin there made the first proposition of confederation, but it found little favor, the crown fearing the power of such a union, and the colonies dreading the supremacy of their associates. The famous Albany congress most directly affected the history of Ohio through a treaty made by Pennsylvania with the Iroquois, establishing a boundary line within the province. "In what manner and by what means this grant was obtained, is well known to those who attended the treaty," says an authority previously quoted. Its effect was to confirm the suspicion of the western Indians that under British rule they would be crowded out as the Delawares had been from the land of William Penn. Shawanees and Delawares, as well as Iroquois, were affected, and in their own councils repudiated the grant. The land hunger of the English, their irrepressible disposition to put up a line fence, was exasperating to the red men who yet remained friendly. Everything conspired to drive them to alliance with the French, who asked for no land and appeared to be, and were at that time the strongest military power in the world.

After the defeat of Washington the French were supreme beyond the Alleghanies. The trading posts were seized and goods confiscated. Men like Croghan were ruined, and that worthy pioneer himself, in danger of arrest by his debtors, retired for safety to a frontier post, where he was surrounded by the friendly Iroquois of the Half-King. England was sufficiently awakened to the danger of her colonies in the fall of 1754 to send over two regiments of red-coats, and General Braddock, whom Horace Walpole called "a very Iroquois in disposition," to take command and drive the French beyond the lakes. The French at the same time sent reinforcements to Canada, and the navy of the expeditions clashed in battle at sea. But as yet war was not declared. France, ruled by Louis XV, and he by Madame Pompadour, was already involved in the strange alliance of the stern Maria

Theresa of Austria with the profligate Catherine of Russia to crush Frederick the Great. Louis would overlook much before he would formally invite another enemy, and England, as then ruled, was anxious to avoid a part in the impending conflict on the continent.

Though Braddock's forces were inadequate he divided them for four expeditions against the French posts from Acadie to Niagara. The most important column he led in person, against the fort that Contrecœur had built at the head of the Ohio and called Duquesne. With a force of near fifteen hundred British and colonials he had closely approached the French position when Beaujeu led out nine hundred officers and soldiers, of which 637 were Indians, in large proportion from Ohio. The fight that followed is familiar to every reader of American history. It was an Indian victory, won by Indian strategy and tactics, and fought almost entirely on the successful side by Indians. Rallying from the first surprise the British made a gallant defense that threw the French into confusion, but the red men kept up the attack without faltering. After three hours under fire, the army having degenerated to a mob between the raving military insanity of Braddock and the steady shrieking of bullets from an unseen foe, it was every man for himself, and the Indians indulged in ferocious chase and slaughter. Sixty-three of the eighty-six British officers were killed or wounded; only 459 of the 1,373 soldiers came off unhurt.

In the expedition against the French on Lakes George and Champlain, led by William Johnson, the Mohawk chief, Hendrick, was the ablest military man, but Johnson, managing to resist the French and Indian attack, was made a baronet. The expedition against Niagara was compelled to halt at Oswego.

The effect of this general check to British power confirmed the main part of the Ohio Indians in their judgment of French superiority. A Lenape league was formed, with Teedyuscung as supreme chief, and attacks were made by the Ohio tribes upon the frontiers of the central colonies. Sir William Johnson appealed to the Iroquois to assert their ancient authority over the Delawares, but the latter, when summoned to council by their feudal superiors, answered: "We are men, and are determined not to be ruled any longer by you as women. We are determined to cut off all the English, except what may escape in ships. Say no more, lest we make women of you!" Indeed, the Iroquois had now been brought, between the French and English, to practically the same status that they had formerly imposed upon the Delawares. Recognizing this, the Six Nations appear to have made an alliance with Teedyuscung to fight both French and English, but this attitude could not be maintained.

The result of the hostility of the Ohio Indians was revealed in the boast of Dumas, commanding at Fort Duquesne: "I have succeeded in ruining the three adjacent provinces, Pennsylvania, Mary-

land and Virginia, driving off the inhabitants and totally destroying the settlements over a tract of country thirty leagues wide. I had six or seven war parties in the field at once, always accompanied by Frenchmen." The orders of the French officers to prevent the torturing of captives were of little effect. "They kill all they meet," said a French priest, of the Indians, "and after having abused the women and maidens, they slaughter or burn them." Washington, by this time the foremost man on the border, and so strong with the people that Dinwiddie dared not displace him from command of the Virginia militia, wrote in April, 1756: "The supplicating tears of the women and moving petitions of the men melt me into such deadly sorrow that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease." Again, "It is not possible to conceive the situation and danger of this miserable country. Such numbers of French and Indians are all around that no road is safe."

Even under such circumstances, it required the threat of mob violence to induce the Pennsylvania assembly to vote a tax in support of war on the Indians. In every colony there was reluctance to levy taxes to strengthen the power of the provincial governments. "Our assemblies are diffident of their governors;" said William Livingston, of New Jersey, "governors despise their assemblies, and both mutually misrepresent each other to the court of Great Britain." About the time the colonies were forced to organize troops England declared war on France.

"It was the interest of France," says Parkman, "to turn her strength against her only dangerous rival, to continue as she had begun, in building up a naval power, that could face England on the seas, and sustain her own rising colonies in America, India and the West Indies, for she too might have multiplied herself, planted her language and her race over all the globe, and grown with the growth of her children, had she not been at the mercy of an effeminate profligate, a mistress turned procuress, and the favorites to whom they delegated power." Apparently, Louis XV had little fear of the English in America, for only two battalions were sent thither with the new general, Louis Joseph, marquis de Montealm-Gozan de Saint Véran. A hundred thousand were marshaled to aid Austria and Russia in wiping out the ambitious Frederick of Prussia.

But however troops were distributed, the conflict began to be worldwide in the summer of 1756. The rights of it did not appear on the surface. Frederick the Great took Silesia from Maria Theresa with very feeble justification. The British traders were trespassers in Ohio, a land discovered and duly claimed by France. But these were not the real issues. The Seven Years' war was unavoidable. It was a part of the long and bloody struggle that began in the days of Philip II of Spain, for the enfranchisement of nations and individ-

uals from various forms of tyranny, and the establishment of the present ideals of civil and religious liberty.

The French retained their advantage throughout 1756 in the war for Ohio. Sir William Johnson, clothed with extraordinary power as sole superintendent of the Six Nations and other northern tribes, independent of the governors and reporting to the crown alone, made George Croghan his deputy for the Indians of Ohio on the Pennsylvania frontier, and together these able men strengthened their cause by diplomacy. The Iroquois, in solemn council, were induced to formally "take the petticoats" off the Delawares, and call them men, which had a conciliatory effect. But the English had no success against the French outpost at Ticonderoga; an expedition for the support of Oswego was roughly handled by the Indians, and, later, Oswego was compelled to surrender to the French. Upon the ruins of this last stronghold of the English on the lakes, the priest Piquet planted a tall cross, bearing the inscription, "In hoc signo vincunt."

The main seat of war, except the ravages along the border, in which militia and Indians operated very much in the same fashion, incited by rewards for scalps, was on Lake George, where Indians from Ohio and more remote regions, even Iowas whose language no one could understand, were gathered under the command of Langlade, Saint Luc de la Corne, and other adventurers. The French strength, even with this savage reinforcement, was far inferior to that of the English, but a foolish diversion against Louisburg in 1757 permitted Montcalm to besiege and capture Fort William Henry, on Lake George. While these reverses seemed to promise success for France in America, the great Frederick, rising from an equally gloomy situation, routed an overwhelming French army at Rossbach, and William Pitt, the greatest Englishman since Cromwell, was called to the control of war and foreign affairs. "England has long been in labor," said Frederick, "and at last she has brought forth a man." Pitt took the reins of power with a mind settled to destroy the sea power of France and her colonial dominion in America, the islands of the sea, and Hindustan. His prompt selection of new generals, vigorous shaking up of the army, and bold reform of finances, saved the English colonies from restriction to the Atlantic coast, and made possible not only the empire of India but the republic of the United States.

But in extolling Pitt, one should not forget the work of Sir William Johnson and George Croghan. Their quiet but indispensable intrigues and negotiations bore such fruit that in 1758, when Amherst took Louisburg and Bradstreet Frontenac, and the Hurons, Ottawas, Maumees, Pottawatomies and other nations were ordered to the support of Fort Duquesne—menaced by the expedition of Forbes, Bouquet and Washington—the Delawares and Shawanees, who held the key to the situation, were talking of peace with the "Yengees."

Christian Frederick Post, a missionary of the Moravian brother-

hood or United Brethren, whose village on the Lehigh called Gnaddenhütten (houses of grace), had been burned by the Indians after the defeat of Braddock, was sent by the government of Pennsylvania as an envoy to the wavering tribes. "He was a plain German, upheld by a sense of duty and a single-hearted trust in God." Doubtless, he was inclined to favor English supremacy, as preferable, from his religious point of view, to the Jesuit; but the treatment his people had received in America could not have inspired him with a vivid sense of religious freedom. His controlling motive was to bring peace to the Indians. To their cause he had devoted his life, emphasizing the fact by taking in marriage a Delaware maiden. But, if one may view the situation without race prejudice, he persuaded the Delawares to a fatal error. If they, the wisest people of the great Lenape line, had gone on the warpath to assist the French at Duquesne against the army of Forbes, loitering on the way to know what the Delawares would do, it would have been many generations before their hunting grounds in the valley of the Ohio would have been disturbed. With the best of motives, but with that fatality that attended the association of the Moravians with the Indians, Post succeeded in persuading the Delawares to a step that hastened their ruin. But it was a ruin that, so far as man can see, was inevitable even if deferred, and necessary for a nobler and more profitable use of the land.

The Delawares were sensible of the tremendous responsibility that rested upon them. After Post had been told that they were willing to renew the old chain of friendship, provided the wampum belt was sent from all the provinces, they hesitated for a long time to let him depart, fearing the soundness of their judgment. When Post returned to Philadelphia, there was much rejoicing. Belts of wampum were sent to the nations for a great council at Easton, on the Delaware river, at which the governor of Pennsylvania, in behalf of all the provinces, promised to heal all wounds and renew all treaties on condition of peace. Post and a small party of whites and Indians were sent out to carry the message of peace into the upper Ohio region, and received assurances of friendship from the Delawares, Shawanees and Mingos.

After this decision of the Delawares, necessarily followed by the other tribes who looked to them for counsel, there was an immediate change in the fortunes of war. Ligneris, at Fort Duquesne, was of course endangered by the fall of Fort Frontenac, but the refusal of the Delawares and Shawanees to support him, followed by the withdrawal of the Ottawas, Wyandots and Maumees, induced him to blow up his fortification and abandon the Ohio river, November 9, 1758. General Forbes, advancing, took possession of the place and built a stockade, and a village of cabins for his men, called Pittsburg. This bloodless victory, won by diplomacy, assured the possession of Ohio by men of British and German blood. William Pitt, fully

appreciating the extent of the advantage gained, ordered that the fort should be at once rebuilt, with strength "adequate to the great importance of maintaining his majesty's subjects in the undisputed possession of the Ohio; of effectually cutting off all trade and communication this way between Canada and the Western and Southwestern Indians; of protecting the British colonies from the incursions to which they have been exposed . . . and of fixing again the several Indian nations in their alliance with and dependence on his majesty's government." His orders were promptly obeyed. Fort Pitt was constructed to hold the key to the Ohio river, and George Croghan continued his negotiations with the red men.

But there remained considerable fighting to do before the French would withdraw from the region south of the lakes, and they were yet aided by a large body of Indians from the western regions under their control. They made a gallant struggle in 1759 to hold Oswego and Niagara, but were defeated by the English and Iroquois, Sir William Johnson showing his ability as general as well as diplomat. The forts on the French creek route were abandoned, and the whole fortified line south of the lakes was lost to the French, exposing Detroit, Mackinac and Illinois to the enemy. On July 4th of the same year Croghan began a great conference with the Ohio Indians at Pittsburg, which was resumed in October with the Iroquois, Shawanees, Wyandots, Maumees and Delawares, Montour also lighting the pipe of peace left by delegates of the Ottawas. All the nations of the Ohio region seemed to be convinced of British power, and were disposed to renew the recently broken friendship.

Meanwhile Wolfe invaded Canada, and was very nearly ruined by the shrewd policy of Montcalm, who retired with his army of inferior soldiery to the impregnable promontory of Quebec, and suffered the English to ravage the country. At last, in the extremity of his hopes, Wolfe scaled the Heights of Abraham and that most romantic of American battles occurred, September 13, 1759, which resulted in the death of both Wolfe and Montcalm, but need not have involved the fall of Quebec, had a man like Frontenac or Galissoniére been governor of Canada. After Old England was ablaze with bonfires and New England had gathered to hear thanksgiving sermons, the French rallied, defeated the British at Sainte Foy, and would have retaken Quebec but for the timely arrival of the invincible and ubiquitous English navy. On September 8, 1760, Governor Vaudreuil surrendered Montreal, and the province of Canada and all its dependencies, and the war was practically ended in America.

A few days after Vaudreuil's surrender an expedition was started from Montreal to take possession of the forts on the upper lakes, and, being reinforced by a party from Pittsburg, it left Presque Isle November 4, 1760. In this first military and naval force of the English speaking people in Ohio there were about two hundred bor-

der rangers, mostly on board a flotilla of nineteen whale boats and batteaux (one commanded by George Croghan), while a land party of forty-two rangers, fifteen Royal Americans and twenty Indians, under Captain Brewer and Montour, marched along the coast. The officer in general command was Maj. Robert Rogers, a colonial ranger, who had made himself famous by daring exploits about Ticonderoga, and by a merciless onslaught upon the Abenakies of St. Francis, in revenge for the massacre at Fort William Henry.*

In his progress up the lake, Rogers followed the south shore, and after about two days' travel, reaching the "Chogage river," probably the Geauga, met an embassy of Ottawa Indians from Detroit, who informed him that "Ponteack, the king and lord of the country,"† was at a small distance, approaching peaceably, and desired Rogers to halt and await him. "At first salutation, when we met," says Rogers in his account, "he demanded my business into his country, and how it happened that I dared to enter it without his leave." Rogers disclaimed any hostility to the red men, announced his intention to remove the French who had been an obstacle to peace and commerce, and handed over the inevitable wampum, but Pontiac gave no further answer, says Rogers, "than that he stood in the path I traveled till next morning, giving me a small string of wampum, as much as to say, I must not march further without his leave." Next day this hitherto unrenowned chief, who claimed a great dominion, to the extinction of the ancient Iroquois pretensions, even within the home country of the Six Nations, and sustained his pretensions personally by "an air of majesty and princely grandeur," had a second conference with Rogers and graciously assented to his progress, giving him a hundred warriors to protect and assist in driving the fat cattle that the expedition took with it. Even more than this Pontiac did, attending Rogers personally all the way, and, when they arrived at Detroit, saving a party from the fury of the Indians who had assembled at the strait to cut them off. "I had several conferences with him," Rogers continues in his narrative, "in which he discovered great strength of judgment and a thirst after knowledge." Pontiac inquired closely into the military affairs of the English, expressed a great desire to visit England, and repeatedly declared his willingness to call the king uncle and pay annual tribute of furs; but "his whole conversation sufficiently indicated that he was far from con-

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*In later years Rogers went to the bad. When in command of the garrison at Mackinac, he was brought before a court martial charged with plotting to surrender that post to the Spanish. Subsequently he served in the army of the dey of Algiers. Returning to America at the beginning of the Revolution he offered to accept a commission under Washington, but was suspected of being a spy. Afterward he was made colonel in the British service, and in 1778 he was proscribed and banished by the government of New Hampshire, his native land.

†Rogers' "Account of North America," London, 1765.

sidering himself as a conquered prince, and that he expected to be accorded the respect and honor due to a king and emperor by all who came into his country or treated with him."

Rogers received the surrender of Detroit November 29th, the French commandant making no resistance. An attempt was made by Rogers and Montour to proceed to Mackinac, but the ice and deep snow prevented, and in the latter part of December the expedition started back overland for Fort Pitt, following, in the main, the great trail across Ohio, most important in the central west, which from the Wyandot town on Lake Sandusky proceeded through Mohegan town on the upper Walhonding to the town on the Tuscarawas, then called the Muskingum, opposite the mouth of Big Sandy, where there were at that time about three thousand acres of cleared ground. Thence the trail ran eastward to the Ohio river at the mouth of Beaver creek. Of the country Rogers said that "the land on the south side of Lake Erie puts on a very fine appearance; the country level, the timber tall and of the very best sort, such as oak, hickerie and locust; and for game, both for plenty and variety, perhaps exceeded by no part of the world." On his return from Lake Sandusky he found good country all the way, the timber "white, black and yellow oak, black and white walnut, cyprus, chestnut and locust."

Rogers' trip to Detroit was followed in July, 1761, by the visit of Sir William Johnson, who traveled in triumph along the lake shore that he had contributed so effectively to conquer. At that time there was no British post within the limits of Ohio, the nearest at the west being that at Fort Miami (Fort Wayne) where thirty men were stationed, and at the east on French creek, where there was an equally imposing garrison. But soon after Sir William's departure (in 1761) a blockhouse was built on the south shore of Sandusky bay.

The same year is notable for the beginning of the Moravian influence in western Ohio. This religious organization, known now as the United Brethren, from their old title, "Unitas Fratrum," has an ancient history, traced by some authorities back to the Greek church. Moravia and Bohemia were seats of the organization at the time of Luther's reformation, with which the sect felt sympathy and consequently suffered grievous persecution. Early in the eighteenth century a body of refugees from Moravia took refuge under the protection of the Count of Zinzendorf, who afterward affiliated with them and was made bishop. The peculiarity of the church was devotion to the primitive ordinances of Christianity, and withdrawal from "the confusion and giddiness, pain and toil, deceit and falsehood, misery and anxiety,"* of the affairs of the world, opening

*The words of their great religious book, "The Labyrinth of the World, and the Paradise of the Heart," first published in 1631.

their hearts to "Lord God alone." Much light is thrown upon their attitude by the fact that they gave Saturday to rest and meditation because they saw no scriptural warrant for neglecting the ancient Sabbath, and on Sunday joined the rest of Christendom in celebrating the death and resurrection of Christ. In their communities there was a real community of goods, and industry was a religious duty. Their understanding of the scriptures would not permit them to go to war or return a blow. So fully did they depend upon religious guidance in the affairs of life that Madame de Staël called them "the monks of Protestantism." Through such a life they were happy and prosperous in times of war and violence, but this prosperity always brought upon them the hatred and persecution of their neighbors. In 1732 they began sending missionaries to America, actually to Greenland's icy mountains and West Indies' coral strands, and small colonies were planted in Georgia and Pennsylvania. Observing the necessity of missionary work among the Indians they labored among the Iroquois and Delawares, and soon aroused the disgust of the traders by opposition to the trade in liquor, and efforts to turn the red men from fur hunting to farming. Count Zinzendorf visited the missions in 1742 and encouraged the work, but it was much embarrassed not only by the enmity of the traders, but by the prejudice of good people who accused the United Brethren of sympathy with "Romanism" and France. This suspicion was strengthened by the tendency of their Indian converts to refrain from war on the French, which warfare was the only use many of the colonists had for the red men aside from commercial gain. The Moravians were driven out of New York by act of the legislature, and they were imprisoned in Connecticut. Even in Pennsylvania they became the object of suspicion. In that province there were many, also seeking confirmation in holy writ, who would extirpate the Indians as the Israelites did the Canaanites, that the people of the Lord might possess the land. To these the Moravians, surrounded by little towns of industrious Indians, were hateful. When hostilities were imminent with France, the rumor spread that the Moravians were "papist" spies. But in the moment of danger of destruction by the Pennsylvanians, the French Indians wiped out their village of Gnadenhütten, not far from Bethlehem. This misfortune relieved the United Brethren from suspicion,* and as has been noted, one of them, Charles Frederick Post, was entrusted with important public service. His western excursions as an envoy to the Indians led him to visit the Muskingum valley in 1761. He avoided the Goshgoshung (Coshocton) town at the forks, where the

*A few years later, however, there were savage massacres of Moravian Indians by the whites, and the effort of the government to protect the survivors brought the province near to civil war.

traders, doubtless, had returned, but sought the recently established village of the Delawares on the Tuscarawas, Newcomer's town, founded by the old chief, Netawatwes, who it is said was present at the first treaty with William Penn. Across the river, at the mouth of Sandy creek, he was given permission by the chief to make his home and start a school and mission. Returning in the following year, with young John Heckewelder as a teacher, he began the establishment of a frontier home. But the Indians, fearful of aggression, restricted these missionaries to fifty paces square for farming, suggesting that the French were content with as much, and as they said God had sent them, doubtless God would provide them with food. They would have starved later, if Calhoon, a trader on the river below, had not assisted them. In the summer of 1762 Post was invited to attend a great conference with the Indians at Lancaster, and he performed this service for the Pennsylvania colony, taking with him chiefs of the western Delawares. In a little while Heckewelder heard the rumors spread among the Indians that Post would not return, that his missionary effort was a blind for his real design to deliver the country to the English, and that the time was ripe for a great war of defense, in which the French, yet lingering in the west, would give assistance. Heckewelder soon escaped into Pennsylvania; the traders remaining until peremptorily ordered away, when, being attacked on the road, only two, Calhoon and James Smith, saved their lives. As many as thirty people of Heckewelder's acquaintance were killed in this outbreak, in the fall of 1762.

More direful events followed as a natural sequence of a war in which France and England had used the red men of the West as allies, with fair promises on each side, and then were about to conclude a peace without any provision for them or recognition of their existence. The Delawares doubtless realized their mistake in deserting the French, and turning to the opposite extreme, talk was revived of that alliance with the Iroquois that had been proposed against both French and English. In the east, encroachments of settlers were enraging the Delawares and Shawanees, while in the west the Ottawas, Maumees and Wyandots complained that the English had become parsimonious once they had gained the upper hand in trade, and that the garrisons of the forts were insolent and lawless. The old French inhabitants who remained did not refrain, we may imagine, from dwelling fondly upon the happier days of the past, and the Indians forgot that then they made the same complaints of the French. Under such circumstances the red men of Ohio and the Northwest went on the war path against the British empire, that had been triumphant round the world.

At the head of the movement was Pontiac, who, though it is said that he had been a leader for several years, is not conspicuous in contemporary accounts previous to his meeting with Major Rogers on

the shore of Lake Erie.* There are various accounts of his origin, but he was reared among the Ottawas, a race always faithful to the French, and is supposed to have been the son of an Ottawa father and Ojibwa mother. Bancroft calls him the "colossal chief," whose "name still hovers over the Northwest, as the hero who devised and conducted a great but unavailing struggle with destiny for the independence of his race." During the winter of 1762 he was busily engaged at his town near Detroit, organizing all the Indians of the Ohio valley and the lakes, sending to New Orleans for arms and ammunition, and employing two secretaries for his correspondence. Other famous chiefs, such as Guyasota, of the Senecas, were hardly less prominent in organizing war in the upper Ohio valley.

The French in America doubtless encouraged this "conspiracy of Pontiac." Peace had not yet been concluded with England by formal treaty. While Great Britain was gathering the fruits of victory in America, the war had continued in Europe, where Frederick, achieving wonderful victories and enduring crushing defeats, was in imminent danger of losing the fight. When Pitt was turned from power in 1761, the promise of the German empire of today could hardly have been read in the situation of Europe. But the opportune death of Catherine turned the scale, and Russia became an ally instead of an enemy. France, sickened by losses of men and territory, and exhausted in resources, proposed peace in 1762, and accepted the hard conditions imposed upon her by the treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763. Clinging to Canada and the Ohio valley, Choiseul, the French minister, warned the British that the moment Canada became English, the colonies, relieved of fear of foreign aggression, would shake off their dependence on Great Britain. But the warning was in vain. All Canada and the great islands of the coast, and all the interior east of the Mississippi, except the isle of Orleans, were ceded to Great Britain. France also gave up to England the land of Senegal in Africa, and in India all her gains and hopes of supremacy. Spain, having foolishly engaged in the war near its close, in alliance with France, gave England Florida in consideration of the return of Havana and Manila, and thus Great Britain became the ruler of all North America east of the Mississippi. The country west of that river was ceded by France to Spain.

The valiant Maria Theresa was soon forced to make peace with Frederick, leaving Silesia in his hands, and the great struggle came

*During the series of Indian wars against the English colonies and armies, from the Acadian war in 1747 to the general league of the western tribes in 1763, he appears to have exercised the influence and power of an emperor, and by this name he was sometimes known. He had fought with the French, at the head of his Indian allies, against the English, in the year 1747. He likewise . . . took an active part in the memorable defeat of the British and provincial army under General Braddock in 1755."—Taylor's History of Ohio.

to an end. It was estimated that over 850,000 soldiers of various nations had lost their lives in Germany and other hundreds of thousands were crippled by wounds or had died of famine and disease. To this may be added the losses of life and property in America, on the seas all round the world, and in both the Indies, to make up the total cost of the tremendous struggle that began with the war for Ohio.

Close upon the heels of the treaty of Paris came the carefully premeditated blow of Pontiac. The first fruit of the hostile alliance was shown in the expulsion of Post and Heckewelder from the Muskingum valley, and the killing of traders, but this was no part of the plan of Pontiac, who desired peace and secrecy till the moment arrived for a simultaneous attack on all the British posts. May, 1763, was the time selected, and with little variation in date, and no warning to the little garrisons in the west, the onslaught was made. The stockade at Sandusky was the first to fall, on the 16th. Ensign Paully, the commandant, admitted several Wyandots and Ottawas, on a professedly peaceful errand. While seated with them, a signal was made, Paully was seized, disarmed and bound, and shrieks and yells and the sound of musketry arose outside. When all was quiet again, Paully was led through the parade ground where the bodies of his men lay, and carried to the camp of Pontiac. Fortunately he was saved from torture and death by the fondness of an Indian widow, and in a few weeks he secured an opportunity to escape to the fort at Detroit. While the forts at St. Joseph, Maumee, Ouiatenon, Mackinac, Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venango were taken and burned, and the garrisons massacred or carried into captivity, Detroit and Fort Pitt held out against the savage enemy, checking effectively the conquest planned by Pontiac. In May, for the aid of Detroit, an expedition was sent by lake under Lieutenant Cuyler, but it was attacked by the Wyandots near Point Pelee, most of the party captured and the remainder forced to retreat by way of Sandusky and the south shore. The second little army of the English in Ohio went up Lake Erie in July, following the south coast. At Sandusky bay they halted, and marching inland, burned the Wyandot town and destroyed the Indian cornfields. Proceeding they joined the garrison at Detroit under cover of the night, but even this reinforcement did not at once end the Indian siege, and a night sally met with inglorious defeat and heavy loss of life. The siege continued, under the direct command of Pontiac, until after news of the relief of Fort Pitt, and the defeat of the Indians in a two days' battle at Bushy Run by Colonel Bouquet, August 4-5, 1763. Then the warriors became restless, word was received from the French on the Mississippi that no assistance could be expected from them, and Pontiac repaired to the Maumee, leaving Detroit in peace for the winter.

This war should not be considered a wicked and causeless conspir-

acy for massacre and plunder. It was waged by the Indians after their uncivilized fashion, not essentially different from wars in Europe, to assert their right to the lands they occupied, which were being handed over from France to England without recognition of the Indian interests. It may be said that in the campaign of 1763, though the red men failed at Pittsburg and Detroit, they achieved a remarkable victory in obtaining recognition from the throne of England. The famous "King's Proclamation," of October 7, 1763, should be considered as a sequel of this remarkable campaign, in which nine British forts were reduced, as many as a hundred traders put to death and their goods confiscated, and thousands of settlers killed or driven from their homes in western Pennsylvania and Virginia.

CHAPTER III.

THE BRITISH INDIAN RESERVE.

The King's Proclamation—Bradstreet's Sandusky Expedition—Bouquet's March to the Muskingum—The Surrender of Captives — The Scotch-Irish — Colonization Schemes — Moravian Missions — Conolly at Pittsburg — Cresap and Logan—Dunmore's War—Battle of Point Pleasant—Logan's Speech—The Fort Gower Resolutions.

THE "King's Proclamation," or order in council, divided the newly acquired territory in North America into three provinces and an Indian reservation. The pretentious claims of the Atlantic colonies from sea to sea were not recognized, and the provinces were practically limited westward by the Apalachian mountain ranges. Canada was rechristened the province of Quebec; East and West Florida included the peninsula and strip of gulf coast south of the St. Mary's and the 31st parallel west to the Mississippi; the established colonial governments were restricted in their westward scope to the sources of the rivers that fall into the Atlantic, and all beyond those sources, in the interior, between Florida and the great lakes, and the Mississippi and the Alleghanies, was reserved for the Indians. Within this reservation the provincial governors were forbidden to make grants of land; all subjects were strictly forbidden to make any purchases or establish settlements without special license, and persons within the country reserved for the Indians were required to remove themselves forthwith.

This proclamation seemed to be a declaration, by the highest authority, that not only Ohio and all the country northwest of the Ohio river to the source of the Mississippi, but Kentucky, Tennessee, and that part of the territory claimed by Georgia now comprised in the states of Mississippi and Alabama, passed from the direct control of the crown of France to the direct control of the crown of England, without regard to the ancient provincial charters. If Virginia

or any other colony participated in the war against the French for the purpose of extending the provincial bounds to the full extent of the claims, they were deprived of the fruit of victory. Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, had promised 200,000 acres of land beyond the mountains to the soldiers who went out with Washington, and if he were to fulfill the pledge now he must be authorized by a special grant of the king, who had assumed complete dominion in those parts. The disposition of individuals, both in Georgia and Virginia, was to extend the frontier settlements westward in disregard of the royal edict. The conservative men of the colonies construed the proclamation as a temporary expedient to avoid Indian hostilities. But this was their wish, rather than the fact. The plain purpose of the British government was to restrict the Atlantic colonies to the coast, as Lord Hillsborough said, "in due subordination to and dependence upon the mother country," while the west should be devoted to Indian occupation and fur trading.

As for the region of the present State of Ohio, as well as that country of the upper Ohio and its tributaries which topographically belongs to it, though now included in Pennsylvania, it was made the king's domain, without any intervening and subordinate government in America until it should be created a new province, or annexed to an existing one. "It was subject only to military commanders or Indian agents acting under the immediate orders of the king in council, or of the Board of Trade, which at that period administered the king's domain in America." Ohio remained in this condition for ten years, without any government located in America, save the authority of Sir William Johnson, and at the expiration of that time, when it seemed necessary to give it and the Northwest a provincial government, it was assigned, not to Virginia, or any other Atlantic colony that claimed rights in it, but to the province of Quebec.

Perhaps, if the Indians had promptly made peace on the basis of this proclamation, the settlement of the Ohio valley would have been longer delayed, but whatever the disposition of the wiser chiefs may have been, ravages on the border were resumed in the spring of 1764, necessitating the invasion of Ohio by a sufficient force to compel peace. An army was collected in two wings, one, under Col. John Bradstreet, made up of colonials (those from Connecticut led by Israel Putnam), to advance in boats along the south shore of Lake Erie; while the left wing, under Col. Henry Bouquet, was to march into the interior of Ohio from Fort Pitt.

Bradstreet reached Niagara in July, and found representatives of twenty tribes gathered to seek for peace, the Senecas leading in the conciliatory step of bringing in and delivering their prisoners. Before the troops arrived at Presque Isle, ambassadors appeared, purporting to speak for the Wyandots, Shawanees and Delawares.

With these Bradstreet made a treaty with various stipulations, including the delivery at Sandusky of all prisoners and permission to rebuild the western forts and occupy the land within cannon shot of each. But the authority of these Indian negotiations is doubtful. They were not able, if sincere, to stop the hostilities toward the east, and though Bradstreet notified Bouquet that his advance would be unnecessary, the latter officer found it desirable, for the safety of the frontier, to push on toward Ohio.

Bradstreet continued his march through Ohio, without hostilities, and at Detroit, where he arrived August 26th, a treaty of peace was made with the Michigan tribes. Mackinac was regarrisoned, but an envoy to the Maumee region, where Pontiac was encamped with the Ottawa and Maumee warriors, made a narrow escape with his life. Bradstreet did not move against that centre of hostility, and did not act with decision upon the failure of the Indians to carry out the pledge to bring their captives to Sandusky. Returning to Sandusky in September, he received orders from General Gage, censuring him for the indulgent terms granted at Presque Isle and urging an attack upon the Indians of the Scioto valley. His proper course, for an effective campaign, was to attack the Maumee villages, but it was then too late, and after a month at Sandusky bay, he wrote to Bouquet, "he found it impossible to stay longer in these parts, absolute necessity requiring him to turn off the other way." On the return trip the flotilla suffered from storms on the lakes.

Bouquet's army, including five hundred regulars, a thousand Pennsylvanians and a corps of volunteers from Virginia, did not advance from Fort Pitt until October 3d. Previously he had adopted the plan afterward followed in Indian wars, of seizing envoys who came in with peace talks and holding them as hostages. In this way he secured the safe conduct for a messenger through Ohio to Bradstreet at Detroit. Marching out on the great trail crossing the mouth of Beaver, the army entered Ohio without resistance, and on October 13th came in sight of the ruins of the Tuscarawas town, near which an encampment was made. The chiefs of the Delawares and Shawanees immediately gave notice of their desire to treat for peace, and on the 17th Bouquet went into council, under an arbor erected for that purpose, with chiefs of the Senecas, Delawares and Shawanees. A small party of warriors attended the chiefs, and the better part of Bouquet's army was drawn up in an imposing fashion, close at hand. Bouquet's policy was not conciliation and hasty forgiveness. He sternly rebuked the Indians, and not until the 20th would he say that he was willing to make peace. "I am now to tell you," he said, "that we will no longer be imposed upon by your promises. This army shall not leave your country until you have fully complied with every condition now to be agreed upon." Twelve days were given the Indians

to turn over at Wakatomica,* a Shawanee town on the Muskingum, all the prisoners in their possession, English, French, women, children and negroes, with clothing, provisions and horses to carry them to Fort Pitt. Bouquet then moved his army to the Coshocton forks, a central position among the Indian settlements, established a fortified camp, and erected houses for the reception of the captives. By the early part of November over two hundred of these unfortunates had been brought in from the depths of the primeval forest, the greater part women and children. Accompanying Bouquet as volunteers were a considerable number of men seeking their wives or children. Some were bitterly disappointed; others, finding their loved ones, gave vent to their emotions in scenes that made this one of the most memorable incidents in the history of the continent. If one could imagine a reunion of the Acadians, torn from their homes a few years before, and scattered along the Atlantic and gulf coast by the English, a similar picture might be presented to the mind. Strange to say, some of the captives, perhaps those that had been long in that situation, were reluctant to leave the red people, who were compelled to bind and carry them to the camp, and there were Indians who wept over their prisoners at parting, brought them gifts during their stay in camp, and followed on the way to Fort Pitt, daily supplying them with food from the forest. It is told that one young Mingo brave, desperately in love with a girl prisoner, trailed after the army until his life was in danger on the Virginia frontier. Some prisoners, women particularly, found means to escape from their rescuers and return to life in the forest. Such circumstances as these perplex one when tempted by some story of savage cruelty to join in wholesale denunciations of the red men. The Shawanees were the last to give up prisoners, and even then withheld a large number, on the plea that the great men to whom they belonged were absent. Six hostages were taken to insure future performance on their part, and on November 18th army and captives started back to Fort Pitt. For his success Bouquet was promoted to brigadier-general. The worthy Swiss might possibly have won greater honors at the expense of the United Colonies a few years later, but, being assigned to command at Pensacola, he took the fever there and died in 1765.

As a result of the invasions of Ohio in 1764, delegates from many tribes met Sir William Johnson in April, 1765, at German Flats, in the interior of New York. They agreed to grant land to the traders in compensation for their losses, and a definite boundary line was

*Mica (meeka) a termination of the names of a few Shawanee towns in Ohio, is from the same Indian word as "micco," the Creek and Seminole title for chieftains, and the prefixes of Missi-sippi and Michi-gan, and has the primitive meaning of "great."

discussed, but not decided upon, the Indians recommending the line of the Alleghany and Susquehanna rivers. George Croghan had visited London, with the adventure by the way of a shipwreck on the coast of France, and had submitted the necessity of such a boundary to the lords of trade and plantations. But for three years the matter hung in uncertainty.

Returning to America, Croghan went down the Ohio in May, 1765, on a mission to the Ottawas and Maumees, who had as yet taken no part in the peace negotiations. Save the Mingo town below the present site of Steubenville no Indian village was found on the Ohio river from Fort Pitt to the mouth of the Wabash. Buffalo were frequently observed, and game of all sorts was abundant. The valley remained a wilderness, after centuries of Indian occupation. To the white man it was preposterous that all this lovely land should be left in the hands of few thousand savages, all of whom, with their families, could find abundant room and amass wealth by agriculture in a single county. Arrived at the Wabash, Croghan sent notices of his arrival to the English and French posts on the Illinois and Mississippi, but his mission was suddenly cut short, June 8th, by an attack of Kickapoo Indians. Five of Croghan's party were killed, and he and most of his other attendant whites, Delawares and Shawanees were wounded. In this condition Croghan was taken up the Wabash, and to the Maumee town, where he found Pontiac in refuge and disposed to make peace. The great warrior would no longer stand in the path of the English; "but they must not imagine that in taking possession of the French forts they gain any right to the country, for the French had never bought the land and lived upon it by sufferance only."

From the Maumee villages, attended by Pontiac, Croghan went down the river of the same name, through the country occupied by the Ottawas, and proceeding to Detroit, held another council, at which Pontiac spoke most pacifically on behalf of the tribes under his influence, and concluded a dignified address by a petition for powder and lead for the hunters and the opening of the barrel, "that your children may drink and be merry." The career of Pontiac was soon run. A few years later he appeared at the French post of St. Louis, and near there was assassinated, at the instigation, it is said, of a British trader.

After the negotiations of Johnson and Croghan, there was a great revival of colonization schemes for the Ohio valley, despite the king's proclamation. A new Ohio company was projected in 1766, with Sir William Johnson and Benjamin Franklin as its promoters, asking land south of the Ohio river, including the panhandle. Thomas Walpole, a London banker, became its nominal head. Another ambitious scheme contemplated the acquirement of the territory between the Ohio and Mississippi bounded on the north by a line from the

mouth of the river Wisconsin to the mouth of the Maumee.* Franklin worked for his project at London, while in America the influence of George Washington is said to have been exerted against such enterprises, in the interest of the soldiers of the French and Indian war who had been promised bounties in western land. The frontier people, meanwhile, were "squatting" where they saw fit, mainly in western Virginia and Pennsylvania, exciting the hostility of the Indians, and compelling General Gage to warn the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia of their duty to prevent such lawless aggressions. But it was useless to oppose the tide of movement of the hardy and independent pioneers of the West.

"These backwoods mountaineers who dwelt near the great watershed that separates the Atlantic streams from the springs of the Wautauga, the Kanawha and the Monongahela, were all cast in the same mould, and resembled each other much more than any of them did their immediate neighbors of the plains. The backwoodsmen of Pennsylvania had little in common with the peaceful population of Quakers and Germans who lived between the Delaware and the Susquehanna; and their kinsmen of the Blue Ridge and the Great Smoky mountains were separated by an equally wide gulf from the aristocratic planter communities that flourished in the tide-water regions of Virginia and the Carolinas. . . . The backwoodsmen were Americans by birth and parentage, and of mixed race; but the dominant strain in their blood was that of the Presbyterian–Irish, the Scotch–Irish as they were often called. . . . These Irish representatives of the Covenanters were in the west almost what the Puritans were in the northeast, and more than the Cavaliers in the south. Mingled with the descendants of many other races, they nevertheless formed the kernel of the distinctively and intensely American stock who were the pioneers of our people in their march westward, the vanguard of the army of fighting settlers, who with axe and rifle won their way from the Alleghanies to the Rio Grande and the Pacific. . . . They were Protestants of the Protestants; detested and despised the Catholics, whom their ancestors had conquered; and regarded the Episcopalians, by whom they themselves had been oppressed, with a more sullen, but scarcely less intense, hatred. They were a truculent and obstinate people, and gloried in the warlike renown of their forefathers. . . . They did not begin to come to America in any numbers till after the opening of the eighteenth century; by 1730 they were fairly swarming across the ocean, for the most part in two streams, the larger going to the port of Philadelphia, the smaller to the port of Charleston. Pushing through the long settled lowlands of the seacoast, they at once made their abode at the foot of the mountains, and became the outposts of

*King's "Ohio."

civilization. From Pennsylvania they drifted south along the foothills till they met their brethren from Charleston. . . . The two facts of most importance to remember in dealing with our pioneer history are first, that the western portions of Virginia and the Carolinas were peopled by an entirely different stock from that which had long existed in the tide-water regions of those colonies; and secondly, that . . . the immigrants of this stock were mostly from the north, from their great breeding-ground and nursery in western Pennsylvania." So Theodore Roosevelt* describes the dominant pioneers of the Ohio valley, noting also the large admixture of descendants of early English colonists, of Pennsylvania Germans,† Carolina Germans, and the less numerous Huguenots, Hollanders and Swedes.

As a vivid picture of the character of these pioneers, then struggling toward the Ohio borders, another passage from the same author should be read:

"Thus the backwoodsmen lived on the clearings they had hewed out of the everlasting forest; a grim, stern people, strong and simple, powerful for good and evil, swayed by gusts of stormy passion, the love of freedom rooted in their very heart's core. Their lives were harsh and narrow; they gained their bread by their blood and sweat, in the unending struggle with the wild ruggedness of nature. They suffered terrible injuries at the hands of the red men, and on their foes they waged a terrible warfare in return. They were relentless, revengeful, suspicious, knowing neither ruth nor pity; they were also upright, resolute and fearless, loyal to their friends and devoted to their country. In spite of their many failings, they were of all men the best fitted to conquer the wilderness and hold it against all comers."

To fix a line which these people should not pass became the concern of the British government. The southern superintendent of Indian affairs, treating with the Cherokees, settled upon a boundary which ran south from the mouth of the Kanawha. Sir William Johnson, in January, 1768, was instructed, in effect, to make a treaty extending this line from the Kanawha to Oswego. In May following Croghan conferred with the Ohio Indians at Pittsburg, allaying the soreness of the Shawanees regarding encroachments, and in October Sir Willian Johnson, with representatives from various colonies, met a large

* The Winning of the West, Vol. I.

† As early as the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania, were the Protestant Germans from the Palatinate, of whom James Logan wrote, in 1717, that a great number had poured in. It was feared in 1730 that Pennsylvania would become a German colony. They were, in fact, within a few decades, one-third of the total population. One of them was the pioneer of navigation to the gulf. They did not seek trouble with the red men, but after that danger was past they came west, and very largely monopolized great regions of Ohio. No people have done more to build the prosperity of the State.

assemblage of Iroquois, Delawares and Shawanee deputies in the memorable convention at Fort Stanwix, in New York. The result was that Sir William, recognizing the old claim of the Iroquois to sovereignty over the Ohio valley, purchased from them, for something over £10,000, all the country south of the Ohio river to the Tennessee, the boundary following the Ohio and Alleghany rivers up to Kittaning, and along the west branch of the Susquehanna, and thence across to Oswego. Separate grants were made to Pennsylvania of all the territory claimed by that state west of the Susquehanna, and the old treaties of Lancaster and Logstown were revoked. The king disapproved this treaty, as contrary to the instructions given, but was induced to ratify it in December, 1769, apparently as the best solution of the problem offered by the energy of the frontiersmen, the importunity of the land companies and colonial soldiers, and the claims of the despoiled traders.

About the same time the Mississippi company was formed, in which George Washington was a member, which asked for two and a half million acres of land. Though this failed, Colonel Washington individually obtained patents for over 32,000 acres of land on the Ohio and Kanawha, and went down the Ohio river to survey and mark his domain in 1770. A tract of land embracing about one-fourth of West Virginia was given under the Stanwix treaty to traders in compensation for their losses, which they proposed to settle as a new territory under the name of Indiana. The Walpole company, which succeeded in obtaining a grant, subject to the approval of the Six Nations, was merged in a sort of "trust company," including the old Ohio company of Virginia, which proposed to launch the new province of Vandalia, including all Kentucky west of the mouth of the Scioto, and much of West Virginia. But before this title could be perfected, the Revolution came on, and these land companies became practically extinct.

While none of these schemes directly concerned Ohio land,* they immediately affected the history of Ohio, as the Delawares and Shawanees felt themselves outraged by the sale of Kentucky by the Iroquois, and every new viewer of land set their passions to a tenser pitch. "They view the settlements of the people upon this river with an uneasy and jealous eye," said Washington after his trip down

*The first scheme to settle within the bounds of Ohio was that of an ambitious association of "Yankees," who proposed to the crown and the government of Connecticut in 1755 to establish a colony west of Pennsylvania, to extend indefinitely between the Mississippi river and the Alleghanies. The plan was to allot 300 acres to each grown person who settled, except slaves, and the same area to children when they came of age, at an annual quit rent of two shillings per hundred acres, which should be applied to the support of government, christianizing of Indians, relief of the poor, encouragement of learning and other purposes of public good. In this proposed colony all Protestants of orthodox belief should be eligible to office, but no member of the church of Rome should be allowed to own lands or bear arms.

the Ohio, "and do not scruple to say that they must be compensated for their right, if the people settle thereon, notwithstanding the cession of the Six Nations."

A prominent figure at the Stanwix treaty was Dr. Thomas Walker, of Virginia, who had explored the Cherokee lands south of the Ohio. His pioneer efforts were followed by those of Joseph Martin, and Col. James Smith (a captive in Ohio in 1755-60), and the traders, among them John Finley, who traveled the Warrior's trail from Cumberland gap up toward the mouth of the Scioto. On his return to North Carolina Finley joined with others in forming a party to explore Kentucky. The leader was Daniel Boone, a Pennsylvanian by birth, and a famous chief of hunting parties on the border. After their visit in 1769 the "dark and bloody ground," south of the Ohio river, previously the neutral region of the warring northern and southern Indians, began to be the hunting grounds of adventurous whites who incidentally plundered the Shawanees and Cherokees and were in turn plundered by them, with inevitable killings on each side. Daniel Boone was also a surveyor, and in a few years there were others in the same profession locating lands for themselves or soldiers who had bounty grants. In 1773 Boone made his settlement, not without a battle with Indians, and Simon Kenton, wandering through Kentucky, lost one of his companions, who was burned by the red men at the stake.

These huntings, killings, surveys and settlements south and east of the Ohio meant rankling hostility among the Shawanees and Delawares, and a condition of border warfare was initiated, which continued for twenty years. Into the heart of the tumult the peace-loving Moravians were led by their fate, one might say, though they would have ascribed their continual association with misfortune to the decree of an inscrutable providence. After their disasters in eastern Pennsylvania, the Rev. David Zeisberger, in 1768, sought security in the wilderness and planted a mission on the Alleghany, gaining the friendship of Glickhegan, orator of the Wolf clan of Delawares, who ended in renouncing war and joining with Zeisberger in establishing a mission on the Big Beaver, which was called Friedenstadt. But this "city of peace" the well-meaning missionaries established in a region notorious, from the early days of Logstown, as the headquarters of the most unscrupulous traders and lawless characters, even worse than those the missionaries had suffered from in the more eastern regions. This class spread the rumor that Zeisberger intended to sell his converts to the Cherokees as slaves, and in every possible way increased the irritation caused by the defection of Glickhegan and others from their customary places in tribal life.*

*King's History of Ohio.

Seeking a home yet further west, Zeisberger, in 1771, was hospitably entertained and heard with favor by old Netawatwees, chief of the Turtle tribe of the Delawares, on the Tuscarawas, where Post had attempted a settlement ten years before. In the following year, with the approval of the Wyandots, the United Brethren were invited to come with all their converted Indians in Pennsylvania, and make their home where they might choose in the Muskingum valley. A general council of the church accepted this call, and Zeisberger and some assistants, looking for a location in 1772, decided upon the beautiful and fertile country on the eastern bank of the Tuscarawas, northward from the confluence at the head of Muskingum river, and the Delawares gladly accorded them some miles along the river, between their town and Stillwater creek. Zeisberger and five Indian families entered this haven of rest May 3, 1772, and falling at once to work, soon had fields and gardens cleared and planted, and a town begun, which they called Schœnbrun, about two miles south of the present site of New Philadelphia. In all, more than a hundred Moravian Indians came from Beaver, and they were soon reinforced by a colony from Wyalusing, about two hundred and fifty, led by the Revs. John Etwein and John Heckewelder. The Delawares in these parties congregated at Schœnbrun and the Mohicans founded a new town called Gnadenhütten, seven miles down, reviving the title of the ruined village on the Lehigh. At a later date they built, five miles further down, the town of Salem. But while all were yet assembled together at Schœnbrun, in 1772, the rules of the congregation, which Taylor* calls "the first act of Ohio legislation—the constitution of 1772," was read and accepted by the people. These rules were a simple, brief statement of faith and admonition as to conduct. No more was necessary. The Bible was the constitution, in fact. The missionaries looked after the government, and the helpers (or national assistants), chosen from among the Indian converts, saw that good order was maintained. Certain sorts of people were forbidden to enter or remain, such as murderers, thieves or drunkards, and those who attended dances, sacrifices or heathenish festivals, or used Tshappich (witchcraft) in hunting. All pledged themselves to observe Sunday for rest and worship, renounce "all juggles, lies and deceits of Satan," obey the teachers and helpers, be industrious and peaceful, requite any damage to the property of another, keep out of debt to traders and buy nothing of them on commission without the consent of the national assistants, go not on long journeys or hunts without informing the minister or steward, and cheerfully contribute labor to public work. No intoxicating liquor was to be brought to the towns. Young people were not to marry without the consent of their parents; a man should have but one wife, and a woman but one

*History of Ohio, p. 233.

husband, to whom she should be obedient, taking care of the children and being cleanly in all things. At a later date new rules were made necessary by the war of the Revolution, viz.: "No man inclining to go to war, which is the shedding of blood, can remain with us," and banishing those who should buy things known to be stolen or plundered. These regulations, with other rules regarding church government, regulations for the banishment of individuals (which was the only punishment), control of schools, relief of the needy and burial of the dead, made up the Moravian code of laws.

This most worthy enterprise has been compared to the settlement of the Puritans. "These missions were the primordial establishment of Ohio, as true as that Plymouth was the beginning of Massachusetts," says one of the historians of the State. But the essential difference must be noted, that Schœnbrun and Gnaddenhütten were not settlements of white people but communities of Indian families attended by white teachers. If they had been unmolested, and had continued to be successful as at the start, there would have been founded an Ohio entirely different from that of today. It is therefore only with very sweeping reservations, that one can accept the declaration that "The Moravians may justly be remembered and honored as the pilgrims of Ohio."* Yet they are to be remembered and honored for their patient and loving work, and influence for peace during the Revolution. Their Indians, when they were killed, died Christians. It is hard to say that they wronged the Indians;† it was the white desperado of the border who wronged both Moravian missionary and converted red men; but the doctrine of peace seemed as much out of place wherever the Moravian went, and they tried many places, as it was in the days of the original Apostles.

As has been intimated, there was more in the hostility of the white people to the Moravian missionaries than the rude jealousy of traders who feared a curtailing of the trade in "fire-water." The experience of Christopher Gist when he wished to celebrate Christmas at Coshocton is an example of the religious prejudice on the border, where one would hardly expect it. An interesting glimpse of the situation from the sectarian point of view may be found in the journal of Rev. David Jones, of New Jersey, who visited Schœnbrun soon after its foundation, afterward took trips on the Ohio with George Rogers Clark, and was a chaplain with Anthony Wayne in the Revolution

*King's History of Ohio.

†"No greater wrong can ever be done than to put a good man at the mercy of a bad, while telling him not to defend himself or his fellows; in no way can the success of evil be made surer and quicker; but the wrong was particularly great when at such a time and in such a place the defenseless Indians were thrust between the anvil of their savage red brethren and the hammer of the lawless and brutal white borderers. The awful harvest which the poor converts reaped had in reality been sown for them by their own friends and would-be benefactors."—Roosevelt, "Winning of the West."

and on the Maumee. He went up the Scioto in 1772, to "Kuskinkis;" heard of the "Pickaweeke," near Deer Creek, a Shawanee town, "remarkable for robbers and villainies;" visited "Chillicaathee," also a Shawanee town, and "Conner's" town toward the Muskingum. Noting that the wives of Conner and the Indian chief were in their actions entirely Indian, though white captives from childhood, the good man asked vainly, "Might we not infer from hence that if the Indians were educated as we are, they would be like us?" He stopped at the Whitewoman's town, and the town of Coquethagechton, known as Captain White-Eyes, who was away on a hunt down past the Ohio and toward the gulf of Mexico; and finally reached the head town of Netawatwes, whence the traveler went to the Moravian town, on a high level road, east of the Muskingum, ten miles above Newcomer's town. He observed that neat loghouses had been built, and a good chapel for divine worship. Zeisberger, he noted, "seems an honest man, successful among these poor heathen." But the Reverend Jones saw something to make him forget the good work revealed in log houses, farms and meeting-house. "While I was present he used no kind of prayer, which was not pleasing to me, therefore asked him if that was their uniform practice." Zeisberger "replied that sometimes prayer was used. Their worship began and ended with singing a hymn in the Indian language, which was performed melodiously. In the evening they met again for worship." Again, "An Indian asked the minister when Easter Sunday was." Waiting in breathless expectancy for the answer, Jones thought that Zeisberger hesitated in his presence to discourse about Easter. "My soul was filled with horror," he wrote, "that mortal man should *presume* to teach a heathen religiously to observe what God Almighty never taught him as any part of his will."

Mr. Jones gives us some interesting facts as to the religious aspirations of the Delawares. Captain Killbuck (Gelelemend), a great man in the nation, did not care for the Moravian faith. "It did not signify to be of a religion that could not protect them in war time." Neither would he have Presbyterians in his town, because they went to war against the Indian. It was his intention to go and see the king of England and obtain a minister and schoolmaster of royal choosing, and to this end he had already saved up £40. Opposed by such an ambition, Jones was not encouraged when he asked leave to preach. The head men talked irrelevantly of a Highland officer who had taken one of their women as his wife, and sold her in Maryland as a slave. "What is become of the woman?" they asked, and the good preacher could not answer. Finally, his resources exhausted by the exorbitant prices of food, he gave up his mission and returned home by way of "Weeling."

Wheeling was then a small and recently established settlement

(1772) of a few Virginians, among them Ebenezer Zane, a sturdy pioneer destined to a notable part in the conquest and settlement of Ohio. It was the advance post of the land claimants who were coming over the mountains to possess West Virginia. The Pennsylvanians were more concerned with trade, and between Pennsylvania and Virginia the old quarrel about boundaries had been intensified almost to a state of war. The Canadian authorities also were asking to have the old bounds of Canada established in the upper Ohio valley. In the winter of 1773–74 Dr. John Conolly, a nephew of George Croghan, acting as agent for Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation calling on the inhabitants of the upper Ohio region to meet and organize as Virginia militia. Col. Arthur St. Clair, representing the Pennsylvania proprietors at Pittsburg, put Conolly under arrest and prevented the proposed assemblage, but after his release Conolly returned to Pittsburg in March, 1774, at the head of an armed force; proclaimed the jurisdiction of Virginia, and rebuilt and occupied the old fortification, calling it Fort Dunmore. Here he was visited by Dunmore, and appointed lieutenant and commander in that region.

Conolly was a rash and inconsiderate man, likely to provoke war rather than peace. It was afterward charged that Lord Dunmore desired Indian hostilities in order to distract the attention of his people on the James river from the encroachments of the crown. On the other hand there was also talk that the Pennsylvania traders incited the red men to keep back the settlers, in the interest of border trade, and bought the horses stolen on the Virginia frontier. It was evidently a period of mutual suspicion and rancor, with Pennsylvania near to war with Virginia; the young and reckless in both colonies talking of rebellion against England; the lines between Tory and Patriot coming into being, and anarchy practically prevailing in the region that was the key to the West.

Conolly began sending out word in the spring of 1774 that the Shawanees were not to be trusted. The Mingoes about Logstown stole some horses from the "landjobbers," as Zane called them, and a canoe party from Butler's trading house at Pittsburg was attacked by a few stray Cherokees on the river. The doings of the Mingoes, Iroquois stragglers, and Cherokees, who had no settlement in Ohio, and were the hereditary enemies of the Ohio tribes, should not have incited a general war. But it was easy for Conolly to excite the spirit of hostility along the border. There was a gathering of frontiersmen at Wheeling, in which leading spirits were Michael Cresap, son of the old pioneer of the upper Potomac, and George Rogers Clark, a young Virginian twenty-one years of age, already a famous hunter and rover of the woods, who was following the business of backwoods sur-

veyor.* While they were deliberating about the proper course to pursue, an express from Conolly arrived, stating that war was inevitable and the country should be protected by scouts until it could be fortified. In the words of Clark, "Action was had and war declared in the most solemn manner; and the same evening two scalps were brought into the camp." Zane, down the river making improvements on land he had located, hurried back to Wheeling upon news of trouble, as did others in the same business. He endeavored to dissuade Cresap from his proposition to indiscriminately kill the Indians along the Ohio. Nevertheless, a party of Indians and traders being reported a little way up the river, Cresap led out a party against them, and soon returned with the traders, and blood and bullet holes in the canoe that convinced Zane that the two Indians, friendly people attached to Butler's trading interests, had been murdered and thrown in the river. Next day some Indians, attempting to pass Wheeling unobserved, in their canoes, were chased fifteen miles down the river, driven to land, and attacked, the action resulting in the wounding of several on each side. After this it was proposed to march against the Mingo town, up the river, then the residence of a chief who has ever since been famous in American history. This was Logan, so named by his father Shikellimus, former chief of the Iroquois on the Susquehanna, in honor of James Logan, secretary of the province of Pennsylvania. He had been reared in Pennsylvania, coming into the Ohio region after the advent of the Moravians, had always been a friend of the whites and was regarded by them as a man of superior ability. Judge William Brown, a worthy man of that day in the Juniata region, declared that Logan was the best specimen of humanity he ever met, either white or red.

But after the Wheeling people had marched five miles toward Logan's town, Cresap, according to Clark's narrative, suggested a reconsideration of their purpose. Clark told of his being entertained at Logan's town, a few weeks before. As they discussed the matter, "every person seemed to detest the resolution they had set out with," and the party turned back to Wheeling and took the road to Redstone on the Monongahela. A few days later, thirty or more frontiersmen having gathered at Baker's settlement on the Virginia side of the river, opposite the mouth of Yellow Creek, enticed a party of Mingoes, including five men, a woman or two and a little child, to come across. Greathouse, the white leader, endeavored to make them all drunk, in preparation for a massacre. Some of the red men, who got in that condition, were tomahawked, and the others were shot,

* "He possessed high daring, unflinching courage, passions which he could not control, and a frame fitted to stand any strain of fatigue or hardship. He was a square-built, thick-set man, with high, broad forehead, sandy hair, and unquailing blue eyes that looked out under heavy, shaggy brows."—Roosevelt.

except the baby. Other Indians, who came over from the opposite shore, to the aid of their comrades, were shot in their boats. In the course of the killing all the relatives of Logan were murdered. He charged the crime to Colonel Cresap in his famous speech, at a later date, and the Moravians also heard from the Indians that Cresap was the leader in the affair, but the testimony of Cresap's associates seems to acquit him of more than intending to attack the Mingo town. Other outrages were reported to the people at Schœnbrun, such as the killing of John Gibson's Shawanee wife, and it was told that Cresap and his men threatened to kill and plunder all who went up and down the river. A few of them, doubtless, such as took part in the Yellow Creek massacre, were willing and fitted to become pirates against Indians and traders, whom they hated alike, but the majority were better men, excited to an outburst of vengeance by long-continued wrongs, and by this time regretting the action to which they had been urged by Conolly.

The Mingoes at once sent news of their misfortunes to the other tribes, and set out on the warpath, seeking scalps of white people indiscriminately, both of the Long Knives (Virginians) and of the traders who were entirely innocent. Early in June news arrived of the killing of a family of eight on the Monongahela by Logan's party, and by the end of that month Logan returned to his refuge among the Shawanees with thirteen scalps, declaring he was now satisfied for the loss of his relatives, and would sit still till he heard what the Long Knife would say.* The people at the Moravian mission were in great distress, and feared they must push further into the wilderness in their vain search for a land of peace. But the Delawares set guards about their town, and some of the influential red men associated with them were invited to the great council that Netawatwes called. In this council the Mingoes and Shawanees were urged to keep peace and assured they would have no help from the Delawares; but the Mingoes were excited beyond hope of dissuasion and the Shawanees were ready to answer their appeal for help.

In the warfare they carried along the Pennsylvania and Virginia border, they were aided by young and reckless warriors, yearning for the distinction of winning a scalp—Wyandots, Iroquois, Maumees, and even Delawares. Part of the Shawanees, under the lead of their great chieftain, Cornstalk, for a time endeavored to preserve peace, until, it is said, a safeguard the chief had furnished some traders he

*The prisoners he took were tortured to death at the Shawanee town on the Muskingum, except one, whom Logan saved by adopting in place of a brother killed at Yellow Creek. In July this man wrote at Logan's dictation the famous letter to Captain Cresap: "What did you kill my people on Yellow creek for? . . . I thought I must kill too, and I have been three times to war since; but the Indians are not angry, only myself." Then, crossing the Ohio, he slaughtered a family on Holston creek, and left the note there, tied to a war club.

had rescued from the Mingoes was attacked by order of the treacherous Conolly. A great panic possessed the frontier, and those who did not take refuge in the numerous stockhouses built, fled back over the mountains. The people of the two provinces, at cross purposes, suspected each other of hostile designs, and the organizing of a company of Pennsylvania rangers almost led to hostilities against them by the Virginians. There were many horrible massacres of settlers, much taking of scalps on both sides, many little battles at the stockades or upon the forest trails, south and east of the Ohio.

Conolly, alarmed by the result of his war orders, sought to throw the blame on Cresap, and held councils with the Delawares and Iroquois, who, with similar diplomacy, repudiated the deeds of their young men. The Shawanees, making no promises, boldly charged Conolly with deception. Meanwhile Dunmore was preparing an army to recover the ravaged territory, and in earnest of what should come, Col. Angus McDonald, of a family conspicuous to this day in the Shenandoah valley, commanding four hundred men, marched to Wheeling, built Fort Fincastle, and guided by Jonathan Zane and others, advanced to the Shawanee town of Wakatomica on the Muskingum, which with the others was burned, and the cornfields laid waste. The expedition then retired to Wheeling, having met with no serious resistance.

Lord Dunmore himself organized a force of about fifteen hundred men at Pittsburg, whence he planned to go down the Ohio and unite with the left wing of his army, under Gen. Andrew Lewis, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Lewis, a veteran of the Braddock campaign, now a general of Virginia troops, with about twelve hundred men, including a large number of frontiersmen, and such famous leaders and scouts as Daniel Boone, George Rogers Clark, Michael Cresap and Simon Kenton, advanced from his rendezvous at Lewisburg, Va., to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, to meet the governor, but instead of finding the expected support, after considerable delay received an express from Dunmore by the hand of Simon Girty,* advising him that the two wings of the army should cross the Ohio separately, effect a junction and march against the Scioto villages. As Lewis had left some of his volunteers behind as garrisons, on the understanding that the two wings would unite east of the Ohio, the change in plan increased his danger if the enemy should attack. At the time the despatch was received, the backwoodsmen raised in Fincastle, as the Virginia border county was called, were delayed and had not yet caught up with the main column. Though the officers of the army declared by resolution that Dunmore was in their belief

*Girty was the son of an Irish trader, and was reared by the Indians who killed his father. He was with the colonists in this war, but when the colonies made war on Great Britain, he became a Tory and a leader of Indians for the British.

actuated by "no other motive than the true interests of the country," afterward there was severe criticism of the failure to unite, and it was charged directly that Dunmore hoped for the destruction of Lewis' army. Said one of the officers: "It was evidently the intention of the old Scotch villain to cut off General Lewis' army." To support this view it is pointed out that the first Continental congress met a week before Lewis marched from Lewisburg, and that Conolly and Dunmore had been exerting themselves to bring on war between Pennsylvania and Virginia, as well as an Indian outbreak that would endanger the homes of the border people, and discourage the hope of independence of Great Britain.

The Indians, under the command of Cornstalk, had closely watched and harassed Lewis's movements, and when the white command encamped at Point Pleasant, the warriors concentrated on the Ohio side of the river, intending to attack when the Virginians crossed or lead them into ambush at some fitting place in the interior. But on account of the long delay of the white troops, the Indians, being nearly at the end of their supplies, were compelled to take the offensive. They crossed above the camp, on the night of October 9th, about one thousand strong, and attacked on the morning of the 10th, with the purpose of driving Lewis's troops into the forks of the Kanawha and Ohio and into the rivers. It was a soldierly plan of battle, and gallantly and determinedly carried on. Only the great heroism of the little Colonial army, the flower of the frontier hunters and fighters, saved it from extermination by a smaller force led by an abler general. The battle raged without much advantage from sunrise to about noon, when the flank attack of the Indians was repulsed and they were flanked successfully in turn, and it became possible to bring the whites into a connected line. Then the colonials pushed forward, and a fight from tree to tree continued until dark, when Cornstalk retreated across the river without molestation. It was one of the greatest battles fought against whites by the red men, and about the only considerable engagement in which the whites did not outnumber the Indians two to one or more. According to the best authorities the Indian loss in life was about forty, while the casualties of Lewis's command were seventy-five dead and one hundred and forty wounded, a total of twenty per cent of his force engaged. Among the killed and wounded were seventeen officers, including Colonel Lewis, brother of the general, and Colonel Field; while the red men lost none of their chiefs, though these were at the front, and their voices, it is said, were often heard urging the warriors, "Be strong, be strong!"

Cornstalk, having failed to cut off one wing of the invaders of Ohio, retreated into the forests, and Dunmore, after building a stockade just above the mouth of Hockhocking, called Fort Gower, ascended the Hocking river without resistance and encamped on

Sippo creek, in view of the Pickaway plains. Offers of peace having been received from Shawanee chiefs, Lewis was ordered to remain where he was, but that commander had no disposition so to do, and advanced into Ohio as far as Congo creek, within striking distance of Chillicothe, the principal Shawanee village.* The Virginians, led by Lewis, were for destroying these Indian homes. Dunmore, to enforce his orders for a halt, was compelled to draw his sword on the impetuous victor of Point Pleasant, and it was with difficulty that Lewis restrained his men from attacking Dunmore and his Indian escort. Cornstalk, meanwhile, was asking his head men in council what they desired to do. He had not advised the war, but had done his best to repel invasion. Now he proposed, as a test of sentiment, to kill all the women and children and fight until every warrior was dead, but receiving no answer, he struck his tomahawk in a post, and declared he would go and make peace, which received hearty approval.

The council that was held by the earl of Dunmore, at Camp Charlotte, is one of the most famous in American history, not only for the presence of Cornstalk, who impressed his hearers as a man of grand and majestic presence, and an orator surpassing any they had ever heard,† but also for the delivery by letter of that remarkable address of Logan's, that Thomas Jefferson declared was unsurpassed by any passage in the orations of Demosthenes, Cicero, or any orator of Europe. Logan refused to attend the council, but John Gibson, the interpreter, in later years a general under Washington, visited him, and the Indian chief, after sitting silently in tears for some time, delivered the speech which Gibson wrote down and recited to the council. Jefferson endeavored to embellish it, and his version is the one that was for many years printed in the school books of the race that conquered. The earlier version, probably nearest correct, deserves to be quoted:

"I appeal to any white man to say that he ever entered Logan's cabin but I gave him meat; that he ever came naked but I clothed him. In the course of the last war‡ Logan remained in his cabin an advocate for peace. I had such an affection for the white people, that I was pointed at by the rest of my nation. I even should have lived with them, had it not been for Colonel Cresap, who last year cut off in cold blood all the relations of Logan, not sparing women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it—I have killed many, and fully glutted my revenge. I am glad that there is a prospect of peace, on account of the nation; but I beg you will not entertain a thought that anything I have said proceeds from

*This was at the present site of Westfall, near Circleville.—Taylor's Ohio.
†Such was the description of Colonel Wilson, of Dunmore's staff.
‡War of 1763-64.

fear. Logan disdains the thought. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? No one!"

This speech put upon Cresap forever the stigma of the Yellow creek murders, in spite of his protestations and the probability of his innocence of the actual deed. At the council, after Logan's speech was read, Clark taunted his friend with being so important a man that all the great deeds were charged to his account, and Cresap swore he had a mind to avenge Logan by tomahawking Greathouse.*

Dunmore seems to have made an arrangement with the Shawanees confirming the Ohio river as a boundary. Then the earl retreated, with no permanent gain but a fort at Point Pleasant. Fort Gower was not occupied again by American troops until Josiah Harmar came there in 1790.

Next year Dunmore was to meet the Indians at Pittsburg for a treaty, but by that time the new order of things in America had too far progressed to leave him power in affairs. Even as his army marched back, the officers held a meeting at Fort Gower and adopted resolutions of sympathy with the Continental congress. They had been three months in the wilderness, and feared their service under an English nobleman and representative of the crown might be misinterpreted. Their resolution, framed in Ohio, November 5, 1774, and afterward published in the Virginia Gazette, foreshadowed the declaration of independence:

"Resolved, That we will bear the most faithful allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third, whilst his Majesty delights to reign over a free people; that we will at the expense of life and everything dear and valuable exert ourselves in support of the honor of his crown and the dignity of the British Empire. But as the love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen."

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*After this treaty Logan fell into a deep melancholy, from which he never revived. He declared frequently that life was a burden, and that it had been better he were never born. Like George Rogers Clark and other famous frontiersmen, he yielded to the seductions of strong drink. Finally, while sitting before a fire, somewhere along the Maumee river, his head between his hands, an Indian enemy stole upon him, and buried a tomahawk in his brain.

CHAPTER IV.

OHIO IN THE REVOLUTION.

The Quebec Act—The Attitude of the Indians—Murder of Cornstalk—Kentucky Raids—George Rogers Clark and His Campaigns—Vincennes and Fort Laurens—Battle on Mad River—Cessions of Northwest Territory—Moravian Removal and Massacre—Crawford's Invasion.

THE YEAR 1774 is memorable, not only for Dunmore's campaign and the first Continental congress, but for an ordinance of parliament extending the jurisdiction of the government at Quebec over Ohio and the Northwest. This "Quebec Act" had an important influence upon future events. It was a formal reiteration of the proclamation of 1763, a decree of the sovereign power that the Northwest was not to be the backyard of the colonies, or the field of their expanding energies, or a place of refuge from the petty tyrannies of colonial governors, but an Indian reserve, under the control of the Canadian military. It was to maintain this status of Ohio, also to cut off the importation of military supplies from Spain by way of the Ohio river, that Great Britain used the Indians against the western frontier through the war of the Revolution. Another feature of the bill, fulfilling the pledges of the treaty of 1763, was that the French inhabitants of the West, as well as of Quebec, were assured of religious liberty and their accustomed judicial methods. This roused "a prodigious cry" in England, for "religious liberty" meant a Catholic province. "Does not your blood run cold," said Hamilton, "to think that an English parliament could pass an act for the establishment of arbitrary power and popery in such an extensive country?" The American congress protested that the bill was but the first step in reducing "the ancient, free, Protestant colonies to the same state of slavery," and the Quebec bill was one of the evils complained of in the declaration of independence, but in language very much modified, because the colonists had found that

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their outcry against "popery" kept the Canadians from joining in the Revolution.*

Within a few weeks after the battle of Lexington (June, 1775), the Iroquois nation renewed its ancient league with Great Britain, and turned against the insurgent colonials, under the leadership of the great Mohawk chief, Thayendanegea, better known as Joseph Brant, whose sister was the recognized wife of Sir William Johnson after the death of the first Lady Johnson. But before Conolly could effect his purpose of organizing the Ohio tribes, and marching to the support of Lord Dunmore, he was arrested and imprisoned. The Delawares had been kept from hostilities during the Dunmore war through the influence of Glickhegan and other Moravians and the famous White-Eyes, though there was a strong war party under the leadership of an Indian called Captain Pipe. This tribe and a large party of the Shawanees were for neutrality in the new war, and they heard with favor the representations made to them of the justness of the colonial cause by Benjamin Franklin and Patrick Henry, commissioners appointed by Congress to take charge of the Indian affairs in the Ohio region. The commissioners met representatives of the Shawanees and Delawares at Pittsburg, in the fall of 1775, and the council was enlivened by the spirited reply of White-Eyes to some Senecas who reminded him of the old subordination of his people to the Iroquois. He declared that he had thrown off the petticoats and was a man, and in behalf of his nation claimed dominion of all the country west of the Alleghany. This determined attitude of White-Eyes, at the expense of his popularity with a large faction of his people, is directly traceable to the influence of the United Brethren missions. When he returned to the Muskingum he was severely censured by Captain Pipe, who withdrew to his town on the Wahlhonding, and by the Muncie tribe, a relic of the ancient Andastes, who repaired to the Sandusky region, within the British influence. Netawatwes, supported by White-Eyes, Killbuck and Big Cat, established a new capital at Goshgoshgunk (Coshocton), and in 1776 the new Moravian colony of Lichtenau was established three miles below the forks at the head of the Muskingum. This was soon followed by the death of Netawatwes, but White-Eyes, who succeeded him, continued to hold most of the Delawares in friendship for the Moravians and the United Colonies.

For these reasons, it may be observed that the quiet teachings of the missionaries were more potent than the war of Dunmore, in saving the struggling colonies from Indian war in the west for two years. It is also to be remembered that the influence of Kirkland, a Moravian missionary in the east, detached the Oneidas and Tuscarawas from the war pact of the British and Iroquois. In these efforts for

*Winsor's "Westward Movement."

peace the Delawares and the better part of the Shawanees had a tireless and faithful co-worker in Col. George Morgan, Indian agent for the middle department.

But this work was not done by the Christian Indians without serious danger. In 1777 a hostile party of two hundred Wyandots, provoked by the refusal of the Delawares to take the war belt, descended upon the town at Coshocton. Then Glickhegan gained a remarkable victory by strategy hitherto unknown in Ohio. The visitors were stuffed with food at banquets, taken to visit the schoolhouses, and loaded with all the provisions they could carry. Pamoacan, the chief, went home declaring that the white brethren were his fathers, and the Delawares should rest in peace.

It was impossible, however, to counteract the intrigues of Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-governor of Quebec province south of the lakes. He was ordered in the fall of 1776 to enlist the Indians in the war of the British king against his rebellious subjects, and great councils were held at his headquarters, at Detroit, which were ominous to the safety of the colonial border. The Wyandots, lords of Ohio, needed little urging. The peace party of the Delawares and Shawanees could not restrain all their warriors. In the spring of 1777 Gov. Patrick Henry, of Virginia, determined to send an expedition to chastise a hostile band on the upper Scioto, but was dissuaded from the enterprise by the remonstrance of Colonel Morgan. At that time, according to Morgan, the county-lieutenants of Monongahela and Ohio seemed to have conspired to provoke Indian hostilities. Friendly Delawares had been fired upon, and there was danger that the foolish performances of a part of the white population, as uncontrollable as young Indian braves longing for the first scalp, would drive the red nations to war. White men, as well as Indians, were divided. A large proportion of the population, known as Tories, were ready upon opportunity to intrigue or fight in the British interest. Between them and the patriots, on the border and elsewhere, there was a conflict that lacked little, aside from scalping and the torture by fire, of resemblance to Indian warfare.

Another event at this period, fatal to peace, was the murder of Cornstalk, who, since the Dunmore war, had stood between the settlers of Kentucky and West Virginia and the thirst of the warriors for revenge. Cornstalk had gone from his Scioto home to Point Pleasant to warn the commandant that the Shawanees were being drawn into war, and his tribe must be protected, or he must yield his desires for peace. Thereupon Captain Arbuckle detained him as a hostage. Some days later Cornstalk was joined by his son, Ellinipsico, anxious regarding his father's long absence. Next followed the killing of a ranger who went out hunting. Though Cornstalk was there for the express purpose of warning against such hostilities, the dead soldier's comrades, headed by Capt. John Hall, made a rush

to kill him in revenge. To Ellinipsico, who was agitated for a moment, for he was young, the old chief said, "My son, the Great Spirit has sent you here that we may die together," and, turning, he calmly received the bullets of his murderers. His son, encouraged by such manliness, sat still, gazing calmly at the mob until he was shot dead.*

By August, 1777, Hamilton, having formed a confederation of the Northwestern nations against the colonies, had sent out fifteen parties to ravage the frontier. With each he sent white officers and rangers. Many prisoners were carried to Detroit, and were there decently treated. But there were also bloody and horrible deeds, from which the white leaders did not seem able to restrain their savage raiders. Scalps carried to Detroit, were paid for, a shocking, but not a new feature of war in America. In the early part of September a party of Wyandots, Mingoes and Shawanees and Detroit rangers carrying the British flag, besieged Fort Henry, at Wheeling, and drawing out the garrison into an ambush, killed or wounded twenty-six. The few men who remained, under the leadership of Ebenezer Zane, were called upon by a British officer to surrender and acknowledge the sovereignty of the king, but they preferred to fight, and, aided by the heroic women who were with them, successfully withstood the assaults of the enemy.

In the spring of 1778 Hamilton's force of subordinate commanders was conspicuously strengthened by the arrival in Ohio of Alexander McKee, Indian agent for the crown, who escaped from imprisonment at Pittsburg, or broke his parole, and brought with him Matthew Elliott, an Indian trader who had been negotiating with both sides, and "two of the name of Girty," one of whom is supposed to be Simon Girty, though tradition has him in command of the attack on Fort Henry. Simon Girty, who now returned to the forest to support the cause of his adopted fathers, the Senecas, was thereafter the inveterate and merciless foe of the American people. There is no darker name in the history of Ohio. The word picture of him left by a prisoner in the Indian country seems to justify tradition. "His dark, shaggy hair; his low forehead, his brows contracted and meeting above his short flat nose; his gray, sunken eyes, averting the ingenuous gaze, his lips thin and compressed, and the dark and sinister expression of his countenance, to me seemed the very picture of a villain."†

*Roosevelt, though frequently insisting that the whites were justified in their wars, and were more sinned against than sinning, calls this a "brutal and cowardly butchery," "one of the darkest stains on the checkered pages of frontier history," and declares that "we have no record of any more infamous deed."

†There were four Girtys—Simon, George, Thomas, and James—reared in different tribes after they had witnessed the burning of their parents at the stake. Simon was not incapable of human conduct. He left the Senecas

According to the Moravian narrative these refugees from Pittsburg very nearly involved the Christian Indians in war. It was after the British occupation of Philadelphia, and McKee and his companions assured the Delawares that General Washington had been killed and the American armies cut to pieces, that the Congress was to be hung, and the Americans no longer held any territory except the mountains, whence they were descending to kill the Indians without sparing women or children. The party of Captain Pipe was greatly encouraged; most of the Delawares prepared for the war path, and it was with some danger to his own life that White-Eyes secured a delay of ten days to hear from Morgan. Fortunately John Heckewelder was at Pittsburg when the messenger of the chief arrived, and he hastened back with news to dispel for the time the falsehoods of the conspirators. Though his people hardly dare shake his hand when they greeted him at Lichtenau, for fear of the war party, he was able to assure them of the unshaken friendship of their American brothers, and tell them of the surrender of the army of General Burgoyne. It appears from Heckewelder's narrative that the great event at Saratoga, of date October 17, 1777, was first known in the Muskingum valley when he brought the word in February, 1778. The effect of the surrender was to strengthen the Indian peace party both directly and indirectly, for it was the signal for recognition of American independence by France, and the change of the French trading interest in the West to hostility to Great Britain.

At this time and for several years afterward the history of Ohio was closely associated with that of Kentucky, the land of the most western American settlements. A large part of the adventurous pioneers came to their selected homes in the "meadow land," down the Ohio river, but at the risk of death at the hands of hostile bands of Shawanees and Cherokees. It is a remarkable fact, due to this hostility, that the greater number of early settlers of the state across the river came by what Daniel Boone called the "Wilderness road," the great Warrior's trail through Cumberland gap, which the red men of the North and South had used for many years in their hereditary forays. This trail was continued north through Ohio along the Scioto, taking advantage of the water transportation on the way to form a desirable route to and from Sandusky bay on Lake Erie. In 1776, though in the midst of continual Indian hostilities, the Ken-

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to live in western Pennsylvania, but being a tory, went to the Sandusky river and established a trading post. He is credited with saving Simon Kenton from torture. He was killed in 1813, in Proctor's defeat on the river Thames. James, adopted by the Shawanees, seems to have been an unmitigated monster in his Kentucky raids. George, reared by the Delawares, was a thorough Indian warrior all his life. These three were desperate drunkards, a common vice on the frontier. Thomas, on the other hand, after escaping from the Indians, became a good citizen.—See Perkins' Annals of the Northwest.

tucky pioneers, led by George Rogers Clark, grew tired of government as an appendage of Fincastle county, Virginia, and in convention selected two delegates, one of whom was Clark, to treat with the Virginia government for organization as a separate county. This, it appears, was a compromise demand, not altogether agreeable to Clark, who urged the erection of an independent state. He was one of the delegates and was able to put so convincingly the independent attitude of the Kentuckians toward the war with England, that, to save the region for Virginia, the council spared the frontiersmen 500 pounds of powder, and the legislature erected the county of Kentucky in the fall of 1776. Following this came the Indian outbreak, general and vigorous after the murder of Cornstalk. A great part of the hostilities were directed against the settlements in Kentucky, for the purpose of their extermination, and were carried on to a considerable extent by the Shawanees of the Miami and Mad river valleys, whose principal towns were Chillicothe, near the present site of Zenia; Piqua, seven miles west of Springfield, and Upper and Lower Piqua in what is now Miami county.

In February, 1778, Daniel Boone and twenty-seven others were captured at the Blue Licks, and carried to Detroit, where all were detained as prisoners save Boone, whom the Indians adopted and married to the widow of a fallen warrior. While he was playing Indian in Ohio the famous campaign was planned against Vincennes.

Early in 1778, Congress determined to make a campaign against Detroit, in order to stop British intrigue in the west and relieve the border of Indian hostilities. An army of two converging columns was planned, each fifteen hundred strong, one to advance by the Kanawha, and the other from Pittsburg. To the command of the latter division was assigned Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, of Georgia, an able officer, experienced in fighting Southern Indians and the Spanish of Florida. Recently he had become involved in a quarrel with President Gwinnett, of the Georgia council, concerning a luckless invasion of Florida, and in the inevitable duel that followed Gwinnett lost his life. To quiet the dissensions in Georgia, McIntosh was transferred to the north. In the spring of 1778 he was able to advance with about five hundred men, and at the mouth of Beaver river erect the fort which bore his name. The southern column was never organized, and the whole enterprise failed. The maintenance of an army of three thousand men at that distance from the coast, at an estimated cost of over $600,000, was beyond the power of the states.

Before this, George Rogers Clark had planned an expedition against the posts in the Illinois country, and spies he sent there had reported a possibility of success, as the French inhabitants were not warm in support of Great Britain. Seeking help in Virginia, secretly, he found that little could be given him, but Thomas Jeffer-

son and others promised to induce the legislature to reward with grants of land the men he might enlist. He was given the commission of colonel, and a little money and military supplies. After struggling with many difficulties and discouragements, all the time keeping his object a secret, he came down the river from Pennsylvania with one hundred and fifty soldiers and some families of settlers, part of whom made the first homes of white people at Louisville. There he met a small party of Virginians that had come over the Wilderness road, but most of them turned back home when told of the campaign proposed. Clark was much encouraged, however, by receiving news of the French alliance. This would give him prestige at his destination, where the population was almost entirely Creole. With about two hundred men Clark set out from Louisville June 24th, on his daring campaign. He had no trouble in surprising and capturing Kaskaskia and its powerful fort, commanded by a Frenchman, Philip Rocheblave, and St. Philips and Cahokia likewise, and he gained the confidence of the French so thoroughly that they enlisted under his flag, and a French priest arranged a revolt of the people at Vincennes and the hoisting of the American colors without Clark's assistance. All that country, in the summer of 1778, was organized as the county of Illinois, of the state of Virginia, with the consent of the inhabitants.

The center of the British power for the whole of the province of Quebec, northwest of the river Ohio, was Detroit, which Clark was far from approaching. His was rather a flank movement, while the direct campaign was to be made by the Continental army. In the midst of this activity Hamilton was not idle. While Clark was moving against the Mississippi river posts, Boone, a prisoner in the Scioto valley, discovered that a large expedition of Shawanees and Maumees was about to invade Kentucky, under the command of Capt. Daignian de Quindre, a Detroit partisan. Boone made his escape, and in August, during the delay of the anticipated invasion, made a raid into the Scioto valley to Paint Creek. He was able to return just in time to aid his neighbors in the defense of Boonesborough during a ten days' siege by De Quindre's force. Then followed the famous expedition of Simon Kenton and two friends into Ohio to capture horses. George Clark alone escaped, and Kenton, a famous hunter, runner and wrestler, tall, light-haired, like a Norseman, generally kind, but sometimes a very Berseker, was carried about among the Ohio towns, condemned to torture. Though saved from death by Simon Girty and the Mingo chief, Logan, he was cruelly abused and compelled to run the gauntlet eight times.

McIntosh, meanwhile, could collect only a thousand men, and perforce abandoned the long march to Detroit. He did much good, however, by treating with the Indians. In September, 1778, he succeeded in bringing together at Fort Pitt the mutually hostile chiefs

of the Delawares, White-Eyes, Killbuck and Pipe, and an elaborate treaty was made, of great historical interest. For the purpose of proving the friendship of the United States, there were guaranteed to the Delaware nation and its heirs, "in the fullest and most ample manner," all the territorial rights defined by former treaties, and it was agreed that the Delawares should invite other tribes to join with them to form a confederacy and State, with the Delawares at the head, which should have a representative in the Continental congress. This proposition was the one most favorable to the Indian ideas of national dignity and independence ever made. Perhaps it was so favorable because the Iroquois had just shown their deadly hostility to the United States by the famous massacre of Wyoming (July, 1778), in which American Tories were more savage than their red allies. Under the authority of this treaty McIntosh advanced into Ohio over the great trail in October without opposition, and built a stockade on the Tuscarawas river, near the mouth of Sandy creek. This he named in honor of his friend, Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, and garrisoned with 150 men under Col. John Gibson. Thus, while Clark was establishing a Virginia county in Illinois and Indiana, through the favor of the French, McIntosh made a lodgment in the British domain for the purpose of building up a Delaware state, subordinate to the United States.

There had already been an encroachment of frontiersmen on the northwest banks of the Ohio, in spite of all the hostilities. It is said that there were improvements below the Hockhocking as early as 1776. In the latter part of 1778 there were at least a dozen settlements on the west side of the Ohio, some of them with considerable population. Adventurers appropriated the salt springs in what is now Mahoning county, selling the product at six dollars a bushel. At Mingo Bottom was a notable settlement under the domination of one Ross, and at Mercertown the little settlement had elected two justices of the peace and were attempting to live under legal forms though in illegal possession of the land. The presence of these "squatters" gave the Indians warrant for hostilities, and Colonel Harmar, commanding on the Ohio, sent a detachment to remove the pioneers. Sixty of them signed a petition for permission to remain over winter, and some made a show of armed resistance. Ross and a few others were seized and imprisoned, but he was again in possession of his claim in a short time, and in the following years many new "squatters" built their cabins in the northern Ohio valley and marked their claims with tomahawks on the trees.

McIntosh's advance was too late to make a diversion in favor of Clark. Earlier in the same month Hamilton had collected a force of British regulars and Detroit French, nearly two hundred strong, to drive out the daring Kentuckians. Going in boats across the end of Lake Erie and up the Maumee, they descended the Wabash to

Vincennes, and compelled the surrender of Captain Helm, who was left alone by the fickleness of his Creole militia. Not venturing further on account of the approach of winter, Hamilton waited at Vincennes, while his Indian allies confronted the American advance from the east, capturing seventeen men at Fort Laurens, and reducing the garrison almost to the point of starvation. But Fort Laurens was reinforced, and the indomitable Clark, daring the impossible, set out from Kaskaskia, waded for mile after mile through the icy floods of the Wabash, and forced the capitulation of Hamilton and his troops at Vincennes, February 24, 1779.

For a while, therefore, the military of the United States held portions of the Northwest territory against the British, but a glance of the map will show how comparatively small these possessions were. The occupation was not long continued in the east. Fort Laurens was abandoned by the starving garrison in August, 1779, and even Fort McIntosh was evacuated. Clark's western posts were occupied by a few Americans in all three years, until the latter part of 1781, when they too were abandoned for lack of sustenance. Within this time (1780) the French inhabitants (under La Balme) made an expedition of their own against Detroit, but got no further than the Maumee river, where the Indians fell upon and destroyed the party.

The abandonment of Fort Laurens, the death of White-Eyes in 1778, and the resignation of Indian Agent Morgan, whom the Delawares had called Tamanend (Tammany), in evidence of their love for him, left that nation at the mercy of the war party in Ohio. Killbuck, the temporary chief, with a few who remained peacefully inclined among the warriors, were compelled to take refuge near Pittsburg, and the Moravian Indians were abandoned to their enemies. Yet, though they were accused, and probably with truth, of informing Pittsburg of the hostile movements planned by the British, the Moravians, concentrated at and near Gnadenhütten, on the Tuscarawas, were not seriously molested during 1780 and a great part of 1781. These were years memorable in their quiet chronicles for the arrival of a sister, Sarah Ohneburg, her marriage to John Heckewelder, and the birth (April 13, 1781), of their daughter, Mary.*

Meanwhile hostilities continued along the Ohio. In May, 1779, a party of three hundred Kentuckians, under the county lieutenant, John Bowman, made a dash at the Chillicothe of Greene county, but

*This was said for some time to be the first white child born in Ohio, but John Lewis Roth, son of another Moravian missionary, was born at Gnaddenhütten, July 4, 1773. History also records the fact that among the prisoners recovered by Bouquet was a Virginian woman and her baby, born in captivity. Doubtless other white children were born earlier to white men connected with the trading posts, who married white women brought into Ohio as captives. In 1754, it is said, a child was born to a French officer and his white wife, at Fort Junandat.

was repulsed by the Shawanees, losing nine killed. The Ohio river was the great channel of communication and transportation between Pittsburg, a military base of the Revolution and the friendly Spanish of New Orleans, where Oliver Pollock was looking after the purchase of military supplies, in emergency drawing on France and persuading the Spanish governor to cash his obligations. It was of course essential that the commandant at Detroit should guard this river with his savage soldiery, and such was the cause of many of the so-called massacres. Maj. David Rogers and seventy men, toiling up the river with powder and lead from New Orleans in the fall of 1779, were lured to shore near the mouth of the Licking, and while a few Indians pretended to offer the soldiers a chance to take scalps, a larger party closed in around them, and more than half the whites were killed.

The famous "hard winter" followed, in which rivers froze so completely that animals died of thirst, and the snow was so deep that men could not hunt, much less make war. In a milder clime, however, the Spanish of New Orleans began war on the British along the lower Mississippi and gulf coast.

Soon afterward Spain informed the United States, through Minister Jay, not only that she proposed to conquer and hold the Floridas, but that the United States had no rights on the Mississippi river, and Spain expected to make "a permanent conquest" of the lands between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi reserved by the Royal proclamation of 1763. This would include Ohio and the country occupied by George Rogers Clark. From this time, though Spain made war on England apparently in aid of the United States, England was really an ally of the United States in saving the Northwest from Spanish dominion.

Early in 1780, while General Washington was planning a campaign by Clark and Brodhead against Detroit, General Haldimand, in Canada, arranged for a combined movement that should at least take Kaskaskia from the Americans and St. Louis from the Spanish. The American campaign did not progress further than the sending of a party of scouts over Ohio toward Sandusky, which Brodhead hoped to march against, but soon abandoned even that project for lack of soldiers. The British movement was earlier afoot and drew Clark to the Mississippi river. It was a great campaign, on paper, that Arent Schuyler de Peyster,* the new commandant at Detroit, now entered upon. While General Campbell, from Pensacola, sailed up the Mississippi, Sinclair with fifteen hundred Indians would march on St. Louis, and another large body of Indians under Langlade would take Kaskaskia. To amuse Clark, meanwhile, a

*De Peyster was a New York tory, lately in command at Mackinac. He was popularly supposed to be less bloodthirsty than Hamilton, but the policy of both was the same, as dictated by their superior officers.

large war party, under Capt. Henry Bird, including six hundred Indians, some Canadians, and a few pieces of artillery, with Elliott and the Girties and Chief Logan, marched southward through Ohio, and other war parties traversed the state to the east. But in every direction the ambitious campaign collapsed. The Spanish successes in the south put an end to English aggression there, and the reluctance of the Indians to fight Clark saved St. Louis and Kaskaskia. Bird invaded the Licking valley of Kentucky in June and captured two stockades, and then suddenly retreated to Detroit, leaving his cannon at the trading post on the Miami.

To avenge this invasion and destroy the rendezvous of the British forces in the Miami valley, George Rogers Clark, having returned from Illinois, practically made himself dictator of Kentucky, and by vigorous measures collected a force of a thousand men. Early in August, 1780, they concentrated at the site of Cincinnati, one wing, under Col. Benjamin Logan, coming down the Licking, and the other up the Ohio from the falls. The march into the Little Miami country was made with such precaution against surprise that no resistance was encountered, and when Chillicothe was reached, that Massie Creek town was found abandoned and in flames. On the 8th the army approached the Pickaway town on Mad river,* where Simon Girty and one of his brothers, and several hundred warriors were encamped. Clark with his main body crossed the river, while Colonel Logan kept up stream to cross in the rear of the village, and did not get in the fight. The warriors were apparently taken by surprise by Clark's rapid advance, but while falling back toward their village, part of them, led by Simon Girty, gallantly contested the advance of the Kentuckians. From one account it appears that the red men made a determined stand in a prairie grown up with high weeds, and attempted to flank their enemy, compelling Clark to extend his line for nearly a mile. Girty afterward said that if he had had three hundred men he could have won a victory. Finally Clark's command pushed its way up to the town, with the three-pounder cannon, dislodged the Indians in the blockhouse, and about sunset the Kentuckians had command of the field, the Indians having drawn off with a loss of six or eight killed. The loss of Clark's force was seventeen killed and many wounded.† The straggling Indian town, stretching for three miles along the river, was utterly destroyed, and the corn fields devastated. The campaign was a decided success, winning some months of quiet for Kentucky, and greatly increasing the military fame of General Clark.

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*This was a famous Shawanee town, on the north side of Mad river, about five miles west of the site of Springfield, and was the birth-place of Tecumseh.

†This brief account of an important battle is based on Taylor's history, and the reports of McKey to Detroit, as quoted by Roosevelt.

Though all these events fell far short of conquest of Ohio and the Northwest, it was already the settled policy of the states in revolution to claim and hold the country, by virtue of the ancient charters from sea to sea, and as necessary for protection from Indian hostilities. But at this period the policy of expansion threatened to dissolve the weak alliance of the states, instead of strengthening it. The trouble was mainly due to the enormous claims of Virginia, under the charter of 1609 to the "Company of Adventurers and Planters." Virginia would hold Kentucky, and take Ohio and all the Northwest, under the description, "up into the mainland throughout, from sea to sea, west and northwest." Though this charter was annulled in 1624, though France for a long time held adverse possession, though Great Britain annexed the country to Quebec province, though Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina had been chartered in disregard of the charter of 1609, Virginia reasserted its validity in the west when she formed her first independent government, at the beginning of the revolution.* Maryland immediately remonstrated, and made it the principal business of her statesmen to demand that the West should be dedicated to the people of all the states. The failure to agree about the future of Ohio delayed the declaration of independence and postponed the completion of the Confederacy for several years.

Stoutly adhering to her claim, Virginia opened a land office for the sale of western lands in 1779, whereupon the other states protested and the old land companies added their remonstrances. Though the settlement of Kentucky as a Virginia county was inevitable, attempted settlements north and west of the Ohio were broken up by the Continental military.

Congress appealed to the states to sacrifice their western claims for the common good, and avert dissensions that threatened to separate the people into warring factions. New York, claiming title through cession of the Iroquois conquerors, first yielded, on condition that the west should be for the common benefit of all states that should join the proposed confederacy. Congress thereupon in October, 1780, adopted the first great declaration regarding the future of Ohio and the Northwest. This was "a pledge on the part of congress that the lands ceded in pursuance of its recommendations should be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States; be settled and formed into distinct states, with a suitable extent of territory; and become members of the Federal union, with the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence, as the other states; that the expenses incurred by any state in subduing British posts, and in the acquisition

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*An elaborate argument to show that Virginia had no title to the country west of the Alleghany mountains was made by Samuel Finley Vinton, of Gallipolis, in a fugitive slave case, tried at Richmond, Va., in December, 1845.

and defense of the territory, should be reimbursed; and that the lands ceded should be granted and settled agreeably to regulations to be afterwards agreed upon in congress."*

Congress postponed the acceptance of the New York cession to October, 1782, and this action was soon followed by propositions of cession from Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut. Virginia made conditions, asking Congress to guarantee her right to Kentucky, which Congress refused to do. Connecticut also made conditions. But the necessity for union overwhelmed the disposition to dicker, and, leaving the various propositions to a committee of Congress, the first Union was completed, with all cessions unaccepted, by Maryland signing the articles of confederation, March 1, 1781.

It will be observed that Congress refused to guarantee Virginia's title to Kentucky, and Virginia joined in the confederacy on the basis of the resolution of 1780, which did not admit her title to the conquest of General Clark, but offered to remunerate her for the expense of the same. The real scope of Clark's conquest should be understood. It is often said that that gallant pioneer and brave soldier took possession of the Northwest, and by virtue of this England was forced to cede the land at the close of the war, because the United States already possessed it. For a typical statement of the doctrine, we may cite an able southern author: "At the suggestion and under the guidance of her distinguished citizen, Gen. George Rogers Clark, Virginia organized an expedition composed of Virginia soldiers, in Virginia pay, without assistance from the United States, expelled the British from the territory, and held it at the close of the war, in the name of the State."†

Clark's expedition was, it may be suggested, his own enterprise, sustained by the frontiersmen, as far up the river as Pittsburg. The distinctively Virginia troops deserted before he left Louisville. But as he held a commission from Virginia and organized the country he occupied as a Virginia county, Virginia has the honor of the conquest, and her men of national spirit, like Thomas Jefferson, deserve eternal credit for sustaining the effort of the gallant western patriot. But the truth should be borne in mind, that the occupation would have been altogether impossible without the aid of the French and Spanish. Clark's success should be considered as one of the sequences of the French alliance with the United States, and the Spanish friendship for France. He could not have held the few posts he took, for a month, without the countenance of the French and the financial support of the Spanish, both of which were given to the United States, though technically on the account of Virginia. Oliver Pollock, agent of the United States at New Orleans, and Vigo,

*The synopsis given by Salmon P. Chase. See Perkins' Annals of the West, p. 239.

†William R. Garrett, "The South in Territorial Expansion."

the Spanish merchant of the Illinois country, bankrupted themselves in raising funds for Clark, Pollock alone advancing $90,000 in specie. Furthermore, it is far from the fact to say that Clark "expelled the British from the territory." To the close of the war he was anxious to do that by taking Detroit, but was unable to collect a sufficient army. The Spanish went nearer the only important seat of British power when they destroyed the post at St. Joseph, Mich. But the British hold upon all the territory northwest of the river Ohio, except the Egypt of Illinois, and the vicinity of Vincennes, continued unshaken until after the close of the Revolutionary war.

In the fall of 1780 the campaign against Detroit was again projected. Clark, commissioned a brigadier-general of Virginia, was authorized by Gov. Thomas Jefferson to organize an army to march by way of the Miami valley, and reinforcements for him were ordered by General Washington from Pittsburg. Colonel Daniel Brodhead, the successor of McIntosh, was at the same time meditating an advance on Detroit by the great trail. Thus threatened, it was proper, from a military standpoint, that Major De Peyster should desire the Moravian settlement, with its abundant commissary, removed from a position where it would serve as a base of supplies for an invading army. While the British were impelled to destroy the Moravian missions, the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiersmen were no less hostile. Though the Christian Indians were practically allies of the Americans, they fed perforce the war parties of either side, and to that extent their settlement was, as the border rangers called it, "a half-way house for the British." The peace-loving people were the victims of circumstance, and altogether out of place in the path of war.

The premonition of disaster to the Moravians came in April, 1781, when Colonel Brodhead, to retaliate for a recent Indian raid east of the Ohio, marched from Wheeling with three hundred men, and destroyed the Delaware town at Coshocton, and another he called "Indaochaie." Prisoners were taken, of whom fifteen were executed and scalped as concerned in the murder of white captives in West Virginia, and twenty more were killed by the militia without orders. The frontiersmen were exasperated beyond all restraint. A sachem coming into the camp, on pledge of safety, was struck from behind and killed by Lewis Wetzel* or his brother. Brodhead marched to Newcomerstown, and though Killbuck had aided him in running down the hostiles, and the Moravians supplied his troops with food enough for their march back to the Ohio, it was with difficulty that the militia could be withheld from looting the villages. Brodhead

*Lewis Wetzel, one of the most famous frontier knights, who passed his time hunting, fighting Indians, wrestling and foot-racing, made many incursions in Ohio alone, and in the course of his career gathered thirty Indian scalps.

improved the opportunity to advise the missionaries to remove their flock under his protection to Pittsburg, and soon afterward, Buckongehelas, the great war chief, urged them to go under his protection, to the Maumee valley. But the Moravians were blind to their danger, and for the sake of their property decided to wait until after harvest. De Peyster had signified his desire to have the Moravians brought into the interior, within what might be called the British lines. The work was entrusted to Captain Pipe and Pomoacan, the Wyandot "half-king." Pipe himself, though he had talked much against his Christian brothers, was half ashamed of the errand, which the Iroquois, Ottawas and Chippewas had refused, and after he and the half-king had led a party of Wyandot, Delaware and Muncie warriors to Gnadenhütten in August, 1781, and called Glickhegan and the other Christian head-men into conference, he was willing to drop the matter and fire on the British flag. But Captain Elliott was with the party, and encouraged Pomoacan to seize the five missionaries and their families. The settlements were then given over to plundering, and the luckless Moravians were forced to remove to the Sandusky river, leaving property and crops worth, it is estimated, twelve thousand dollars. Selecting a spot in the region to which they were taken, they began in poverty and distress the building of another town in the wilderness. De Peyster, after giving the missionaries a hearing at Detroit, sent them back to their new home with some clothing and supplies. Afterward they were subjected to much annoyance from Pipe and Girty, and compelled to live apart from their flock.

Meanwhile Clark's Detroit campaign had been thwarted. He was unable to collect a sufficient force, and though he started down the river from Pittsburg late in July, 1781, with four hundred men, he was convinced, by the time he reached Wheeling, that the project was hopeless. Proceeding to the falls of the Ohio, he was followed by a body of over a hundred volunteers, "the best men of the frontier," said Gen. William Irvine, under Col. Archibald Loughrey. McKee and Brant were in the field under orders to intercept Clark's expedition, and Brant obtained an opportunity to surprise the Loughrey volunteers when they were on shore, August 24, to cook a buffalo that had been shot on the bank a few miles below the mouth of the Great Miami. One-third of the command were killed, the rest surrendering, and when Colonel Loughrey and other captives were found unable to travel they also were massacred. "Not a man escaped, either to join General Clark or return home." A later reinforcement, two companies of artillery, under Capt. Isaac Craig, came down the river safely, but Clark's whole force was entirely too small to invade Ohio, and by taking refuge in his fort at the falls he avoided an attack from McKee and Brant.

The military affairs of the United States west of the Alleghanies were at this time in a most deplorable condition. The few regulars

were unpaid and unfed, and the militia forces were disorganized and lawless. Col. David Williamson was the nominal commander of the militia of Washington county, Pa. It appears that he was not aware of the removal of the Moravians by the British allies, though the young daughter of Glickhegan had started out on horseback alone, at the arrival of Pomoacan's command, to carry the word to Pittsburg. Williamson, consequently, set out to break up the settlement, after its destruction, but found there only a few of the Moravians, who had returned to gather corn for food. These he arrested and carried back into Pennsylvania, where they were set at liberty. Later, in March, 1782, the murder of a Pennsylvania family by Indians from Sandusky, a name of terror along the frontier, caused Williamson to again enter Ohio, in pursuit of the marauders. The frontiersmen of his party were looking for Indians to kill in revenge. They were not concerned as to whether the Indians they found were good Indians or bad Indians, and they doubtless would have heartily concurred in a more modern opinion that the only good Indian is one who has been entirely removed from temptation.

Unfortunately, they marched straight to the deserted Moravian towns and found Glickhegan and more than a hundred of his people engaged in gathering their abandoned crops, to carry back to Upper Sandusky. The frontiersmen did not fall upon them suddenly in the heat of passion, but treacherously persuaded them to give up their guns and hatchets and submit to being taken to Pittsburg. Worn out by persecution, the Christians submitted. As the story is told by Loskiel, the historian of the Moravians, when they had exposed their little stores of food to the whites, and were ready to travel, all were seized and bound. To those thus collected at Gnadenhütten were added a number from Salem. Then Williamson, who may have had human instincts, left it to the vote of his men whether the Moravian Indians should be put to death or taken to Pittsburg as had been promised. Less than twenty of the ninety or more white men stepped to the front as opposed to treachery and murder. The remainder "only differed concerning the mode of execution. Some were for burning them alive, others for taking their scalps, and the latter was at last agreed upon." Then, as the victims were Christians, they were kindly given until the morrow to prepare for a better world. Glickhegan, the converted warrior, yielded quietly to his fate, and all spent the time allotted them as did the Christian martyrs in the days of Nero and Diocletian. At the appointed hour ninety-six Indians, who were bound and imprisoned in two houses, so that the women and children were apart from the men, were butchered and scalped.

It is difficult to add any comment to the simple narration of fact. If the Indians thus killed had been warriors, caught red-handed, the treachery of their executioners would have been shameful. As it

was, the massacre of inoffensive Christians was a deed so horrible, so utterly beyond the conceptions of honorable and humane men, that no denunciations can do it justice. Yet, some of the men with Williamson, no doubt, had hunted for the bones of wife and children in the ashes of desolated frontier homes. It was a time of terror and savage war in which the disciples of peace must expiate the crimes of the vicious.*

The Indian resentment of the massacre of the Moravians aided the strenuous efforts of the British at Detroit to draw all the northwestern tribes into war upon the border, and from the beginning of 1782 the trails of Ohio were followed by many savage parties going out in war paint and returning with scalps and plunder. Among the Delawares it was vowed that after Gnadenhütten, no captive should escape torture. The situation was never more desperate for the frontiersmen, and there was no safety on the border except within the stockades. The men, organized as mounted riflemen, were kept busy patrolling the country. In the east, Williamson, the hero of Gnadenhütten, proposed to Gen. William Irvine, who had been appointed to command at Pittsburg and Wheeling, to lead an expedition against the Wyandot headquarters on the Sandusky. It is a noteworthy circumstance that at the same time a scheme was on foot, in which Williamson was interested, to organize a colony to cross the Ohio, possess the land and set up a new and independent state. The convention of frontiersmen for this purpose was announced by placard to be held at Wheeling on the same day that Williamson proposed to start for Sandusky.† General Irvine endeavored to separate the two enterprises, fixed the military rendezvous at Mingo bottoms, used his influence against the selection of Williamson as commander of the volunteer force, and sent a surgeon, and his aide-de-camp, Lieut. John Rose,‡ to aid the expedition. At the election, held by the 480 Virginia and Pennsylvania soldiers, Williamson was defeated by five votes by Col. William Crawford, a Virginian about fifty years of age, who had been the companion of Washington in his voyage down the Ohio, and had made a good record in the Indian and Revolutionary campaigns.

The expedition marched out from the Mingo bottoms, in the latter

*After the massacre the congregation at Sandusky separated and took refuge with the Shawanees on the Scioto and the Delawares on the Maumee. Zeisberger and the other missionaries lived for some time with another remnant in Canada. Finally they went back to the Tuscarawas. Land was given them by congress, a new church was built, at Gnadenhütten, and the town of Goshen founded on the site of Schœnbrun. At the latter place Zeisberger died in 1808. Heckewelder survived until 1823, and published several valuable books as the fruit of his experience.

†"The Crawford Expedition," by C. W. Butterfield.

‡Who afterward, returning to Europe, succeeded to his title as Baron Rosenthal, of Livonia.

part of May, with the object of breaking up the Sandusky settlements of the Wyandots and fugitive Delawares (such as Captain Pipe's town on the Tymochtee) whence the war parties went out to the border. It was a continuation of successive attempts at invasion begun several years before.*

Crawford and his men marched, through or near the present sites of Mansfield and Crestline, to the upper Sandusky river, and were disappointed to find the Wyandot town (five miles below the site of Upper Sandusky) deserted.

The Wyandots and hostile Delawares gathered to meet their invaders, and a reinforcement of rangers, with artillery, under the command of Captain Caldwell, was hastened to the field by De Peyster. While Crawford was moving about on the Sandusky plains, seeking his enemy, he encountered, on the evening of June 4th, Caldwell and his Detroit rangers and about two hundred Delawares, Wyandots and upper lake Indians.† Captain Pipe, it is said, was in command of the skirmish line of red men. Crawford drove the enemy from a grove in which they were posted, but was held there by the effective fire of Caldwell's command, sheltered in the high grass and bushes of the prairie, and the day closed with a loss of twenty-four killed and wounded of Crawford's men, and seventeen on the other side, including Caldwell among the wounded. Next day the same situation continued with some skirmishing, until a hundred and forty Shawanees came up to reinforce Caldwell. Then the militia decided to retreat at dark, but the watchful Indians detected the movement and made it a night of terror to the discomfited Americans. Colonel Crawford, hunting for his son in the darkness, became separated from the main body, and with Dr. Knight and others wandered about until they were captured. The main body retreated through the Sandusky town they had found deserted, and on the evening of the 6th made a stand at Oletangy creek, losing eleven killed and wounded, but repelling the assaults of the Indians. The skirmishing continued until after they passed the neighborhood of Crestline, and after that, having lost in all seventy men, the defeated army pursued its way, without molestation, but with much suffering and privation, to Mingo bottoms.

Crawford was turned over to Captain Pipe, who determined to

*Loskiel and Heckewelder may be excused for regarding Crawford's command as an excursion of "banditti and murderers," thirsting for more Moravian blood, and some volunteers may have merited those appellations.

Doddridge also considered one of the objects of the expedition the finishing of the work of murder and plunder begun at Gnadenhütten. But Butterfield's account of the campaign puts the matter in a more reasonable light. It is not probable that a force under Colonel Crawford would have been guilty of such atrocities. It is natural that the Moravian chroniclers believed themselves the objects of all the military activity, but in fact, their misfortunes were deplorable incidents.

†De Peyster's report to General Haldimand.

execute him with torture, and Knight was given the Shawanees for the same purpose. Accordingly their faces were painted black, and after they had witnessed the slaughter of nine other prisoners, they were taken to the Delaware town on the Tymochtee. Crawford appealed to Simon Girty for relief from his fate, and it is related that Girty offered $350 as a ransom, which was refused. The colonel was tied to a stake, as many as seventy musket-loads of powder were shot in his skin, his ears were cut off, and he was tortured with thrusts of live coals at the ends of burning poles. After an hour or two of this he fell from exhaustion, and his scalp was taken and thrown in the face of Knight. Roused to consciousness by more ingenious tortures, his life finally ended in the flames. Knight, while being carried to the Shawanee town for similar treatment, managed to escape. John Slover, a scout, also had a wonderful escape, and some other captives were burned. Crawford was, according to the chronicles of his day, an honorable man, and in no wise deserving of such a fate.* Many others, as innocent as he of complicity in outrages upon the red men, suffered deaths equally horrible during the border wars.

To follow up this repulse of the Americans by an invasion of the upper Ohio country, and to destroy Wheeling and other posts, De Peyster's captains, Caldwell and McKee, marched eastward through Ohio in July, attended by the largest army of Indians ever collected during that war, the number being estimated at one thousand. But, as they advanced, rumors came of danger to the Shawanee towns in the southwest, probably due to the arrival in Ohio of General Clark's western gunboat, and the British captains were compelled to divert their intended blow. Finding the Shawanee towns safe, most of the red men withdrew from the army. With but three hundred Wyandots and lake Indians, Caldwell and McKee, aided by Simon Girty, crossed the Ohio to attack Lexington and its surrounding stockades. But the frontiersmen at Bryan's Station withstood the attack of August 16th and 17th, and the invaders returned to the Blue Licks, where they were rashly attacked by two hundred Kentuckians, August 19th. The result was what appears to have been inevitable where the Indians had equal or greater strength than their enemy. After five minutes of fighting the Kentuckians fled in a wild rout, leaving seventy killed on the field, among them Colonels Todd and Trigg, Major Harlan and a son of Daniel Boone. This terrible blow and the ravages that followed, threatened to bring about the object of British effort, the depopulation of Kentucky, but again General Clark mastered the situation, and called together over a thousand mounted riflemen under his lieutenants, Logan and Floyd,

*According to the Moravian narrative, he suffered in expiation of the Gnadenhütten massacre, and it is further asserted that on reaching the Sandusky he sought first the Moravian town.

at the mouth of Licking. Thence they crossed over to the site of Cincinnati, where a stockade had been established the year before, and a few people then resided in log cabins.* Marching northward to a crossing of Mad river not far from the site of Dayton, the army kept up the valley of the Great Miami, crossed to the west side, and arrived, about November 10th, at the Piqua towns of the Shawanees, which were found deserted. There was no opportunity to avenge the slaughter of Blue Lick and only ten scalps were taken, but the upper and lower Piqua towns, and the fields about them, and Loramie's trading post, were burned and devastated. The blow was a serious one to the Indians, and, according to McKee, opened the road to Detroit. If Clark realized this, he was not able to improve the opportunity, for which he longed.

The proposed attack on Wheeling was not abandoned, being made in September by a large party of Indians under Captain Pratt and one of the Girtys. It was during this siege that Jonathan Zane defended his fortified house, as an outpost of Fort Henry, and his sister, Elizabeth, immortalized herself by running from fort to cabin and carrying back, in full view of the Indians, a supply of powder for the garrison. During the frontier raids following Crawford's defeat also happened the famous combat between Adam and Andrew Poe, settlers on the upper Ohio, and the Wyandot warrior, Bigfoot.† General Irvine began preparations for another campaign in Ohio, but the success of the war for American independence put a stop to hostilities by January, 1783.

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*Reminiscences of Abraham Thomas, of Troy.

†Such is the date given by Butterfield, but there is much conflict in dates and facts. Even the identity of the girl who carried powder at Wheeling is contested.

CHAPTER V.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY (1783–1788).

Cession to United States—Cessions of the States—Jefferson's Ordinance—Grayson's Ordinance—Treaties with Indians—British Influence—Spanish Intrigue—The Ordinance of 1787—The Ohio Company—Marietta Settlement—The Virginia Military Lands.

WHEN the war of the Revolution closed, there were several claimants of the Ohio country. Spain had driven the British from the Natchez country on the lower Mississippi, and had contributed materially to what conquest had been made on the Illinois and Wabash. That nation, the original claimant, and for a short time in 1762–63 grantees of the title of France to all the vast country within the drainage of the Mississippi and its tributaries, in 1782 had undisputed dominion west of the Mississippi, and demanded that the terms of peace should return to her possession the eastern valley of the Mississippi and Ohio. If that could not be, she preferred that the interior be left in the hands of Great Britain, rather than added to the territory of the United States. France was inclined to support the policy of Spain, and if the statesmen of these monarchies had had their way, the United States would have been confined between the Atlantic and the Alleghany mountains.

Great Britain was not disposed to give up the region between the Ohio river and the lakes. Even if in other quarters the colonies might be permitted to extend back to the Mississippi, that region had been made a part of the province of Quebec, and so held throughout the war.

The United States was represented in the negotiation of a treaty at Paris by abler men than the other powers had at the head of their affairs, namely: John Adams, John Jay and Benjamin Franklin. Partly through shrewd policy and partly through good luck, they were able to make an arrangement with England for a separate treaty. Asking for Canada as well as the Ohio valley, they contented them-

selves with England's yielding all south of Canada and east of the Mississippi, north of Florida. The idea of thwarting the Spanish and French Bourbons persuaded England to recognize the claim of the United States to all that the colonies had claimed under their old and obsolete charters back to the Mississippi, and though at one time it appeared that England would be compelled to accept such terms as the European allies of the United States proposed, certain timely naval victories changed the situation. An indispensable condition of this separate treaty with Great Britain was that the United States should be recognized as an independent, treaty-making power, and it was to this central power, representing a nation in its infancy, that Ohio and the Northwest was ceded by Great Britain in 1783.

Then, when the federal congress had acquired a good title from Great Britain to the Northwest, the discussion of the claims of the states was resumed, hand in hand with treaties to obtain right of settlement from the Indians, and the study of plans for the creation of new states. In June, 1783, Colonel Bland, of Virginia, introduced an ordinance for erecting a territory north of the Ohio, with provisions for encouragement of seminaries of learning. The veterans of the late war also took a hand in the discussion. Col. Timothy Pickering, quartermaster-general, proposed in behalf of the army the settlement of a new state on the Ohio river, east of the Scioto. This effort was inspired by the deplorable plight of the soldiers who, after devoting their time and often their fortunes to the cause of independence, were paid in certificates that sold as low as a tenth of their face value. An example was Abraham Whipple, of Rhode Island, a famous naval commander, who had served his country seven years without pay or subsistence, besides advancing $7,000 in specie. He was paid in certificates that were discounted eighty per cent when he attempted to obtain money on them. These men were compelled to seek new opportunities in the West, where they hoped to be able to buy land with their scrip at its face value and locate the land donated them as bounties.

Gen. Rufus Putnam,* of Massachusetts, the worthy patriot whom Washington considered the ablest military engineer on the continent, interested himself in the project, and sent a petition to General Washington, signed by 288 officers. In the original proposition slavery

*He was born in Sutton, Mass., April 9, 1730; was his own teacher; began his military life in the old French war, and had adventures that sound like those of Cooper's romances. In 1773 he aided in founding a famous New England colony in the Yazoo country. He joined the camp of the rebels at Cambridge as a lieutenant-colonel of volunteers just after the battle of Lexington. Washington made him chief engineer during the siege of Boston, though Putnam had never read a word of the science. It was he who put up in a night, on Dorchester Heights, the log intrenchments that suggested to the British next morning that they were the victims of enchantment and magic, and persuaded them the Americans must have an army larger than their own, and so led to the evacuation of Boston.

was to be totally excluded from the State, and Putnam suggested a survey in townships six miles square, and reservations of land for support of schools and clergy. Washington recommended this to the attention of Congress, and suggested two new states in the west, probably conforming to Jefferson's early idea of one north and the other south of the Ohio. In October Congress resolved to erect a government north of the river, but settlers were advised to go west of the present limits of Ohio on account of Indian troubles. About the same time the congressional committee recommended the acceptance of the cession of Virginia, without a guarantee of Kentucky to that state, and ordered the establishment of the sovereignty of the United States in the western country. Virginia was thus induced to agree to a compromise, in the same year, and execute a deed of cession of her claim to the Northwest, March 1, 1784, based on the resolutions of 1780, and with the special provisions among others that 150,000 acres should be donated in one tract to the soldiers of General Clark, and that should certain Southern lands reserved for Virginia soldiers prove insufficient, the deficiency should be made up between the Scioto and Little Miami. In October following the cession by New York, of her claim through the Iroquois, was accepted, and Massachusetts ceded her claim, north of 42°, in 1785.

"All these cessions tacitly, and those of Virginia and Massachusetts expressly, referred to the resolve of October, 1780. By the acceptance of these cessions, therefore, Congress became the trustee of the Confederacy; the resolve of 1780 was invested with the solemn character of a great national compact, of high and permanent obligation; and the faith of the Union was pledged that the trusts upon which the western lands were ceded, should be faithfully performed."* On the same day that Jefferson and his colleagues, representing Virginia, deeded Virginia's claim to the United States, he reported March 1, 1784, as chairman of a committee, a plan of organization designated to cover the whole West from the lakes to Florida. According to this scheme the country northwest of the Ohio would have been divided into ten states† by arbitrary meridians and parallels, regardless of natural boundaries. It was provided that the states thus formed, as well as the seven southern states proposed, should be republican in government, and "forever remain a part of

*S. P. Chase, History of Ohio, 1833.

†Jefferson proposed to give these states names of classical form, in most cases founded on natural features, such as Sylvania for the far northwestern woods, Cheronesus for the Michigan peninsula, and Metropotamia for the region of the sources of the Miami, Maumee, Sandusky and Wabash. South of the latter would be the state of Saratoga; and south of it, to the Ohio, Pelisipia, and east of these, between the Ohio and Lake Erie, the state of Washington. This clause was stricken out while the bill was in committee. The plan would have divided Ohio among four states.

this confederacy of the United States of America," subject to the articles of confederation and laws of congress. They should be subject to pay a share of the "federal debts," and should not interfere with the sale of lands by the United States, or tax the same while yet unsold. The eighth article provided that after the year 1800, "there shall neither be slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty." The new states were to have a temporary government, under the control of Congress, with delegates to Congress who should not be allowed to vote. All the articles should constitute an irrevocable compact and fundamental constitution between the old and new states. This plan contained the germ of the plan of organization followed ever since in new territory, and the credit for it, as well as for the proposition to abolish slavery at a very early date, south as well as north, belongs to Thomas Jefferson, the first great American expansionist.

Referring to the anti-slavery clause, Rufus King, in his history of Ohio (1888), declares "it is safe to say that if the prohibition of slavery in the Northwest Territory had been left to depend upon this provision, all the states would have been slave states." Justin Winsor, in his "Westward Movement," echoes the same opinion, and Senator Hoar, in his Marietta centennial address, said "It would have been impossible to exclude the institution of slavery if it had once got footing. With or without his proviso the scheme of Mr. Jefferson would have resulted in dividing the territory into ten small slaveholding states." But it does not seem fair to discredit the disposition of Jefferson and many other Southerners at that time to put an end to slavery. More generous is the expression of George Bancroft, that "the design of Jefferson marks an era in the history of universal freedom." "At that time slavery prevailed throughout much more than half the lands of Europe. Jefferson, following an impulse from his own mind, designed by his ordinance to establish from end to end of the whole country a north and south line, at which the westward extension of slavery should be stayed by an impassable bound. Of the men held in bondage beyond that line he did not propose the instant emancipation; but slavery was to be rung out with the departing century, so that in all the western territory, whether held in 1784 by Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia or the United States, the sun of the new century might dawn on no slave."

But from a North Carolinian, "a young fool," Jefferson called him, came a motion to strike out the anti-slavery article. The vote of delegates was 16 to 7 for retaining it, but the count was by states. Delaware, Georgia and New Jersey were absent, and North Carolina divided. Though only three states opposed abolition, only six could be counted in its favor, one less than enough. So the article was

stricken out.* "The voice of a single individual would have prevented this abominable crime," Jefferson wrote in 1786. "Heaven will not always be silent; the friends to the rights of human nature will in the end prevail."

The ordinance of 1784 was adopted April 23d, and on May 7th Jefferson reported an ordinance for regulating the survey of the public domain, in which the division in lots one mile square was proposed, and it was ordained that the lands "should pass in descent and dower according to the customs known to the common law by the name of gavelkind," i. e., to the sons equally, instead of to the eldest. This is of interest, showing Jefferson's connection with the system of sectional survey of land, and reform of the laws of descent, as well as the institution of the dollar and the decimal system of money. If he had also succeeded in establishing a dead line for slavery along the Alleghanies and Chattahoochee river, who could rival him as a benefactor of his country? But Jefferson was appointed minister to France, and the impulse of his enthusiasm was lost for a time. He was often more visionary than practical, it may be said. The steadier wisdom of Washington was shown in his disapproval of the imaginary bounding of future states by meridians and parallels, and his recommendation that states be created politically as they grew actually, and with natural bounds. But, as Bancroft says, "The land ordinances of Jefferson, as amended from 1784 to 1788, definitely settled the character of the national land laws, which are still treasured up as one of the most precious heritages from the founders of the republic."

After the New York and Virginia cessions, commissioners of the United States (Arthur Lee, Richard Butler and Oliver Wolcott) met delegates of the Iroquois at Rome, N. Y. (Fort Stanwix), in October, 1784, and a treaty was made, granting the Indians peace, on condition of the limitation of their bounds and extinction of their ancient claims in the West. In January, 1785, at Fort McIntosh, George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee met representatives of the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas and Ottawas, who consented for the sake of peace to restriction to a region south of Lake Erie, of which the east boundary was the Cuyahoga and the Tuscarawas and their portage, and the west boundary the Miami and Maumee and their portage; the southern extent to be limited by a straight line from the crossing of the Muskingum at Fort Laurens to the site of Old Britain's ruined fort on the Miami. Thus, apparently, three-fourths of Ohio was ready for survey and sale, the title of the United States being based on conquest from British and

*Benton, in his Thirty Years' View, gives this explanation: "It was struck out—the three southern states present voting for the striking out—because the clause did not then contain the provision in favor of the recovery of fugitive slaves, which was afterwards ingrafted upon it."

Indians, and relinquishment of state claims. Washington urged Lee, of Virginia, toward the close of 1784, to arouse Congress to the necessity of providing a plan of survey and sale of land, and the matter was discussed widely, Timothy Pickering and other northerners advocating township surveys, and the Virginians inclining to haphazard locations. The New Englanders also wanted reservations of land for the support of churches as well as schools, while the Virginians were not inclined to perpetuate even that much association of church and state. In both these differences were illustrated the characteristics of the two sections, or rather, the peculiarities of New England. The settlements begun at Plymouth Rock were religious in character. "They formed civil organizations; yet the church principle or influence was completely the dominant one in these societies. It made public opinion. It gave and took away personal influence. It, in effect, made the laws and made the magistrates."* That people were as solicitous for the maintenance of churches as of schools; for the support of the minister as of the magistrate. Under the new constitution the legislators of Massachusetts were required to take oath of allegiance to the Christian religion, while Virginia adopted Jefferson's proposition of entire freedom of opinion and no religious test of capacity for public service, a doctrine novel enough to gain the attention of Europe. New Englanders organized, furthermore, with the town or township as the unit, while Virginia, typical of the South, had for its essential unit the broad area of a county, with great plantations and scattered mansions. There were more people, also, in New England who believed the system of slavery opposed to the interests of the average farmer than there were in Virginia. Timothy Pickering, early in 1785, was urging Rufus King, a delegate from Massachusetts, to see that lands in the west were reserved for support of religion and education, with slave labor prohibited, and King, in April, again brought before Congress the Jefferson clause prohibiting slavery after January 1, 1801, with special application to the Northwest, and with the addition of a provision for the restoration of fugitive slaves. But with the reporting of this resolution by King the matter seems to have been dropped.

The leadership in lawmaking for the Northwest was now in the hands of William Grayson, of Virginia, who had been educated at Oxford and associated with General Washington as aide-de-camp. Through his efforts an ordinance was framed, written by him, and put through Congress May 20, 1785, which provided a practical plan for surveying and selling the lands of the Northwest. It embodied a compromise of various opinions, and while it did not extend to matters of organization and government, it was the fundamental instrument on which was based the settlement of the new country. This

* Randall's Life of Jefferson.

"ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the western territory," established the system of rectangular survey, with townships six miles square, formed by intersecting range and township lines. The west boundary line of Pennsylvania (run by Andrew Ellicott in 1785-86) was taken as the principal meridian, which the range lines should parallel, and a base line, as a guide for township lines, was to be established due west from the intersection of the boundary line with the north bank of the Ohio river. As the bill was reported, section No. 16 in each township, that is, one-thirty-sixth of the land, was reserved for the support of education, and the same amount for religion, but the latter reservation was stricken out* before the bill was enacted. The provisions for education were for the purpose of encouraging settlement. On the sale of this wild land the confederation depended for the payment of the debts incurred in the Revolution, even the compensation of soldiers. No other method seemed possible. Alexander Hamilton had retired from public affairs in disgust, and the funding of debt and wise provision for its payment were yet in the future. There were other reservations: One seventh of all the land for soldiers of the Continental army, four sections in each township for future disposal by Congress, and one third of all gold, silver and copper mines; three townships for refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia, and sufficient lands for the Moravian missionaries and Indians about their former towns. Another great reservation was for Virginia veterans, between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers, provided certain lands reserved for them south of the Ohio were not sufficient. Five ranges were to be first surveyed, and portions offered at public sale in each state, at $1 an acre, payable in obligations of the United States. Thomas Hutchins, who had been General Bouquet's engineer in Ohio, was made geographer-general of the United States, and put in charge of the survey, with an assistant from each of the states, and in the fall of 1785, for the protection of the surveyors, Fort Harmar was built at the mouth of the Muskingum river. Hutchins' first work was to run a base line west from the boundary of Pennsylvania, on the north bank of the Ohio, forty-two miles, under the protection of the troops. This is called the "Geographer's line."

After this, September 13, 1786, Connecticut ceded her claims in the west, reserving, on promise to settle it, as much of her strip "from sea to sea" as lay between the Pennsylvania border and a line 120

*Another feature stricken out would have been "of the most fatal character," said Thomas H. Benton in 1830. "It was, that each township should be sold out complete before any land should be offered in the next one. . . . The effect of such a provision may be judged by the fact that above one hundred thousand acres remain to this day unsold in the first land district, that of Steubenville, in Ohio, which included the first range and first township. If that provision had remained in the ordinance the settlements would not yet have got out of sight of the Pennsylvania line."

miles west. This became known as the Western Reserve,* and was surveyed with a new base line on the 41st parallel. This cession was very important. Virginia prided herself on a tremendous sacrifice in behalf of the United States. But the Connecticut claim was more definite and certainly as valid as that of Virginia, and Connecticut gave up that very important belt of country passing through the finest lands of Michigan and Indiana and Illinois and including the sites of Toledo and Chicago.

But all this legislation was ineffective without an understanding with the Indian possessors of the land. It soon became apparent that the treaty of Fort McIntosh would be repudiated by the Indians as unauthorized, because all the tribes who claimed title were not represented. Neither did they rest quietly under the theory of conquest, and asked payment for the lands. A similar treaty was made by Clark and Butler and Samuel H. Parsons, at a stockade called Fort Finney at the mouth of the Great Miami, in January, 1786, by which the Shawanees yielded southern Indiana and the west side of the Miami, and this was also repudiated. Joseph Brant, the great Iroquois chief, visited England to find out the real international status of the Indian in the West, and came home sullen and disheartened. From the first he announced his policy that no treaty was valid unless all the nations consented, and just as pertinaciously contended that the Ohio river must be the boundary. A western confederacy of Indians was formed, at least on paper, and a strong argument, reinforced no doubt by British logic, was sent to Congress in 1786, asking for a general treaty on the basis of compensation for land ceded. Border depredations were carried on by white and red men alike, and in the summer of 1786 General Clark was again compelled to raise an army in Kentucky to fight the Indians on the Wabash, and Col. Benjamin Logan, with Boone and Kenton and a considerable force of Kentuckians, marched into the head-water region of Mad river, killed twenty Indians, captured seventy or eighty more, and destroyed eight villages and the surrounding fields.

The British still held the military posts south of the lakes, of which Detroit was most important, as Spain held on to the western region claimed by Georgia. Really, the United States had obtained nothing in the west by the treaty of 1783 but the right to get what they could from the Indians, for that was all England had. England apparently deserted her Indian allies by the treaty, which Sir John Johnson on that account declared "infamous," but the policy of the mother country was to encourage the red men to hold the land up to the Ohio river. Her representatives were always protesting that

*The Western reserve was not under the jurisdiction of the Northwest Territory until April, 1800.

they would not encourage an Indian war, and they did not desire one, because they wished the Indians to remain at peace for the profit of the great fur-trading houses of Canada. But England would have been glad to see an Indian state maintained between Kentucky and the lakes, and the warriors were supplied with arms and ammunition for "hunting." At the same time the white people about Detroit were obtaining deeds from the red men for large tracts of land. John Askin, a native of Ireland (whose daughter married Alexander McKee, the Indian agent), obtained, in company with several others, the most important of whom was Alexander Henry, the great fur-trader of Montreal, this sort of title to a million acres on the Maumee including the site of Toledo, the Sandusky peninsula, and further east, including a large part of the site of Cleveland. Askin's claim in northern Ohio amounted to five and a quarter million acres.

When the United States remonstrated against the retention of the Western posts, Great Britain replied that in the treaty of 1783 Congress had been pledged to secure the repeal of the acts of banishment and confiscation directed against the Tories, but on the contrary the states were redoubling their persecution of these people and driving them from the United States by tens of thousands. Furthermore, the Virginia statutes to prohibit the collection of British debts, in retaliation for the British taking away Virginia slaves, and similar laws in other colonies, had not yet been repealed as was promised. England was also justified, politically, in holding her posts, as Spain was holding hers in the country claimed by Georgia, because the United States, under the confederation, showed signs of speedy dissolution. The proposition of John Jay, in 1785, to leave the Mississippi under the control of Spain for twenty-five years in exchange for commercial privileges in the West Indies, enraged the western settlers and suggested a scheme to separate the Atlantic states into three independent groups, East, Middle and South.

The Kentucky settlers strenuously urged war on the Ohio Indians, frequently frustrating efforts for peace by their warlike enthusiasm. At the same time they were asking independence from Virginia, and some of them were plotting with Spain. The leader, as George Rogers Clark sank into obscurity, was James Wilkinson, a gallant Revolutionary officer, of remarkable eloquence, magnificent manner and restless ambition, who had made great trouble in the Continental army by becoming the confidant of a cabal and betraying it, and was again to act such a part in American history. Wilkinson was for Western independence of Virginia, and of the United States also, if the United States could not give the West free commerce on the Mississippi. There is no doubt that he was for a time privately engaged to go further and bring the West under the dominion of Spain. England was watching these intrigues, and carrying on intrigues of her

own to counteract them, in which Dr. John Conolly,* Lord Dunmore's former lieutenant at Pittsburg, was a conspicuous agent. The United States Indian agent, Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons, was approached by these British emissaries, and according to an entry in the secret service books, he was disposed to be friendly. It is not likely that the main body of the frontiersmen of Kentucky and Tennessee really favored an alliance with Spain or England. More than Wilkinson could count on as friends would have preferred joining an American army to drive Spain out of the Mississippi valley. But they would not submit to loss of the Mississippi as a channel of commerce. In May, 1782, a Pennsylvania German, Jacob Yoder, had started out from Redstone, on the Monongahela, with a big boat load of flour. He sold his cargo at New Orleans and took his pay in furs; traded his furs at Havana for sugar, sailed with that to Philadelphia, and then, with money in his pocket, recrossed the mountains to his home. Thus began the great river commerce, which Spain soon foolishly interfered with, in the hope of forcing the West into union with her colonial power.

Wilkinson made a commercial voyage to New Orleans in 1787, and came under the Spanish influence so thoroughly that some time later he wrote Governor Miro: "I have voluntarily alienated myself from the United States. . . I have rejected the proffered honors and rewards of Great Britain. . . I have given my time, my property, and every exertion of my faculties to promote the interests of the Spanish monarchy." For a considerable time all the trade between the Ohio and New Orleans was carried on in Wilkinson's name, a line from him sufficing to ensure the owner of the boat every privilege and protection.† In 1789 he took an expedition of twenty-five armed boats down the river, carrying tobacco, flour and provisions. Another expedition, under Colonel Armstrong, of the Cumberland settlement, had its goods confiscated, and the men fought a battle with the Spaniards to prevent their arrest.

While affairs were in this dubious condition, with the savages in actual possession, and England and Spain watching a chance to seize the land, the first authorized American settlements in Ohio were projected.

Gen. Rufus Putnam was the surveyor selected by Massachusetts for the work upon the "seven ranges"‡ in Ohio, but being unable to go, Gen. Benjamin Tupper, a veteran of the French war as well as

*Dr. Conolly went through Ohio in November, 1788, to study the situation in Kentucky, and talked of a British plan to send an army down the Mississippi while a fleet attacked New Orleans, and hold the river for the use of Great Britain and the West. Wilkinson, the agent of Spain, frightened the British emissary away by threats of violence.

†American State Papers.

‡Seven ranges were actually surveyed, instead of five, as provided in the ordinance of 1785.

the Revolution, took his place. The Indians interrupted the survey. Tupper went back to Putnam, and the two friends sat up all the first night planning a colony of veterans in the West. At daybreak they had completed a call for a convention. The result was the organization of the "Ohio Company of Associates," at a meeting of delegates from the various Massachusetts counties, which convened at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern in Boston, March 1, 1786. The plan contemplated a capital of $1,000,000, mainly in continental specie certificates, divided in a thousand shares. A year later two hundred and fifty shares had been subscribed for, and General Putnam, the Rev. Manasseh Cutler and Gen. Samuel H. Parsons were chosen as directors, and Maj. Winthrop Sargent, secretary. Manasseh Cutler was a graduate of Yale, late chaplain in the army, and a distinguished scientist. General Parsons had made the trip down the Ohio as Indian commissioner, and recommended the location on the Muskingum. He was selected to present the scheme to Congress.

Meanwhile, there were many who did not have faith in the future of the West, such as James Monroe, who dodged all the votes on the prohibition of slavery. As the result of a visit to Fort Pitt, he brought about a reference of the proposed creation of states to the grand committee of Congress, which reported in March, 1786, advising the repeal of all legislation conflicting with the power of Congress to set off states at discretion. In April, Nathan Dane, one of the Massachusetts members, an able lawyer and patriot, a man of remarkable clearness of thought and expression, moved a committee to frame a temporary form of government of the proposed western states. Monroe, made chairman of that committee, reported a plan of division into at least two and not more than five states. But there could be no change in the number of states without consent of Virginia, that state having embodied the Jefferson ordinance in her deed of cession. So the matter was dropped for the time. In May, however, Grayson had a law enacted making the navigable rivers and portages public highways of the United States, and in July he proposed the plan of division into five states, practically the same now established, with the mouths of the Wabash and Great Miami as the starting points of the north and south lines. But this was voted down and the three state plan adopted, through jealousy of future political power in the Northwest. In September a bill was introduced to postpone the admission of any northwestern state until its population should be one-thirteenth of the population of the original states at the time of the proposed admission. This timorous proposition, that would have kept out the frontiersmen for many years, was fortunately checked by the adjournment of Congress. The new Congress, obtaining a quorum in February, 1787, was first busied with discussion of the proposed convention "to form a more perfect union," and the rebellion in Massachusetts, inspired by resistance

to collection of debts, complicated by the evils of depreciated paper money. In April the ordinance for government of the Northwest was brought up, the restriction of population was stricken out, and the bill was up to a third reading when the memorial of the Ohio company was presented. "It interested everyone. For vague hopes of colonization, here stood a body of hardy pioneers, ready to lead the way to the rapid absorption of the domestic debt of the United States, selected from the choicest regiments of the army, capable of self-defense, the protectors of all who should follow them."* The memorial was referred to a committee composed of Edward Carrington, Rufus King, Nathan Dane, James Madison and Egbert Benson. But the quorum of Congress soon disappeared, and attention was diverted to the constitutional convention. In the interval Manasseh Cutler was deputed by the Ohio company to take the place of Parsons as negotiator. Cutler was probably the fittest man on the continent, except Franklin, for a mission of delicate diplomacy, says Senator Hoar.† He seems, at least, to have had some of Franklin's craft in negotiation. "He was a man of consummate prudence in speech and conduct; of courtly manners, a favorite in the drawing room and in the camp; with a wide circle of correspondents among the most famous men of his time." Congress obtained a quorum July 4th, and next day Dr. Cutler arrived, armed with a bundle of letters of introduction, and with the experience of Parsons to guide him. The judgment of Parsons in recommending the Muskingum country as the place of settlement was reinforced by the opinion of Hutchins, with whom Cutler had frequent interviews. He also conferred with the special committee on the Ohio company memorial, and on July 10th Chairman Carrington reported a bill in his own handwriting recommending a sale of land to the company, providing for what the Ohio company asked: donations in each township for support of both religion and education, and four townships near the centre of the tract for a university; the company to do the township and section surveying, and to have an allowance of one-third the price to make up for poor land. The price, therefore, would be 66⅔ cents an acre, payable in certificates worth then about 12 cents on the dollar, making the speculative price eight or nine cents.

The day before this, the proposed ordinance for the government of the Northwest had been referred to a new committee of seven: Carrington and Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, Kean of South Carolina, and Dane and Melancthon Smith of the east and middle states. Of the eight states present by delegates in Congress, five were southern. An ordinance was reported on the 11th, and it

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*Bancroft's History of the United States.

†See his Marietta oration, 1888.

appears that Dr. Cutler,* being asked to examine a copy and make suggestions, did so, and then started to Philadelphia to spend the time while the ordinance was under discussion in visiting the constitutional convention and Benjamin Franklin. On the 13th the "Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio," was passed. It was composed of two parts: first, provisions for government as a district exclusively by Congress, and later as a territory by a legislature subject to congressional supervision; second, six articles of general and fundamental law, "to be considered as articles of compact between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, except by common consent." The first part was not such a liberal recognition of "the rights of man" as might have been expected, and Lee wrote to General Washington, in apology for it, that the strong-toned features were "necessary for the security of property among uninformed and perhaps licentious people, as the greater part of them who go there are." In the second stage of government provided for (territorial), suffrage was restricted to men owning fifty acres of land.†

The second, or general part, is that which has been the subject of well-deserved praise since that day. Antedating the Federal constitution, it embodied some of the noblest features of that great charter. It was entirely worthy of the fathers of the nation. As Senator Hoar remarks: "From their experience there had come to the men who were on the stage in this country in 1787 an aptness for the construction of constitutions and great permanent statutes such as the world never saw before or since. Their supremacy in this respect is as unchallenged as that of the great authors of the reign of Elizabeth in the drama."

Such were the men, and the conditions from which they evolved the ordinance and the constitution are well described in the Marietta address of Gen. Thomas Ewing: "The curse of land monopoly had blighted most of the colonies. The evil of large holdings was being fostered and perpetuated in many states by laws of primogeniture and entail and by limiting suffrage and offices to land owners, thus establishing as far as practicable, a landed aristocracy. A second curse was slavery, the twin and ally of land monopoly, both operating to degrade labor; both repelling immigration of poor white

*There has been an attempt to establish Dr. Cutler's authorship of the ordinance, a theory first announced about 1872. Dr. William F. Poole has gone so far as to suggest that Dr. Cutler brought the ordinance in his pocket from Massachusetts, and Congress forthwith passed it unanimously! What the suggestions were, that he made to the committee, there is no record to show.

†Fifteen years later a writer in the Scioto Gazette declared: "This government, now so oppressive, was prescribed by the United States at a time when civil liberty was not so well understood as at present."

men; both enemies of democratic-republican government. In no one of the constitutions of the states was slavery prohibited, and in but one (Delaware) was the slave trade forbidden. In the Federal constitution, almost of the same date as the ordinance, 'every clause which touched the institution of slavery was intended to protect and strengthen it.' The slave trade which British greed had established was carried on after the revolutionary war under the American flag in ships sailing from northern ports; and it was by northern votes in the constitutional convention that the traffic was protected until 1808. The general lack of the vital flame of democracy in the Confederation is further illustrated by the fact that in only four of the states—Virginia, New York, North Carolina and Rhode Island—was there absolute freedom of religious opinion. In but three—New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania—was there provision for common schools; and in less than half the eleven new state constitutions were to be found bills of rights containing the habeas corpus and other safeguards of liberty."

In 1833 Salmon P. Chase, afterward one of the most famous of Ohioans, wrote of the ordinance:

"It comprehended an intelligible system of law on the descent and conveyance of real property and the transfer of personal goods. It also contained five articles of compact between the original states, and the people and states of the territory, establishing certain great fundamental principles of governmental duty and private right, as the basis of all future constitutions and legislation, unalterable and indestructible except by that final and common ruin, which, as it has overtaken all former systems of human policy, may yet overwhelm our American union. Never, probably, in the history of the world, did a measure of legislation so accurately fulfill and yet so mightily exceed the anticipations of the legislators. The ordinance has been well described as having been a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, in the settlement and government of the northwestern states. When the settlers went into the wilderness, they found the law already there. It was impressed upon the soil itself, while it yet bore up nothing but the forest. The purchaser of land became by that act, a party to the compact, and bound by its perpetual covenants. . . . This remarkable instrument was the last gift of the congress of the old confederation to the country, and it was a fit consummation of their glorious labors. At the time of its promulgation, the federal constitution was under discussion in the convention, and in a few months, upon the organization of the new national government, that congress was dissolved, never again to assemble."*

Nathan Dane, who drew up the ordinance for the committee, has distinctly stated that he took from Jefferson's resolve of 1784 the

*Chase's Sketch of the History of Ohio.

substance of the general provisions regarding the permanent union of the new states with the Confederacy, their preliminary subjection to the laws of congress, including taxation to pay public debt, the control of public lands by congress without taxation by the states, and the provision that non-resident proprietors must not be taxed higher than residents. The recent Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts, based on opposition to collection of debts, inspired the clause: "No law ought ever to be made or have force in the said territory that shall in any manner whatever interfere with or conflict with private contracts or engagements, bona fide and without fraud, previously formed." This principle was also embodied in the constitution of the United States, and has ever since been "the safeguard of public morals and of individual rights." Mr. Dane claimed the authorship of this extremely important part of the ordinance, as well as of those clauses securing the Indians in their rights and property and elaborating Jefferson's proposal to divest land titles of the feudal features persisting in the old states. "But," says Bancroft, "the clause regarding impairment of contracts related particularly to the abuse of paper money, and bears in every word the impress of the mind of Richard Henry Lee." The remaining general provisions were selected from the constitution and laws of Massachusetts, including the famous declaration that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

As for the article forbidding slavery, Dane wrote at the time to Rufus King: "When I drew the ordinance (which passed, a few words excepted, as I originally formed it) I had no idea the states would agree to the sixth article, prohibiting slavery, as only Massachusetts in the eastern states was present, and therefore omitted it in the draft. But finding the house favorably disposed on this subject, after we had completed the other parts, I moved this article, which was agreed to without opposition." Forty-three years later Mr. Dane declared, when there was sectional dispute about the subject, that he took the words "from Mr. King's motion made in 1785." As King's motion was based on Jefferson's resolve of 1784, the anti-slavery article of 1787 is in fact a reproduction of the Jefferson model, changed to apply to the Northwest alone, and at once instead of after 1800, a concession of time to balance a concession in scope of application.

Furthermore, there was a very great and portentous concession to the slaveholding interest in an added clause: "Provided always, that any persons escaping into the same [Northwest territory] from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her service as aforesaid." It is strange that

this tacit recognition of the lawfulness of slavery,* and foundation of the fugitive slave law, is not discussed when the Ordinance of 1787 is the subject of panegyric. The ordinance seems in fact to be, as one studies it, the first of the famous compromises that characterize the history of slavery in America. One suspects that its nature as a compromise is what caused the house to be "favorably disposed" to the anti-slavery article, and that Mr. Dane might have told more of the reason for delay in constructing and presenting the article.

There is apparent compromise in other regards in the ordinance. Religion and knowledge are declared to be necessary to good government and happiness, but it is decreed that education only "shall forever be encouraged." It is likely that the question of slavery was not so important in the minds of the delegates as the number of states authorized in the future, of which three and five were made the limits. The balance of power between North and South was already a matter of solicitude. John Brown, the first western delegate to congress, wrote home to Kentucky in 1788 that the East would not consent to the admission of that district, unless Vermont or Maine were admitted at the same time, and added, "the [Eastern] jealousy of the growing importance of the western country, and an unwillingness to add a vote to the southern interest, are the real causes of opposition."

After the ordinance was passed Dr. Cutler returned to New York, and aided by Winthrop Sargent, addressed himself to procuring authority to buy a great tract of land for his company, as recommended by the special committee. But he found Congress so little disposed to agree to his terms, which almost amounted to giving away the land, that he thought of abandoning the enterprise. Then Col. William Duer, secretary of the board of the treasury, came to him, the doctor wrote in his journal, "with proposals from a number of the principal characters in the city, to extend our contract and take in another company; but that it should be kept a profound secret. He explained the plan they had concerted and offered me generous conditions if I would accomplish the business for them. The plan struck me agreeably; Sargent insisted on my undertaking; and both urged me not to think of giving the matter up so soon." Colonel Duer "lived in the style of a nobleman," his wife, "Lady Kitty," daughter of Lord Sterling, was a charming entertainer, and Dr. Cutler agreed to the Duer proposition, which was in effect, that Duer should be allowed to organize a sub-speculation, under the wing of the Ohio company, to buy a great area of western land with depre-

*The actual effect of the anti-slavery article was to prevent the importation of slaves. It did not, as administered, abolish the slavery already existing in Indiana, Illinois and Michigan.

ciated scrip. The appeal of the veterans of the Ohio company would obtain for the New York speculators better terms than they could hope for without such a motive.* At the same time Dr. Cutler made a "bluff" to Congress that as there was no prospect of coming to terms he would drop the matter and buy land of the states. Then, when some delegates came to him in anxiety lest the sale should fall through, he sprang upon them a new proposition based on the secret arrangement with Duer, that he would extend the purchase from the Seven ranges to the Scioto river, by which sale Congress could extinguish "more than four millions of the public debt" and secure "an actual, large and immediate settlement of the most robust and industrious people in America."† This resulted in the passage of an ordinance July 23d, authorizing the sale of the land between the Seventh range and the Scioto, back to an extension of the north line of the tenth township of the Seven ranges and reserving the sixteenth sections for support of schools and the twenty-ninth sections for support of the church.

Cutler and Sargent then made their formal proposition to buy, and renewed the struggle to obtain the approval of Congress, aided by Duer and all the help he could enlist. The Ohio Company had made a slate of territorial officers, and this they found must be abandoned. General Parsons had been selected for governor, but he was dropped for Arthur St. Clair, president of Congress, with the proviso that Parsons should be a judge and Sargent secretary. Then "matters went on much better," Dr. Cutler was told, but there was such delay that on the 27th he packed his baggage and went around on a morning call to bid the congressmen farewell, saying if the terms he had offered, which he considered very good, considering the state of the country, were not accepted, he would deal with New York, Connecticut or Massachusetts, and doubtless obtain more exclusive privileges. He added another significant argument in favor of the deal. "The uneasiness of the Kentucky people with respect to the Mississippi was notorious. A revolt of that country from the Union, if a war with Spain should occur, was universally acknowledged to be highly probable; and most certainly a systematic settlement in that country, conducted by men thoroughly attached to the federal government, and composed of young, robust and hardy laborers, who had no idea of any other than the federal government, I conceived to be an object worthy of much attention." The full meaning of this was probably not realized by Cutler or the men he

*In the "Narrative and Critical History of America," vii, 535, this is called "a sort of bribe, linked in the legislation of Congress for the purpose of affording opportunities for private speculation." This is an inconsiderate expression. It was an unfortunate alliance, but without the help of Duer the Ohio company could not have made its first payment on the land.

†Cutler's Journal, July 21st.

addressed, and it was not especially obvious during the early history of the State. But it became quite clear in 1861. Upon this appeal of Cutler's Congress immediately referred the Ohio company offer to the treasury board, with the requirement that after the second payment the residue should be paid in six semi-annual installments. "By this ordinance," says Cutler, "we obtained the grant of near five million acres of land, amounting to three million and a half of dollars; one million and a half acres for the Ohio company, and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the principal characters of America are interested. Without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio company." A verbal contract was made with the treasury board, and on October 27th following the contract was made in writing. By this instrument the Ohio company contracted to buy between the seventh and seventeenth ranges, back from the Ohio river far enough to include one and a half million acres, besides the donations of two sections in each township for support of schools and the ministry, and two townships for a university, and three sections in each township retained under the control of Congress. The company paid down half a million dollars in final settlement certificates, and was then authorized to take possession of 750,000 acres in the east, but until the balance was paid, after the completion of surveys, the United States withheld a deed.

For the first payment Colonel Duer advanced $143,000, and a contract for sale (or rather for option of purchase) of the western tract being closed at the same time, a half interest in it was transferred to Duer. Thus the Scioto company had its origin. Cutler and Sargent were the other partners in the Scioto speculation, and afterward conveyed the greater part of their interests to Putnam, Tupper and others, including the famous poet of that day, Joel Barlow, who went to Europe to interest the French nation in the enterprise.*

Congress was justified in its reluctance to accept the Ohio company proposal, as it was pure speculation, based on the low price of certificates. These certificates at once began to advance when such an attractive use for them was pointed out, and the inauguration of the federal government and the financial system of Alexander Hamilton made them altogether too dear for purposes of speculation. The Ohio company was unable to meet even the second payment, and had no patent to its land until 1792.

In the winter of 1787-88 the Ohio company sent two parties of people, all capable of doing some part of the varied work of a community, to begin the colony on the Muskingum. From the Youghiogheny they came down river in a vessel constructed for the

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*Maj. E. C. Dawes, in Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications.

purpose, called the "Mayflower," and on April 7, 1788, they landed at the mouth of the Muskingum. There, opposite Fort Harmar, was the first authorized settlement by English speaking colonists in Ohio.*

"No colony in America," said Washington, "was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." Carrington, another Virginian, added his generous tribute, "The best men in Connecticut and Massachusetts—a description of men who will fix the character of politics throughout the whole territory, and which will probably endure to the latest period of time." "I know them all," cried Lafayette, when the list was read to him at Marietta in 1825. "I saw them at Brandywine, Yorktown and Rhode Island. They were the bravest of the brave."

Rufus Putnam, who had been chosen superintendent at the meeting of the Ohio company in Boston, November 21, 1787, "to be obeyed and respected accordingly," was at the head of the colony, which included forty-eight men. Among them were "Varnum, a courtly gentleman, soldier, statesman, scholar, orator, whom Thomas Paine, who had heard the greatest English orators in the greatest days of English eloquence, declared the most eloquent man he had ever heard; Whipple, first of the American naval heroes, first to fire an American gun at the flag of England on the sea, pioneer of the river commerce of the Ohio to the gulf; Meigs, hero of Sag Harbor, of the march to Quebec and of the storming of Stony Point, whom the Cherokees named White Path in recognition of his unfailing kindness and fairness; Parsons, one of the strongest friends of Washington, the man who first proposed the Continental Congress; the chivalric Devol, said by his biographer to be 'the most perfect figure of a man to be seen amongst a thousand;' the noble presence of Sproat; the sons of Israel Putnam and Manasseh Cutler; Fearing and Greene and Goodale and the Gilmans; Tupper, leader in church and state and veteran of a hundred exploits."†

General Putnam, taking the title of governor, two days later issued a set of ordinances, for the government of the territory of the company, creating a judicial system, a militia, and a public library to be kept at the governor's headquarters. Another provision was that the town thus established should bear the name of Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette, queen of France, whose former friendship to America and present persecution by calumny in the rising storm of French revolution, appealed to the chivalry of these sturdy

*It is to be remembered that there had been unauthorized settlements in Ohio along the river, for ten years before this.

†Senator Hoar's Marietta address.

conquerors of the wilderness. These ordinances, written out by Secretary Benjamin Tupper, were posted in three places.

During these proceedings the old warrior, Captain Pipe, was encamped with his band near by, but he had left the war path, and looked on with quiet interest in the inevitable new order of things in Ohio. But, for protection, Fort Harmar being on the opposite side of the river, the colonists began the building of a stockade, near the ancient earthworks which told of a town far antedating the Ohio company. The place thus fortified was called the Campus Martius, for the people of that day were devoted to their Roman history. Later a very strong fortified place was built, with log bastions, and a palisade enclosing a parade ground and several dwelling places used by the settlers who had families and by the company and territorial officials. On July 2d there was a meeting of directors and agents, to formally name the town and the streets and squares, and on July 4th Independence day was celebrated with a barbecue and an oration by the eloquent Varnum, aided by the cannon of Fort Harmar.

At the same time the first efforts were being made toward a settlement of the Virginia military reserve between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers, a settlement as worthy of attention as that at Marietta, and of very great importance in the history of the State. Kentucky was being rapidly settled under the very liberal donations to actual settlers made by the Virginia government, and the greater portion of the country was soon more than doubly appropriated, says McDonald, by the pre-emption and settlement claims and military and treasury warrants, issued in almost as large quantities by Virginia as continental paper.* A tract for soldiers of the Revolution was reserved in Kentucky between the Green and Cumberland rivers, and before Virginia made her cession Col. Richard C. Anderson (father of Gen. Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame) was entrusted with the survey of the military reservations. Early in 1787 Major O'Bannon and Arthur Fox, Kentucky surveyors, looked over the Ohio reservation, and on August 1st of the same year Colonel Anderson, who had made his home near Louisville, opened an office for that region and many entries of land were made in the Ohio, Scioto and Little Miami bottoms. About that time, or a little before, says McDonald, several expeditions were made from Kentucky to destroy the Indian towns, in which Simon Kenton was a prominent figure. But Congress interfered in 1788, and all these Ohio entries were made void until the governor of Virginia should report that the land reserved in Kentucky was exhausted. One of the adventurous spirits who viewed the promised land in 1788 was Nathaniel Massie,† a fine

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*Biographical Sketches, by John McDonald, 1838.

†Nathaniel Massie was born in Goochland county, December 28, 1763, son of Maj. Nathaniel Massie, a substantial planter. As a boy he served in the Revolutionary war, and afterward he came to Kentucky as a surveyor.

looking young Virginian who was employed in Colonel Anderson's land office. A little later he was to make good use of his knowledge of locating and surveying land, according to the haphazard Virginian way, that furnished occupation for the lawyers for many years to come.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONQUEST OF OHIO.

Governor St. Clair—Territorial Government—The Miami Settlements—French Settlement—Harmar's Campaign—The Virginia Settlement—St. Clair's Campaign—Foreign Intrigue—Wayne's Campaign—Jay's Treaty.

THE ORGANIZATION of the first territorial government was made by Congress in October, 1787, with Maj.-Gen. Arthur St. Clair as governor and Winthrop Sargent as secretary. Brig.-Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons, Brig.-Gen. James Mitchell Varnum, and John Armstrong were appointed judges. All were officers of the war of the Revolution. Armstrong declining, John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey, was appointed in his place in February, 1788.

St. Clair was a native of Scotland (1734), who came to America with Amherst's army. After 1763 he commanded Fort Ligonier in western Pennsylvania, where he was granted lands. He warmly supported Pennsylvania in the troubles with Virginia, and Dunmore asked in vain for his dismissal from office. A colonel of the continentals at the beginning of the Revolution, he was promoted to brigadier in 1776, and later to major-general. He participated in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and was in command of Ticonderoga at the opening of Burgoyne's campaign. His evacuation of this post brought him under popular censure, but the court-martial acquitted him of the charges of cowardice and incapacity. It happened that the troops he withdrew from probable loss were of use in the subsequent capture of Burgoyne, and Congress ratified the verdict of the court-martial. After the war he was elected to Congress, and made president of that body. He was a man of superior ability, and of upright character. Though democratic in manner, and popular on that account with the western people, he held tenaciously to his opinions and was jealous of his authority and prerogative. As leader of the majority in the constitutional convention of Pennsylvania in 1783 he had advocated the appointment of higher judges for

life, exclusion of foreigners from suffrage for a considerable time, and a property qualification for all voters, and opposed enforced rotation in office. Consequently he was obnoxious already to the "fierce democracy" of Thomas Jefferson, though national politics did not seriously affect the Ohio country for the next ten years.

Governor St. Clair landed at Marietta, July 9, 1788, greeted by a salute from the guns of the fort, and after Colonel Sargent arrived on the 15th, with the commissions, an assembly of the inhabitants was called, and the government of the Northwest Territory inaugurated. The governor was also commander of militia, and had the appointment of magistrates and other civil officers as well as military. He and the judges were the law-making power, subject to the approval of Congress, until the territory had 5,000 free male inhabitants, when a house of representatives could be elected by the people. This body should then nominate ten persons, of whom Congress should select five as a legislative council, who, with the governor, would constitute an upper house of legislature.

The governor and judges were authorized, not to make new experiments in legislation, but to adopt and publish such laws of the original states as were necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district. The governor and judges soon disagreed about the construction of this provision, the judges holding that they had the power to select parts of laws, and even to enact new laws based upon the spirit of existing state laws, while St. Clair was for a stricter construction. But he gave way, and legislation went on without much regard to the ordinance. Congress never directly approved any of these laws, and Judge Burnet says their constitutionality was always doubted by the early bar of Ohio. But as the judges were also the lawmakers, there was nothing to do but accept their work.*

The first law of the Territory was adopted July 25, 1788, providing for militia service of the male inhabitants, and weekly drills. In all ten chapters of laws were promulgated at Marietta. In 1790 a few laws of local interest were enacted at Vincennes and Cincinnati, and after that there was no legislation until the adoption of the Maxwell code in 1795. That the governor and judges, in the enactment of laws from 1788 to 1795, while exceeding their authority, says Judge Chase, did not abuse it, may be inferred from the fact that all, except two laws that had been previously repealed, were confirmed by the first territorial legislature. All these laws, as well as the temporary government provided by the ordinance were superseded and annulled by the adoption of the State Constitution. The supreme court of the United States has expressed the opinion that the ordinance as a whole was superseded by the adoption of the constitution of the United States; which, if correct, limits the effective

*Marietta address by F. F. Oldham.

life of the ordinance between July 15, 1788, and March 4, 1789. The principles of government enunciated in it survive, however, in that constitution and in the constitutions of the states formed from the Territory and the constitutions of many other states modeled upon them.

One of the duties of the governor was to lay out counties for the establishment of judicial authority, and he accordingly established the county of Washington, including all Ohio east of the Scioto and the Cuyahoga and south of the Indian line. In all this vast area there was no town save Marietta, and no other settlements except the scattered inhabitants along the upper Ohio. Courts of common pleas and quarter sessions were created for the county. Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper were appointed judges of the court of common pleas, and on September 2d Col. Ebenezer Sproat, high sheriff, with drawn sword marched at the head of a procession including the officers of the garrison, the governor and territorial judges, up the path cut through the forest to the strong house built upon Campus Martius, where Dr. Cutler invoked the blessing of Almighty God, and the opening of the first court was proclaimed. On the 9th the judges of the court of quarter sessions, exercising many of the present functions of county commissioners, were also formally installed.

While the settlers were busy clearing fields and building log houses they were visited, August 27th, by the advance guard of another colony, led by John Cleves Symmes, who stopped for a few days to perform his duties as a lawmaker for the territory. Symmes was a man of forty-four years, a native of Long Island, who had been a colonel of militia in the Revolution, and rendered public service as lieutenant-governor of New Jersey, judge of the supreme court of that state, and member of the council and of Congress. He was bound for the Miami valley, naturally a more inviting field for settlement than the Muskingum, but avoided on account of the Indian hostilities. So frequent were the forays of Kentuckians, Shawanees and Wyandots through its beautiful valleys and among its verdant hills that it became known as the "Miami slaughter house," and future events were to confirm the aptness of the title. As late as March, 1788, while Putnam and his colony were coming down the Ohio, a considerable party of explorers, including Samuel Purviance of Baltimore, and some French mineralogists and botanists, were nearly all killed or captured by the Indians at the mouth of the Great Miami.

But before this the forays of the Kentuckians had drawn one Benjamin Stites, a New Jersey trader of a speculative turn of mind, into the Miami valley, and, enthusiastic over the possibilities of that rich country, he returned to New Jersey to enlist in his scheme John Cleves Symmes, Gen. Jonathan Dayton, Elias Boudinot, Dr. Witherspoon, and other worthies of that day. An association resembling the Ohio company was formed, Congress was asked (August, 1787)

for a grant on the same terms given Putnam and his associates in the previous month, of the lands between the two Miamis, as far back as the north line of the proposed purchase of the Ohio company. Symmes encountered the same delay that had discouraged Cutler, but being of an enthusiastic nature, he seems to have taken it for granted that his enterprise would be approved, and began disposing of the country in November by covenanting to deed Stites 10,000 acres of the best lands in the valley. This he followed with a glowing prospectus, inviting settlers to select lands, and avail themselves of the low price, two-thirds of a dollar an acre, before it was raised on May 1, 1788, to one dollar. On his own behalf he reserved the nearest entire township to the mouth of the Great Miami, as well as fractional townships about it, as the site of a proposed city. There was a rush for the land bargains, and Matthias Denman, of New Jersey, also with a town in view, took up an entire section opposite the mouth of Licking river.

Stites and a party of settlers landed November 18, 1788, just below the Little Miami, and founded a town called Columbia. Symmes and party were on the way, but waited at Limestone (Maysville, Ky.) for a military escort, and Denman, without a following, went to Lexington, Ky., and formed a partnership with the founder of that city, Col. Robert Patterson, a Pennsylvanian who had visited Ohio as an officer in the Indian campaigns, and John Filson, a Pennsylvania schoolmaster who had become a Kentucky surveyor and the first of Kentucky historians. In the deal between these three, Denman received £20 in Virginia currency and the Kentuckians each a third interest in the section opposite the mouth of Licking, where the partners proposed to found a town and call it Losantiville. This was as tasteful and appropriate as the names Thomas Jefferson had proposed for the northwestern states, but less severely classical.* Free lots being offered as an inducement to immediate settlement, a large company of Kentuckians followed Patterson and Filson to the city site, where they met Denman, Symmes and Israel Ludlow, chief surveyor of the Miami company, September 22, 1788. A plat had been made by Filson, and the city of Cincinnati then had its dedication. But the survey and location of lots could not be made until Ludlow had ascertained if this section were within twenty miles of the mouth of the Great Miami.

Symmes, in his headlong course as a promoter, had been brought to a sudden check by the fact that the treasury board did not favor his application for such a great river front, and in view of his unauthorized procedure, was disposed to have nothing to do with the

*The combination of Latin and French is supposed to represent l'os anti ville, and, reversed, it might be interpreted: "town opposite the mouth." Perhaps Villantios had a sound that suggested the reversal.

project. Through the intercession of General Dayton and Daniel Marsh, representing Symmes' associates, the board was brought to consent to the sale of a twenty-mile front, eastward from the mouth of the Great Miami, and running back far enough to contain one million acres, and this tract was not formally contracted for until three weeks after the preliminary location of Cincinnati* (October 15, 1788).

While awaiting the survey, a large part of the adventurers, as they called themselves in that day, made an excursion into the interior to view the promised land and encountered an encampment of Indians, from which they turned back. The historian, Filson, becoming separated from the party, probably was killed by the Shawanees, as he was never again heard from. The adventurers all returned to Kentucky or the east. Ludlow became the successor of Filson in the partnership. Symmes went to Limestone, and waited for the conclusion of a new treaty with the Indians to insure peace. This desired treaty was concluded by Governor St. Clair at Fort Harmar, January 9, 1789, reaffirming the bounds set by the treaty of Fort McIntosh, as the fruit of conquest.† The Iroquois chief, Joseph Brant, approached the council place, but did not participate, and it afterward appeared that the Indians present were unauthorized to bind their tribes to cede any lands northwest of the Ohio. Romance has it that Brant was met in the forests by his former acquaintance, the governor's daughter, Louisa St. Clair, whose horsemanship and skill with the rifle was the admiration of the frontier.

After his treaty the governor went to New York, to witness the inauguration of General Washington as the first president of the United States, and remaining there several months, took part in devising additional legislation for the Northwest territory and a policy toward the Indians. Instructions were given him to avoid war as long as possible and to visit the Indians of the Wabash and Illinois.

Meanwhile, about Christmas, 1788, or New Year's, 1789, Patterson and Ludlow and a small party returned to Losantiville, and began laying out town lots, and the first settlers of that city gathered to

*The matter was finally settled by a patent to Symmes and his associates September 30, 1794, for the land between the two Miamies, and far enough inland to include 311,682 acres, from which sections sixteen and twenty-nine were reserved for the support of education and religion, and eight, eleven and twenty-six for disposal by Congress, also the Fort Washington reservation, and one complete township for a college. The latter was finally selected in Butler county, though not quite complete, and is the site of Oxford.

†On the day after the signing of the treaty James Mitchell Varnum died, at the age of forty years. Three years later Gen. Benjamin Tupper died at Marietta, June, 1792.

select their property.* A great flood followed, and delayed Symmes and his party until late in January. Then, on coming down the river to Fort Finney, the country about it was found under water. The disgusted military officer abandoned the fort to go to Louisville, but Symmes landed upon the nearest dry spot and began a town, which was given his name. With the advent of pioneer recruits, North Bend was established, a few miles up the river. Which of the various locations should be the center of development was in doubt until Symmes' appeal for military protection led to the placing of an army post. Ensign Luce and eighteen men built a stockade at North Bend and occupied it several months, but there was an Indian attack in the spring of 1789 that stampeded the inhabitants. Then Major Doughty came down with a larger force and in the summer of 1789 selected Losantiville as the best position and built a stockade that he called Fort Washington.† Gen. Josiah Harmar, commanding the regular army of the United States, which was composed of his regiment of infantry and Major Doughty's battalion of artillery, occupied this fort with the main part of his command, December 29, 1789, and Governor St. Clair, stopping there on his way to the Wabash and Mississippi, established, January 2, 1790, a new county, which Symmes named in honor of Alexander Hamilton. The name of the town St. Clair changed to commemorate the title of the new military order, the Cincinnati. This county included the country between the Miamis back to the Standing Stone forks of the larger river. Cincinnati, as the seat of an unsettled county, began, in a squalid and barren fashion, its history as the metropolis of the Ohio valley. In 1792 (February 11th) Governor St. Clair extended the county jurisdiction to include all west of the Scioto and a line north from the lower Shawanee town to Sandusky bay, and

*"On the 24th of December, 1788," says Symmes, in one of his letters, they left Maysville "to form a station and lay a town opposite the Licking." The river was filled with ice "from shore to shore," but "perseverance triumphing over difficulty, they landed safe on a most delightful high bank of the Ohio, where they founded the town of Losantiville, which populates considerably." James H. Perkins, in his Annals of the West, points out that the day of the settlement is unknown. "Some, supposing it would take about two days to make the voyage, have dated the being of the Queen City of the west from December 26th. This is but guesswork, however, for as the river was full of ice, it might have taken ten days to have gone the sixty-five miles from Maysville to Licking. But, in the case in chancery, to which we have referred, we have the evidence of Patterson and Ludlow that they landed opposite the Licking 'in the month of January, 1789;' while William McMillan testifies that he 'was one of those who formed the settlement of Cincinnati on the 28th day of December, 1788.'"

†The story was told by Judge Jacob Burnet that the commanding officer became "enamored with a beautiful, black-eyed female," at North Bend, whom her husband took to Cincinnati, whereupon the officer decided that the latter was the best strategic position. "This anecdote was communicated by Judge Symmes," said Burnet, "and is unquestionably authentic;" but Judge Symmes was much offended at the officer.

east of a line from Standing Stone forks of the Great Miami to Lake Huron, including all eastern Michigan.

In the same period (1788) a land company was formed to buy the Western Reserve of Connecticut, and Samuel Holden Parsons, the manager of this enterprise, under protection of the military, located land at the Salt Springs (Mahoning county), and a tract at the site of the city of Cleveland, but while returning from a talk with the Indians about opening the land, in November, 1789, Parsons was drowned in Big Beaver river, and settlement in the northeast was postponed.

In 1789 also, be it remembered, the crank for the first saw mill in Ohio was shipped from the foundry at New Haven, Conn., to the Ohio company, and brought by packhorses to the Youghiogheny river, and thence down the Ohio and up the Muskingum to Wolf Creek.

While St. Clair was in the west, another important settlement was made on the Ohio. This was the result of the operations in France of Joel Barlow, agent of the Duer–Cutler project of colonization of the Scioto valley. Barlow found the countrymen of La Salle ready for a colonization project on La Belle Riviere, and had no difficulty in forming a company, called the Society of Scioto, which agreed to take three million acres at six livres per acre. He wrote hopefully to Duer of being able to send him the money necessary to make a payment on the land, and secure a title to it. In rousing the French people to the importance of the enterprise Barlow used a descriptive pamphlet and map which did not seriously exaggerate the attractions of the land, except in stating that the Ohio company tract was cleared and settled. Soon the French colonists were coming over, and General Putnam sent Major Burnham to New England to enlist a company to clear a place for them and build houses at a temporary place below the mouth of the Kanawha, called Gallipolis, which was considered the proper classicism for Frenchtown. The Frenchmen, reaching Alexandria, Va., in April, 1790, and the following months, were discouraged by the Virginians, but being reassured by Colonel Duer, who had reason to think all was well, pushed on over the mountains, guided by Capt. Isaac Guion, at Duer's personal expense. Several hundred of them were at Gallipolis in October, 1790. Count de Barth and the Marquis Marnesia stopped at Marietta, awaiting the survey at the mouth of the Scioto, where they proposed to establish a city. But the American projectors of the speculation soon began to tremble at the failure to receive money from France, and meanwhile there were events in the Ohio country that stopped the progress of settlement.

It is estimated that there were in 1790 something over four thousand settlers northwest of the Ohio, including those on the Wabash, but more settled south of the river. In twelve months the lookouts at Fort Harmar counted eight or nine hundred boats going down

the Ohio, carrying twenty thousand settlers, with horses, cows, sheep and wagons, nearly all bound for Kentucky. The hostility of the Indians maintained the Ohio river as a barrier to settlement, and Great Britain retained military possession of Oswego, Fort Erie, Detroit and Mackinac. The only posts of the United States in the Territory were Fort Steuben (site of Steubenville), Forts Harmar and Washington, and Fort Knox at Vincennes.

George Washington, president of a Union taking some steps toward becoming a nation, determined to use all his power to gain possession of the Northwest, and toward the close of 1789 instructed St. Clair to draw upon Virginia and Pennsylvania for militia to reinforce the ludicrously small army that the jealousies of the states had allowed the federal government. General Harmar sent an expedition into the Scioto country in April, 1790, to break up a band of Cherokees who had posted themselves on the Ohio to plunder passing boats.

St. Clair, in the west, sent to the Indians on the Wabash his injudicious formula of peace or war, as the red men preferred, and his ambassador was turned back with defiance. At the head of the Maumee, the center of Indian rule, Gamelin found that no treaty would be made without British approval. St. Clair was then recalled to Ohio by the renewal of hostilities in the valley. Returning to Fort Washington, the governor met General Harmar, July 11th, and a campaign was planned with the object of reducing the Indians to quiet. There were to be two columns, advancing in the middle of September, one up the Wabash, and the other, led by General Harmar, north from Fort Washington. Requisition was made upon Kentucky and Pennsylvania for fifteen hundred militia, to reinforce Harmar's regulars, and St. Clair was busy from Kentucky to New York, in the work of organization. The result was that less than 1,500 men were collected in all, of whom 320 were regulars, and four companies of mounted riflemen, three battalions of Kentuckians and one of Pennsylvanians. The militia, of which a good part was badly armed and equipped, were under the command of Col. John Hardin, and this officer led the advance guard of the expedition, which marched out from Fort Washington, September 26th.

The British had been advised by letter that the campaign was aimed only at hostile Indians, and not against the English troops. There was talk of war between England and Spain, and it was not desired to hinder the British, if they contemplated a march against the Spanish on the Mississippi river. The Indians, receiving exaggerated reports of Harmar's strength, made no opposition to his advance, and after proceeding through the Great Miami valley and the headwater-country of the Wabash, Colonel Hardin, by a forced march, stole upon Kekionga, at the head of the Maumee, October

15th, hoping to surprise the red men and the Indian traders and get much booty. But the three hundred huts were deserted and the storehouses empty. On the march an Indian was seldom seen, though the horses of the soldiers were continually disappearing. The first Indian killed was enticed into an ambush by setting a horse as decoy, and when the red man fell wounded he was mercilessly despatched.* The Maumee village and 20,000 bushels of corn were burned, and Colonel Hardin took a party up the St. Joseph to destroy two Delaware towns. This was an opportunity for which Little Turtle,† the great Maumee war chief, had been waiting, and Hardin was driven back in rout, leaving twenty-two regulars and several volunteers killed on the field. Meanwhile, burning the Maumee village, Harmar moved down the river to a Shawanee village called Chillicothe,‡ and destroyed it.

Further down the Maumee, at the rapids, was a considerable settlement of Indians and British, including Brant and Alexander McKee, where the red men were supplied with clothing and military supplies, but Harmar had promised not to molest the British posts, and on October 21st he started with his army on the return march to Fort Washington. At the close of a short day's march, Hardin gained permission to redeem himself by another attempt at the Maumees. With three hundred and forty militia and sixty regulars he returned to the ruins of the Maumee village, hoping to find some of the Indians returned. His wish was gratified, but he was again badly defeated, losing ten officers and a large number of men. Then, with total casualties of 183 killed and 31 wounded, General Harmar continued his march southward. At Old Chillicothe, there was a mutiny among the volunteers, and when the troops got back to Fort Washington, weary from carrying their baggage, all the horses having been stolen or killed by the Indians, the Kentuckians were clamorous in complaint against the leader of the campaign, who had alluded to the conduct of the militia as shameful and cowardly.

Following this success, the red men, encouraged by McKee and Simon Girty, continued their hostilities along the Ohio. In January, 1791, the Ohio company settlement at Big Bottom, forty miles

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*Says the narrative of one of the volunteers, the Indian's head was cut off and put on a pole near General Harmar's tent, to remind the latter of a promise of a dozen of wine for the first head brought in.

†Little Turtle's Indian name is given in the histories as Meechee Konahkwah. The latter word has some resemblance to the Indian for turtle, but the first means Big. There was a Big Turtle, as mentioned in a previous chapter, and the names may be confused.

‡Col. William Stanley Hatch, in his "Chapter of the War of 1812," declares that Harmar never got farther north than the junction of Mad river and the Great Miami, and that this Chillicothe was the Clark county Chillicothe.

up the Muskingum, was destroyed and twelve people killed.* But the Indians did not do all the bad work. In March a party of volunteers, meeting a trading party of friendly red people near the Big Beaver, killed three men and a woman, stole all their property and stripped the bodies of clothing. Maj. Isaac Craig, at Fort Pitt, reported that though this looked like deliberate murder, it seemed to meet the approval of most of the people on the Ohio. Cornplanter, the great Seneca chief, sent a remonstrance to Washington, and Governor St. Clair hurried to make amends for this outrage and similar ones.

In the face of these adverse circumstances another of the most important initial settlements of Ohio began, that of the Virginia veterans in the Scioto valley. Their previous attempt, coincident with the Marietta settlement, has already been mentioned. In August, 1790, Congress removed the prohibition against them, and a large amount of military land warrants were put in the hands of Nathaniel Massie for location and survey, by Colonel Anderson, who had been entrusted with them by his comrades. Some adventurers had continued to make locations despite the act of Congress, at the risk of their lives, for the Indians were vigilant in defending their country. There was yet danger, but Massie was of a spirit to risk it. On account of the risk, his profit would be great, from one-fourth to one-half of the land he should obtain title for. He followed the usual custom of venturing beyond the Ohio in the winter, as the Indians were then collected in their towns. He gave general notice of his enterprise, offering each of the first twenty-five families as a donation, one inlot, one outlot and one hundred acres of land, provided they would join him in founding a town, and more than thirty families enlisted in this daring venture into the Indian country. After investigation the Ohio bottom opposite the lower of the Three islands was selected for the settlement, and there in December, 1790, the town was founded, called Massiestown and later Manchester. By the middle of March, 1791, the town of log houses was enclosed with strong pickets, with blockhouses at each angle. With Massie were "the Beasleys, the Stouts, the Washburns, the Ledoms, the Edgingtons, the Denings, the Ellisons, the Utts, the McKenzies, the Wades, and others, who were equal to the Indians in all the arts and stratagems of border warfare."† For their main farm the colony used the lower island, which yielded bountiful crops of corn. Deer, elk, buffalo, bear and turkeys were abundant, and the river was full of

*The Ohio company had planted several new settlements in 1790, at Belle Pré and Newbury and Anderson's Bottom on the Ohio, on Wolf Creek, where the first mill in Ohio was built, at Duck Creek and Meig's Bottom. In 1792, Major Goodale, at Belle Pré, commanding the Farmers' Castle, was captured and carried north until he died at the Sandusky.

†McDonald's Sketches.

ies. "Luxuries were entirely unknown except old Monongahela double-distilled, which was in great demand, and when obtained freely used." "The men spent most of their time in hunting and fishing, and almost every evening the boys and girls footed merrily to the tune of the fiddle. Thus was their time spent in that happy state of rudeness and ease, which none but the hunter or herdsman state can enjoy," wrote John McDonald, who joined them in 1793. This was the first Virginian settlement east of the Wheeling region, save that Virginians formed a considerable part of the Miami settlement. But of nearly all these Virginians it is to be said that they were the class alluded to in the previous chapter as the pioneers of the West, and having little in common with the old Virginia planters. "We often speak of Ohio as a Virginia state," says a local historian.* "In a sense this is largely true. But the Virginians who came to Ohio were mostly from the Valley, very few coming from tide-water, and the majority of the people in the Valley first settled in Pennsylvania."

So the Virginia settlement of Ohio began unostentatiously with less realization of the importance of the movement than existed at Marietta, or even at Cincinnati, but nevertheless resulting in an effective lodgment of a people who soon gained control of the country and ruled it politically for many years.

This hardy settlement, the homesick Frenchmen at Gallipolis, the settlements of the Ohio company and the Miami company, and the fringe of squatters along the upper Ohio, older settlers than any of them, constituted the white man's Ohio in 1791.

The disasters of Harmar and the greater one that followed, were due not so much to incompetence of leaders and insubordination of soldiers as to the jealousy of a central government that made even so great a man as Thomas Jefferson exaggerate the dangers of a standing army. With the whole Northwest in the possession of hostile Indians who were well known to be, man for man, more dangerous enemies than white soldiers, and England and Spain intriguing to draw Kentucky and Tennessee away from the Union, President Washington could persuade Congress to increase the regular army of the United States by one regiment only, giving him two skeleton regiments,† with provision for two thousand new levies from Pennsylvania and Virginia, so as to make a force of three thousand men in the West. As soon as the act for protecting the frontier was passed, Governor St. Clair was appointed major-general, chief in

* W. J. Hunter, "Pathfinders of Jefferson county."

† Among the subalterns in the First regiment was William Henry Harrison, eighteen years of age when commissioned ensign in 1791. Son of Benjamin Harrison, chairman of the committee that reported the declaration of independence, he had prestige among his associates, and young as he was, he had received a good education at Hampden-Sidney college in his native state of Virginia.

command, and he visited the president for counsel and, at Pittsburg and other places, endeavored to encourage the raising of troops and organization for a campaign. At the same time Col. Thomas Proctor was sent with Cornplanter to Detroit to treat for peace, and was expected to return by way of Fort Washington early in May, 1791. But the Kentuckians were eager to make war on their own account, and after waiting some time to hear from the peace commission, and hearing nothing, they set out under Gen. Charles Scott, with James Wilkinson as a colonel, in the latter part of May, and ravaged the Indian country on the Wabash. These hostilities while a peace envoy was in the field persuaded the red men that the talk of peace was only to delude them, and the preparation for an invasion by a large force from Cincinnati was enough to confirm their suspicion. After the return of Scott St. Clair authorized Wilkinson to lead another force of Kentuckians into the Indian country, in August, and they made a path of devastation through what is now northern Indiana, from the Kankakee to the Little river, burning villages and fields and killing Indian men, women and children. All this only intensified the trouble. If there had been a sufficient trained and disciplined army in the field that could be depended upon to act in concert with civilized efforts toward peace, better results might have followed.

St. Clair, meanwhile, was awaiting at Cincinnati the arrival of his reinforcements. He had two regiments of regulars and some Kentucky militia, but the levies that were sent down the river seemed to be largely collected from the streets and prisons of the cities of the east, as unfit for fighting Indians as could be imagined. It also appears that the general staff, with the exception of Winthrop Sargent, adjutant-general, who was the mainstay of the army, was sadly inefficient. The contractor for commissary was Colonel Duer, late of the Scioto company, and his work was grossly mismanaged. The clothing furnished the volunteers and levies was miserable, the tents were infamous, the packsaddles were big enough for elephants, the axes were soft metal, the powder was too poor to effectively carry the bullets, and even the wine at headquarters was bad.* St. Clair himself was growing old and his health was such that he should not have undertaken the campaign, if the prospect of the work of such a poorly equipped and disorganized army were not enough to forbid his risking his reputation with it. Doubtless he realized that more good would come of postponing the campaign over a year, but his levies were enlisted for six months only, and some of them declared the time began when they left home.

St. Clair's orders were to advance on the Maumee village (Fort Wayne) and establish a fortified post, with a chain of forts between

*Testimony at the investigation.

that position and Cincinnati. On his march he must, of course, cut a road for wagon train and build the forts. In the middle of September, when he had 2,300 men, exclusive of commissioned officers, he began building Fort Hamilton, at the site of the city of Hamilton, and thence, on October 4th, the main part of the army marched northward, under Gen. Richard Butler, while St. Clair waited a few days to prod the commissary department and push forward some militia who were already rapidly deserting. From Fort Hamilton on the 8th he wrote to Israel Ludlow, agent of the contractors, that he was not performing his duty, and the troops were already short of provisions. "A competent number of horses were provided to your hand;" the general wrote, "how they have been employed I know not; certainly one half of them have never been upon the road, or we should not have been in our present situation; and take notice that the want of drivers will be no excuse to a starving army and a disappointed people." Two weeks later Hodgdon, the quartermaster-general, was sent back to Cincinnati to discover what was the matter with the commissary department. On the 13th the army was about six miles south of Greenville, and began the building of Fort Jefferson, with the troops on half rations of flour. Oldham's company of militia being ordered to escort a cavalcade of horses back for flour, refused and declared if they went they would never return, and nothing could be done but send another company. While yet at Fort Jefferson, with the general fearing he would not be able to leave his bed, the levies began to declare their time was up, and desert. To stop this the army was drawn up on the 23d to witness the shooting of two deserters and one mutineer. Next day they set out on the march again, moving about nine miles a day.

From the time the troops were at Fort Hamilton horses had been stolen, presumably by Indians, but red men were not seen until the 28th, when the army was in the low and wet country of the headwaters of the Wabash. Then sentries were provoked to fire in the darkness at night, arousing the camp. A friendly Indian chief, Piamingo, and nineteen warriors were sent out on a scout. On October 31st the army halted to wait for provisions coming up on packhorses from Fort Jefferson. The militia were at the point of mutiny, and a third of them turned out with the expressed determination of going home. Sixty did start back, vowing they would stop the packhorses, and in consequence of this the First regiment of United States troops, about three hundred strong, was ordered back to Fort Jefferson, ostensibly to bring the deserters back, but really to protect the convoys. The flour arrived, and the army marched on November 2d about eight miles through a snow storm. Next day they trudged nine miles through water and mud and went into camp on a piece of dry ground on the southeast side of a branch of the Wabash. The camping ground was so small that the militia

was ordered across the creek about three hundred yards to another dry spot, and the men seemed so exhausted that the building of intrenchments was postponed until morning. It was evident that the Indians were about, the sentinels firing so often in the night that General Butler sent out an officer and detachment to investigate.

Next morning, the 4th, before sunrise, just as the troops had been dismissed from the usual parade, the woods in front rang with the yells of Indians and the reports of their rifles. The advanced force of militia, after firing a few shots, rushed back to the main body. All the troops were at once under arms and posted to meet the attack, which speedily enveloped both flanks. Their volleys and the roar of their artillery made a great noise, while the Indians, concealed by the smoke, crept up in close range, posted themselves behind trees and logs, and, in perfect quiet, save the crack of their rifles, fired murderously into the mass of soldiers. After all the officers of the artillery were killed but one, and he badly wounded, and nearly all of the men were cut off, the Indians took possession of the guns. Again and again the troops charged with fixed bayonets and routed the red men from their places, but as the attacking parties fell back into line, the Indians resumed their hiding places, and continued their fire. The ground began to be covered with the dead and wounded. The left flank, particularly exposed, gave way. St. Clair, on foot, led a force that drove out the Indians from that quarter. Other gallant efforts were made, but the troops were gradually bunched together, and General Butler and the greater part of the regimental officers having been killed or disabled, the men lost all hope and gave way to panic. The order to move toward the road, intended to begin a retreat, had to be repeated three times before it was heeded. Then, after four hours of such a fight, the remnant hurried to Fort Jefferson, with little opposition, and after the first two or three miles, without pursuit. They were not long in reaching that place, where the First regiment was awaiting them, and then what was left of the army pushed on in the night to meet a convoy of provisions, for there was nothing at the fort to eat.*

St. Clair had about 1,400 men in this fight, besides the officers. The killed and wounded were 890, and of the 86 or 90 officers, 16

*The story of this disaster is told, with as much vigor as old Scotch ballads relate the frays of Highlander and Lowlander, in an ancient ballad of Ohio, of which the following are the first stanzas:

> 'Twas November the fourth, in the year of ninety-one,
> We had a sore engagement near to Fort Jefferson;
> Sainclaire was our commander; which may remembered be,
> For there we left nine hundred men in the Western Ter'tory.
>
> At Bunker's Hill and Quebeck, there many a hero fell,
> Likewise at Long Island (it is I the truth can tell),
> But such a dreadful carnage may I never see again
> As happened near St. Mary's, upon the river plain.

were killed or wounded. It was a bloodier defeat than Braddock's, and it showed that the lesson of 1755 was forgotten. The Indians, under the great Maumee general, Meechee Konahquah, again demonstrated their ability in warfare. The result was a furious outcry against General St. Clair, and denunciation of the people responsible for the quartermaster, ordnance and commissary failures, but, as Gen. John Armstrong said, "The people at large, in behalf of whom the action was brought on, are more essentially to blame, and lost the battle. An infatuated security seemed to pervade the minds of all amongst us."

General St. Clair visited the federal capital and tendered his resignation from the army, which was accepted. A court of inquiry threw the blame on the delays and gross mismanagement of the quartermaster and commissary departments, the lateness of the season and the inexperience of the troops, and the general's conduct was commended. Preparations were begun for an army of five thousand men in spite of the cry that the Indian war was only an excuse for the Federalists to impose a standing army upon "the people," and, "to the great disgust" of the Virginia planters, President Washington appointed Anthony Wayne commander-in-chief. Wayne began the training of an army at a post a few miles below Pittsburg and took his time for it, while peace negotiations continued. Wayne was, as the British ambassador wrote, "the most vigilant, active and enterprising officer in the American army," but, as Washington said, he was supposed to be "more active and enterprising than judicious and cautious; vain and open to flattery."

There were talks with the Senecas and negotiations with the British minister concerning the evacuation of the posts on the lakes. An important point was scored by General Putnam, who was sent with the missionary Heckewelder, to Vincennes, to treat with the Pottawatomies and other tribes, whom he persuaded to peace by guaranteeing them peaceable possession of their lands. Brant was invited to Philadelphia and urged to work for peace. In a great council at the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee, Cornplanter and Red Jacket, of the friendly Senecas, in the fall of 1792, endeavored to urge the Maumees and their allies to make terms, but without avail. In the summer of 1793 Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering were appointed to treat with the western Indians to confirm the boundary line in Ohio agreed upon at Fort Harmar, and it was understood that $50,000 worth of presents and an annuity of $10,000 would be promised the red men.

A conference was held at the Detroit river, and though the commissioners asked for nothing more than the Fort Harmar concessions in Ohio, and Clark's grant on the lower Ohio, and promised munificent gifts, the Indians in council at the foot of the Maumee

rapids* were defiant and insisted on the Ohio river as a boundary. There can be no doubt that they were sustained in this determination by British influence. Brant, who attended the council, found to his surprise that the British advised the Indians to hold the river Ohio. They were told that the United States had no right in the Northwest under the treaty of 1783 but that of pre-emption of lands and that right had been forfeited by making war on the rightful owners of the soil. This was revealed by the Indians in their declaration that they had as much right to give their lands to the British as to the Americans. It was stated clearly in the speech of Lord Dorchester, governor of Canada, to a deputation of Indians from the council, in February, 1794, in which he complained of the American settlements beyond the Ohio, as "infringements on the king's rights," and said he should not be surprised if England was at war with the United States within a year.

Meanwhile General Wayne had brought what he had been able to collect of the proposed army down the Ohio to a camp called "Hobson's choice," near Cincinnati, and garrisons were maintained at Forts Hamilton and Jefferson and St. Clair (near Eaton). The Detroit conference closed on August 16, 1793, and as it became known that the army would soon move, September 21st was devoted to fasting and prayer for the success of the soldiers. October 7th Wayne advanced with about 2,600 regular troops and three or four hundred mounted volunteers to a point six miles north of Fort Jefferson, where he built Fort Greenville. Ten days later the Indians attacked the convoy of one of his wagon trains between Forts St. Clair and Jefferson, and killed Lieutenant Lowry and fourteen others. On the 24th Wayne was joined by a thousand mounted Kentuckians. He was not disposed, however, to repeat the experiment of a campaign in the late fall. Having an abundance of provisions, he contented himself with staying where he was through the winter and drilling his troops to fight Indians. On Christmas day a detachment reached the St. Clair battlefield, and after gathering up and burying the whitened bones, in which were counted six hundred skulls, Fort Recovery was built upon the scene of disaster.

The West, which then meant mainly Kentucky, was cheered and encouraged to allegiance to the Union by these movements for protection from Indian hostility, but in the East there was grumbling at the expense of the war. Political excitement ran high. The Federalists, committed to Alexander Hamilton's policy of a strong central government and financial system, were accused by the Republicans and Democrats of aristocratic monarchical tendencies. The rancorous disputes were intensified by the culmination of the French

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*This great council included the Iroquois and Maumee confederacies, Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanees, Pottowatomies, Chippewas and other tribes of the north, and the Cherokees and Creeks of the south.

revolution in the Terror of 1793, which disgusted the Federalists with republicanism in Europe, while the Democrats continued warm friends of France and began to urge an alliance with that country against England. Even Jefferson, secretary of state, became involved in this sentiment. President Washington was insulted and maligned because he held the country firmly to neutrality in relation to England, France and Spain. In Georgia he was burned in effigy. The French determined to force the United States into war against Spain as well as England. In 1793 a French embassy was in Kentucky to organize an army to drive the Spanish from the Mississippi valley, and George Rogers Clark came into prominence again as a proposed leader in this movement. With the title of major-general in the army of France, and "commander-in-chief of the French revolutionary legions on the Mississippi river," he published a call for volunteers in the first Ohio newspaper, the "Centinel of the Northwest Territory."*

In April, 1794, Governor Dorchester, who had told the Indians that the encroachments of the Americans could no longer be endured, sent Colonel Simcoe to build a British fort at the rapids of the Maumee. There could be no stronger encouragement of the red men to war. In the following month a messenger from the Spanish colonies appeared to tell the northwestern Indians that the great Creek nation of the south would join with them in an united effort to destroy the power of the English. Thus the strength of the red men of the West, which had sufficed so far to hold the United States in check, was urged to renewed exertion by both the English and Spanish authorities, one of these practically hostile nations aiming to hold the great lakes, while the other was determined to retain the command of the Mississippi and all the gulf coast. The situation was a critical one, but Washington, firm and steadfast in nature, was unmoved in the midst of these dangers, to which were added the hostility of the French party and a state of rebellion in western Pennsylvania. He held Wayne steady to the one purpose of occupying the seat of Indian power on the Maumee, forbidding all raids and side campaigns, and John Jay was sent to Europe to negotiate for the removal of the British posts and the acquirement of commercial rights on the Mississippi. If Wayne had failed Jay might also have failed, but Wayne was winning his victory by training his soldiers all through the winter in the realities of war, not in the silly show of militia parade; teaching them to fight from the shelter of trees and stumps, to hit what they shot at, to fire and charge to a more advanced shelter, to throw up log breastworks on a moment's notice,

*The first issue of this paper, printed in large type on coarse paper, was dated at Cincinnati, November 9, 1793. In 1796 it was changed to Freeman's Journal.

just as the American volunteer soldier had to learn over again half a century later.

A very important part of Wayne's army were the scouts, of which there were two commands, under Ephraim Kibbey, one of the first settlers of Columbia, and William Wells, lately a captive among the Indians, who had married a sister of Little Turtle, and fought against the whites during the Harmar and St. Clair campaigns. With Wells there were three other men who should be as famous as the "Three Musketeers" of Dumas: Henry Miller, Christopher Miller, his brother, added to the party during the campaign by capture from the Indians, of whom he was at first a faithful ally, and Robert McClelland, a scout who had come to Cincinnati in 1791, and was famous for his ability to jump over a team of oxen. His later career as an explorer of Oregon, is told by Washington Irving.

In the meantime the little Ohio colonies had to keep under arms to protect their homes. At Cincinnati Secretary Sargent, acting governor in the fall of 1792, proclaimed that "the practice of assembling for public worship without arms may be attended with most serious and melancholy circumstances." In the Scioto valley Massie, aided by Duncan McArthur, a soldier of Harmar's expedition, was attempting to push his surveys inland, but encountered much Indian hostility. The Frenchmen brought over by the Scioto company had established themselves at Gallipolis, four miles below the mouth of the Kanawha, and some of them took part in the St. Clair campaign, the Count Malartic particularly distinguishing himself as a staff officer. But their discontent was increased by an Indian raid afterward, in which several of them were captured and one scalped. Even news of the Terror in France did not reconcile them to the difficulties of frontier life, though their cabin homes were not uncomfortable, and their gardening met with success. They were involved in a vexatious lawsuit to obtain titles to the lands they had bought, but the Scioto company had totally failed, had no lands to deliver to them, and its chief spirit, Colonel Duer, was put in prison for debt. Even the Ohio company was struggling for existence. They yet had no deeds to their lands, and by contract could have none until the second payment of $500,000 was paid. On account of the rise in value of continental securities, the speculation based on the cheapness of these securities failed. Putnam and Cutler asked Congress for relief, and an act was passed in April, 1792, ordering a patent to them for the 750,000 acres paid for, 214,485 more on account of army bounties, and a gift of 100,000 acres to be divided among actual settlers.

The famous French philosopher, known as Count de Volney, escaped the guillotine in 1794 by the fall of Robespierre, and in 1796 went down the Ohio. He described the people at Gallipolis as forlorn and sickly, but, judging from his description, as well off as the

ordinary frontier settler. A later distinguished visitor was Louis Phillippe, afterward the citizen king of France, who was at Gallipolis in 1798.

The main furore about the Scioto scandal was due to politics. Even Jefferson rejoiced at the misfortunes of Duer in the panic of 1792. While the colonists suffered temporarily on account of failure of title to land, the Ohio company made an effort to have Gallipolis included in their donation of land, so that it could be assigned to the French, and though Congress did not do this, the Ohio company offered the French a chance at the donation tracts of hundred acre lots, and a little later (March, 1795) Congress granted them 20,000 acres, now in Scioto county, and 4,000 more to Jean Gabriel Gervaise, the leader, who proposed to found a town upon it. But the poor adventurers were then mostly scattered. At the worst, however, they had something to be thankful for, as they escaped the Terror and missed the slaughter of Napoleon's wars. Hypolite de Malartie, an aide-de-camp with St. Clair in 1791, wrote to the general from Europe five years later: "I am very sorry I have left America. I have lost my father; the guillotine has deprived me of a great part of my family, the rest are in prison. . . . The more I reflect, the more my country inspires horror . . yours is the only country to live in." On the other hand, Barlow, who induced these Frenchmen to seek refuge in Ohio, went back to France as a diplomat, and died in the snow while accompanying Napoleon in Russia.

In July, 1793, there were only two hundred and thirty males over sixteen years of age in the Ohio Company country, exclusive of the French at Gallipolis, and the settlers were contracted in narrow bounds for better protection. The men were organized in militia companies in the Muskingum and Miami valleys and did faithful service in keeping the prowling red men at bay. In April, 1794, an organization of citizens in Hamilton county offered rewards for Indian scalps, the highest being $136 for each scalp (with right ear appendant) of the first ten Indians killed before Christmas.* Safe communication with the east was kept up by two keelboats on the Ohio, gunboats, in fact, with bullet-proof covers and portholes for the cannon they carried. These boats, propelled by oars up the river and steered down with the current, made the trip between Cincinnati and Wheeling every two weeks, and formed the mail route of 1794-97.

In the early part of 1794 General Wayne continued his preparations for occupation of the Indian strongholds, though advised that the British had occupied the new post on the Maumee and that the Indians expected not only ammunition and guns from them but a re-inforcement of a thousand soldiers. Some of the red men, taught

* St. Clair Papers.

by experience, distrusted the English, and talked peace. The Wabash tribes were partly withheld from war by the Putnam treaty, and others who spied upon Wayne's work in training the troops became convinced that they would have no opportunity to surprise him. Wayne's tactics of delay were very much like those of General Forbes in his successful advance upon Fort DuQuesne. Little Turtle, however, remained undaunted, and on June 30, 1794, he sought to strike an effective blow by attacking Fort Recovery with a large party of warriors, aided by some British soldiers. It happened that Major McMahon with 140 men arrived at the same time, convoying a supply train, and they fought one day outside the fort and next day within it. Fortunately the Americans were able to repulse the attack, though they lost over fifty killed and wounded, and probably inflicted a severe punishment upon their enemy. The Indians expected to find St. Clair's cannon that they had hidden, said General Wayne in his report, and turn them upon the garrison, but fortunately the American soldiers had taken care of these beforehand. About a month later, July 26th, Wayne was reinforced by Gen. Charles Scott, a Virginia veteran who had settled in Kentucky, with about sixteen hundred mounted men, among them Maj. William Clark (brother of the hero of Vincennes) who had fought with St. Clair and, in later years, made the famous exploration of the Rocky Mountains and another Northwest. Wayne made feints to deceive the enemy, sending detachments to cut roads to Kekionga and the foot of the rapids, while he should strike directly at the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee, but a deserter gave the enemy warning, and when the army marched out from Fort Greenville and reached its destination August 8th, the villages were found deserted. The line of march had been wisely chosen. A soldier wrote, "We have marched four or five miles in corn fields down the Auglaize, and there is not less than a thousand acres of corn around the town."* General Wayne himself declared: "The margins of these beautiful rivers, the Miamies of the lake and Auglaize, appear like one continuous village for a number of miles above and below this place, and I have never before seen such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida." Availing himself of this abundance, Wayne took time to send out, as commander-in-chief of the federal army and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States, another offer of peace to the hostiles, declaring that "the arm of the United States is strong and powerful, but they love mercy and kindness more than war and desolation." Little Turtle was inclined to make peace on receiving this message, but the war party overrode his judgment, and he went to the field with his people. Brant, with his Mohawks, was at some distance, sick, he said, and never reached the

*Journal of George Will.

battleground. Waiting for an answer, Fort Defiance was built where the city of Defiance now perpetuates its name.

Then starting down the Maumee, Wayne was met by his envoy returning with a request that he wait ten days more for an answer. The general wisely decided to push ahead. On the 12th, after an advance of forty-one miles along the north side of the Maumee, past numerous villages of Indians, Canadian French and renegade Englishmen, all deserted, the army reached a point where there seemed to be indications of resistance. Halting, a fortified place was made for the baggage and supplies, called Fort Deposit, and thence the advance was made August 20th, with Major Price's mounted battalion a good distance in advance to give warning of danger, for the general was "yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war." After proceeding about five miles Price met a heavy fire that drove him back. The Indians, under Little Turtle, about thirteen hundred strong (according to McKee), had "formed in three lines within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river."* Tecumseh was there with the Shawanees, and there was a sprinkling of British to take part in the killing, as evidenced afterward by their own dead bodies on the field. The ground was well chosen, covered with fallen timber, torn up and scattered in every direction by a tornado, so that cavalry was useless immediately in front.

Wayne formed his legion in two lines, the right wing under General Wilkinson and the left under Colonel Hamtramck, but even as he was doing so the red men, while keeping up an effective fire from the front, pushed out their line to flank the Americans on the left. The general made his plan of battle in an instant; and his aides-de-camp, among them Lieut. William Henry Harrison, were busy carrying orders to the subordinate commanders. The second line was ordered up to support the first, and Scott was directed to take the whole force of mounted volunteers by a circuitous route against the enemy's right flank. To meet the flank movement of the enemy, next the river, where there was a chance to advance the horsemen, he sent his own trained cavalry under Captain Campbell, and the front line of infantry was ordered to charge directly into the face of the fire, with trailed arms, rout the enemy from cover with the bayonet, then fire at close quarters, and charge again, loading as they ran. The men were trained to do this and they did it. The second line did not have time to take part in the battle; the flank maneuvres were left far behind, and in an hour the Indians had been driven two miles by the nine hundred infantry that went after them in such a daring and effective manner.

Wayne's loss in this decisive victory, known as the battle of Fallen

*General Wayne's report.

Timbers, was 33 killed, including five officers, and 100 wounded. It was Wayne's opinion that the enemy lost more. He reported that "the woods were strewed for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of Indians and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets."

General Wayne's victorious advance brought his troops almost within cannon range of the British post, and next day Maj. William Campbell, the commandant, sent a request to be informed "in what light he was to view this approach" to a post of his majesty the king of Great Britain. Wayne retorted that the British commander must have been able to hear the reason of his approach in the accents of his small arms the day before, and if the defeated Indians had taken refuge in a British fort on American soil it would not have made much difference in the progress of his victorious command. The major returned next day that he was anxious to prevent war, and had foreborne to resent the insult to the British flag of armed parties coming within pistol shot, but if the insult should continue he should be obliged to have recourse to harsh measures. Wayne responded that the only act of hostility between Great Britain and America within his purview was Campbell's presumption in occupying a post on American soil, and ordered him to withdraw forthwith. Campbell replied, in a much milder tone, that his duty compelled him to remain; and thus the correspondence ceased. After burning the houses and laying waste the cornfields all about the fort, Wayne marched back to Fort Defiance, sweeping the country clean for many miles on each side of the Maumee. Fort Defiance was strengthened and garrisoned, and on September 14th the army marched for the Kekionga village, where Fort Wayne was then constructed. The Kentucky volunteers were soon sent home, and early in November the main part of the legion was back at Fort Greenville.

Through the following winter Colonel Simcoe, who called the Indian chiefs together and urged them to continue hostilities, lost in influence, and Wayne gained. The Maumees whose villages and fields had been ravaged were dependent on the British altogether for food, and listened to Simcoe. The Shawanees and Ottawas were also for war, but the other tribes were divided, and the parties from beyond the Mississippi soon returned to their homes. John Jay, meanwhile, was making progress with a treaty, and Simcoe was disgusted by orders to remain quiet. In January, 1795, the same month that it was known in America that Jay had concluded a treaty, the chiefs of the hostile tribes met Wayne at Greenville to make the preliminary talk for peace. The poor creatures could do nothing else, for they were on the verge of starvation and their cattle were dying of hunger. In the following June, while the senate of the United States was considering the treaty with England, which provided, among other important features, for the evacuation of the British

posts and a northwest boundary, Buckongehelas and Little Turtle and their parties were trailing in to Greenville. In August the chiefs of the northwestern tribes, with contending emotions, signed the terms agreed upon with Wayne, and in the same month President Washington, in spite of a terrific clamor against Jay's treaty, a clamor that Hamilton called "a mere ebullition of ignorance, of prejudice and of faction," signed the pact with England. This treaty could not really be effective until the house of representatives had voted an appropriation to carry it into effect in the Northwest, and when the house was asked to do so in the spring of 1796, there was more probability of nullification of the treaty and war with England than there was of peace. "The great triumph was won by Fisher Ames, a Massachusetts Federalist, in a speech before the house on April 28th, whose effect is kept alive even today among the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of those who heard it and those who witnessed its effect throughout the land.*" Ames stoutly maintained that the alarm about concessions to England in the treaty was the product of imagination and prejudice. He appealed to the sense of interest. The western lands must be held and settlement encouraged that the sales of land might pay the national debt. He appealed to sympathy for the victims of the savage Indian, for protection to the families of the settlers; and finally sought to awaken a sense of national honor. "On a question of shame and honor, reason is sometimes useless and worse. I feel the decision in my pulse; if it throws no light upon the brain it kindles a fire at the heart." In those days an orator always had to compete with classic models, but Fisher Ames was said to have equalled Demosthenes and Cicero. Better yet, the vote taken after the speech showed a majority of two in favor of taking possession of the West according to the terms of the Jay treaty. By this narrow margin it was settled that the West should be saved, and that the clamor that would have thrown the United States under the influence of her most dangerous enemies, France and Spain, should yield to the firmness of Washington.

The treaty made by General Wayne provided for an Indian boundary in Ohio as established by the treaty of Fort Harmar. Between the Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas and the Maumee and Miami, south to the line from Fort Laurens to Loramie's store, the Indians were to retain possession, and besides that they were to hold the title to all the rest of the country, west of a line from Fort Recovery to the mouth of the Kentucky river, and west and northwest of the Maumee, except Clark's grant on the Ohio river and certain reservations about Detroit and the forts in Ohio and other parts of the Northwest, with the understanding that when they should sell lands, it should be to the United States alone, whose protection the Indians acknowledged,

*Winsor's Westward Movement.

and that of no other power whatever. There was to be free passage along the Maumee, Auglaize, Sandusky and Wabash rivers and the lake. Twenty thousand dollars worth of goods were at once delivered to the Indians, and a promise was made of $9,500 worth every year forever.

A treaty with Spain about the same time opened the Mississippi to the river boats from the Ohio, and provided a place of deposit at New Orleans, but while this satisfied the demands of the Kentucky people, there was danger in the situation. Freedom of trade on the Mississippi might increase the disposition to separate the nation along that formidable barrier to trade and travel, the Alleghany ridge. The French, aroused in national spirit by the victories of the republic, were looking with longing eyes at their ancient province of Louisiana. "The possession of Louisiana by the French," said Rochefoucault Liancourt, "would set bounds to the childish avarice of the Americans, who wish to grasp at everything." In 1796, the French minister sent Gen. Victor Collot down the Ohio to view the situation. The philosopher Volney earnestly denied that he was a spy, but he happened along about that time also, and Michaux, the noted French botanist, had been studying the trees of the Ohio valley. If the French gained control of the country west of the Mississippi, it was seriously to be feared that Kentucky and Tennessee, influenced by the strong French sentiment of the "Jacobins," would make a union with that domain. There was also talk of British ambition in the valley. Dr. Conolly again appeared, examining a route for an expedition against New Orleans, England having declared war against Spain in October, 1796, and a little later, Senator Blount, of Tennessee, was expelled from Congress for alleged complicity in a British plot in the west.

In December, 1796, General Wayne, on his way from Detroit to Philadelphia, was taken with fever and died in a cabin at or near Presque Isle (Erie), at the age of fifty-one. He was succeeded by Gen. James Wilkinson, lately devoted to the cause of Spain. Carondelet, the governor of Louisiana, counseled by Chief Justice Sebastian, of Frankfort, Ky., a man in the hire of Spain, sent an emissary into the Ohio valley to ascertain the disposition of the people toward the formation of a new and independent republic, which Carondelet had no doubt that Wilkinson, "through vanity," would be glad to promote. "The people are discontented with the new taxes," said Carondelet. "Spain and France are enraged at the connection of the United States with England; the army is weak and devoted to Wilkinson; the threats of Congress authorize me to succor, on the spot, and openly, the western states; the money will not be wanting; nothing more will be required but an instant of firmness and resolution to make the people of the west perfectly happy." Ten thousand

dollars, in sugar barrels, were to be sent to General Wilkinson. Thomas Power, the emissary, visited Wilkinson at Detroit with an official communication that masked his errand, but he found the Kentuckians indisposed to revolt. The government at Washington, being informed of his mission, ordered his arrest, but he was escorted to the frontier by an officer. Wilkinson soon afterward received a remittance of specie, which was said to be the returns from a tobacco venture. Another messenger with money was murdered on the way. One must study this complicated situation and comprehend the real danger at that time that Ohio and the Northwest would be detached from the Union, to realize the value of Wayne's conquest of Ohio, and the treaties with England and Spain. One may also with such preparation read with some understanding the great farewell address of George Washington, delivered September 17, 1797, with its elaborate argument for union of the country in a nation, and for a decent self-respect among the people that should prevent them lending themselves to the intrigues of foreign nations. To the West he pointed out that "it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlet for its own productions to the weight, the influence and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation." This league of East and West and commercial unity, preached by Washington, was in later years perfected by the introduction of canals, lake steamers and railroads, and saved the Union from its greatest danger. "Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength [secession], or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious."

By this time the fruit of the policy of Washington had ripened. Nothing more was heard of British invasion. Congress was able to set up the territory of Mississippi, to which Winthrop Sargent was sent as governor, William Henry Harrison, now a captain and commandant at Fort Washington, who had married Anna, daughter of Judge Symmes, succeeding him as secretary of the Northwest territory. General Wilkinson, who must have smiled at his situation, took possession of Natchez in the name of the United States, and another great step was completed in the struggle for freedom from foreign control.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM TERRITORY TO STATE.

Progress of Settlement—The Connecticut Reserve—Opposition to St. Clair—Beginning of Representative Government—Movement for Statehood—"Monarchists and Jacobins"—The Enabling Act—Constitutional Convention—End of St. Clair's Administration.

WITH the treaty of Greenville concluded and the probability that it settled forever the status of the Indians in the Northwest, the Pennsylvania "whiskey" rebellion squelched in 1794, peace with England assured by the Jay treaty, and a promise from the Spanish government in the same year to yield free use of the Mississippi, the United States was at greater liberty for peaceful development toward the close of Washington's administration. Consequently there was a considerable revival of immigration in Ohio.

In April, 1796, a Presbyterian colony collected from Bourbon county, Ky., and Pennsylvania, under the leadership of Rev. Robert W. Finley,* having sold or freed such slaves as they owned, reinforced the Massie settlement in the Virginia tract, and in the same year Massie platted the town of Chillicothe, on the west side of the Scioto, where by fall there were twenty cabins. These pioneers were reinforced, notably in the spring of 1798, from the Shenandoah valley.

Edward Tiffin, born at Carlisle, Eng., January 19, 1766, came to Philadelphia in boyhood with his people, studied medicine, and began his practice where his father had settled, at Charleston, in the valley of Virginia. His bouyant spirits, handsome person and elegant manners made him very popular, and in 1789 he married Mary, daughter of Col. Robert Worthington, a wealthy planter. With his

*In the previous year, while Wayne was treating with the Indian chiefs, Finley and a party of sixty, while going into Ohio, had attacked a camp of Indians, and after some fighting were compelled to return to Kentucky. General Wayne wrote a sharp letter to St. Clair about it. This was the last of the Indian fights.

brother-in-law, Thomas Worthington, and their families, he came to Chillicothe in 1798, and the two at once became leaders in the settlement, and friends of Massie, then the greatest landowner in Ohio. Worthington had "a little army of negroes, who had been freed, but who were brought as servants to the new home.*

In 1796 Ebenezer Zane made a contract with the national government to cut a road for a mail route from Wheeling to Limestone on the Ohio, his compensation for the same and maintaining ferries to be three sections of land on his road, which he selected, one opposite Chillicothe, one at "Standing Rock" on the Hockhocking, determining the site of Lancaster, and the other on the Muskingum, at the site of Zanesville. For some time afterward the road was passable only for horsemen.

Francis Baily, an English astronomer, came down the Ohio soon after the visit of Volney (1797), and found Cincinnati a town of three or four hundred houses, mostly frame, and busy as the great military depot and capital of the west. The tract of country between the two Miamis was the "only properly *settled* country on the north side of the Ohio," he declared. "There are a few scattered plantations along the banks of the Ohio and on some of the rivers that run into it, yet they are too widely diffused to assume any corporate form, or to vie with each other in a spirit of industry and civilization. This little Mesopotamia may be said to be the most attractive part of the whole Northwest territory."

Judge Symmes, though his purchase had been reduced to less than 300,000 acres, was selling lands far to the north, and Governor St. Clair, Generals Jonathan Dayton and James Wilkinson and Israel Ludlow purchased a tract on which was platted the city of Dayton, which was settled in April, 1796. There was no right on Symmes' part to convey, but Congress granted the settlers pre-emption rights in 1799.

In Clermont county there was a notable settlement of people from south of the Ohio who disliked slavery, largely dominated by Francis McCormick, a soldier of the Revolution, who founded the first Methodist church, and preached with great force as early as 1797. With him was associated Philip Gatch, a Methodist preacher from Maryland who had suffered the martyrdom of tar and feathers, and was elected to the first constitutional convention of Ohio because he opposed slavery.

By the Jay treaty the British posts were to be abandoned on or before June 1, 1796, and in July, when the United States demanded a fulfillment of the treaty, the transfer was made and General Wayne moved his headquarters to the neighborhood of the great lakes. In the absence of Governor St. Clair Secretary Sargent went

*Chelocothe Souvenir," by a granddaughter of Worthington.

to Detroit, and on August 15, 1796, proclaimed the county of Wayne, which included, besides what is now parts of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, the north part of Hamilton county, including the Indian country in Ohio. There had been great activity in this region, as has been noted, in acquiring Indian titles to land. In 1795 a scheme was brought before Congress to sell the whole of lower Michigan to a syndicate, but as bribery was attempted nothing but a scandal resulted. The son of John Askin attempted to take part in the treaty of Greenville as a proprietor in northwestern Ohio, but was seized and held in the guardhouse until the treaty was concluded. Afterward he built a house within the present limits of Cleveland, west of the river, and assumed ownership, and intrigued with the Indians to defeat the purchase of land by the promoters of settlement in the Western Reserve.

Connecticut had made in 1792 a grant of 500,000 acres in the Reserve for the benefit of those people, mainly of London, Norwalk and Fairfield, Conn., whose homes had been burned by the British during the Revolution, and in 1793 the legislature of that state offered the remainder for sale, with the provision, afterward rescinded, that the proceeds should go to the support of the church in Connecticut. In May, 1795, the legislature again offered the land, decreeing that the proceeds should be appropriated to the maintenance of schools, and a sale being effected under that law, the school fund of Connecticut was thereby founded. The sale occurred in September, without survey or measurement of the land, to thirty-five purchasers who severally promised to pay sums aggregating $1,200,000, each of the thirty-five purchasers, who represented a larger number of people, to receive a deed for as many twelve hundred-thousandths of the land as he agreed to pay dollars. The area was estimated at four million acres, and though it turned out to be less than three million, it was the largest land sale ever perfected in Ohio. It will be noted that the plan rested upon individual responsibility, not upon the speculative ability of a company, as in the case of the Ohio and Miami companies, and performance was made of the contract.

At the head of the purchasers, who were not incorporated, was Oliver Phelps, one of the greatest land speculators of that time, and his associates included citizens of New York and Massachusetts as well as of Connecticut. On September 5, 1795, the syndicate adopted articles of association, but no formal incorporation was ever made. The stock was divided into four hundred shares of $3,000 each, it was determined to survey the land in townships five miles square,* and it was agreed to reserve six townships for the associa-

*This township has 16,000 acres; the United States survey township 23,040.

tion, divide four townships into four hundred tracts of 160 acres to be distributed to shareholders by lot, and divide the residue in tracts equalized in area to correspond with the quality of the land. In the spring of 1796, the Wayne treaty having been ratified by the United States senate in December, and Andrew Ellicott having completed the west line of Pennsylvania, the Connecticut associates sent out a party to survey the land, under the leadership of their general agent, Moses Cleaveland, a lawyer of Canterbury who had served as a captain in the Revolution, and was a brigadier-general of militia. At Buffalo a treaty was made with the Iroquois to extinguish their title in the reserve east of the Cuyahoga for the consideration of £500 worth of goods, two beef cattle and a hundred gallons of whiskey. Part of the surveyors followed the Indian trails westward, and part coasted along Lake Erie in boats, the fifty-two meeting at Conneaut Creek, July 4th, and joining in a hearty celebration of the day. On the 22d of the same month they reached the mouth of the Cuyahoga, where a city was platted as the capital of the domain and named Cleaveland, in honor of the leader.*

At this period, in the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, there was no fixed seat of government. St. Clair resided at Cincinnati,† where the offices were, but the governor and two judges promulgated laws wherever they might happen to be assembled. Before the year 1795 no laws were, strictly speaking, adopted from old State laws. Most of them were framed by the governor and judges to answer particular public ends; while in the enactment of others, including all the laws of 1792, the secretary of the territory discharged under the authority of Congress, the functions of the governor. Parsons, Symmes and George Turner were the judges until the death of Parsons, when Rufus Putnam succeeded him and served until he was made surveyor-general of the territory in 1796, and Joseph Gilman took his place at the close of that year. Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., took the place of Turner in February, 1798.

It has been stated that the original judges, by deciding to enact new laws, instead of adopting old laws of the states, assumed absolute powers not contemplated by the ordinance. At the close of 1794, Governor St. Clair, writing to Thomas Jefferson, then secretary of state, pointed out in a characteristic manner another peculiar circumstance. "The principal settlements have been made in tracts of land purchased by certain companies or associations of persons, the Ohio company and Miami company. In both these associations the management of the directors and agents are thought to have laid

*The name of the city appears both Cleveland and Cleaveland on the first plats, and was spelled both ways, but officially Cleaveland, until about 1833, when the newspapers dropped the superfluous a.

†The governor had adopted a territorial seal, with one tree growing, and another felled, and the motto "Meliorem lapsa locavit."

the foundation of endless disputes. General Putnam has been the active director in the first association, and Mr. Symmes the principal if not the sole agent in the second, and they are both judges of the supreme court. Every land dispute will be traced to some transaction of the one or the other of these gentlemen, and they are to sit in judgment on them."

In 1795 the governor and judges undertook to revise the territorial laws and establish a complete system of statutory jurisprudence, by adoptions from the laws of the original states, in strict conformity with the provisions of the ordinance of 1787. For this purpose St. Clair, Symmes and Turner met at Cincinnati and organized as a legislature May 29th, and continued in session until the latter part of August. "The judiciary system underwent some changes. The general court was fixed at Cincinnati and Marietta, and a circuit court was established with power to try in the several counties issues in fact depending before the superior tribunal, where alone causes could be finally decided. Orphans' courts were established, with jurisdiction analogous to, but more extensive than that of a judge of probate. Laws were also adopted to regulate judgments and executions, for the limitation of actions, for the distribution of intestate estates, and for many other general purposes. Finally, as if with a view to create some great reservoir from which whatever principles and powers had been omitted in the particular acts might be drawn according to the exigency of circumstances, the governor and judges adopted a law providing that the common law of England and all general statutes in aid of the common law, prior to the fourth year of James I, should be in full force in the territory. The law thus adopted was an act of the Virginia legislature, passed before the declaration of independence, and at the time of its adoption had been repealed so far as it related to the English statutes. The other laws of 1795 were principally derived from the statute book of Pennsylvania. The system thus adopted was not without many imperfections and blemishes; but it may be doubted whether any colony, at so early a period after its establishment, ever had one so good."* This body of law, as published, was known as the Maxwell code.

The settlement of the territory was hampered now, as St. Clair wrote in 1797, by the land law that at first encouraged the great companies. The people also felt the ordinance of 1787 as oppressive of liberty. The restraints upon an "uninformed and perhaps licentious" people, as Richard Henry Lee imagined the settlers would be, were onerous, at least in the principle involved, and Governor St. Clair, who represented the autocratic government prescribed by the ordinance, began to suffer in popular esteem for his zealous attention to

*Salmon P. Chase, in his sketch of the history of Ohio.

administration. In 1793 the judges of Hamilton county, commissioned by Secretary Sargent, in the absence of St. Clair, "during the pleasure of the governor," indignantly refused their commissions. They "would not stoop to holding office, the tenure of which is during pleasure," though the ordinance fixed no other limit. After the Symmes patent was issued in 1794, providing for one township to be set apart for a seminary, St. Clair was compelled to be disagreeably insistent to have such a reservation actually saved. A few years later we find Judge Symmes declaring: "We shall never have fair play while Arthur and his 'knights of the round table' sit at the head."

On account of the Virginian settlement Adams county was created July 10, 1797, from Washington and Hamilton, including the French grant, and extending from the Ohio river to the Greenville treaty line, or Wayne county. Nathaniel Massie, appointed colonel of militia and magistrate in this county, attempted to change the county seat from Adamsville to Manchester, leading the governor to rebuke the effort to override his authority. Massie had a strong friend in Worthington, of whom St. Clair complained for high handed conduct regarding the land laws and rights of settlers.* Tiffin was of course enlisted in the cause of Worthington, and there soon resulted a formidable opposition to the governor. Associated in this movement were William Creighton, a Virginian who settled at Chillicothe in 1799, practiced law, and was a social favorite; Joseph Kerr, of Chillicothe, a young man of Irish parentage; Samuel Finley, of Chillicothe; Joseph Darlinton, one of the pioneers of Adams county; John Smith, who became the Baptist minister at Columbia in 1790, a man of "noble and commanding presence, popular manners and remarkably fascinating address; William Goforth, of Hamilton county; Francis Dunlavy, a Scotch-Irishman of the Shenandoah valley, who had been with Crawford in the Sandusky expedition, and came to the site of Lebanon in 1797 and taught school with John Reily; Jeremiah Morrow, another pioneer of what is now Warren county, a canny Scotch-Irishman, born in Pennsylvania; Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., of Marietta, who made a break in the Federal ranks on the Muskingum; and Michael Baldwin, of Chillicothe, of Connecticut descent, a lawyer and powerful leader of the carousing and gambling element.

These leaders were Republicans, as the party of Thomas Jefferson was called, and St. Clair was an earnest Federalist. The partisan Federalist lumped Republicans and Democrats together as "Jacobins," friends of the French revolution and French atheism, and enemies of the conservative institutions of the Union; while the partisan Republican called the Federalists friends of Great Britain;

*Address by William Henry Smith, "Monarchists and Jacobins."

"aristocrats," who would oppress the country with a regular army and powerful navy, perhaps to establish a monarchy. The Federalist dreaded Republican supremacy as an end to "law and order," and the Republican burned for relief from Federalist "despotism." There has never been more bitter partisanship in the United States than then existed. It was not felt in Ohio when John Adams was elected president. Judge Burnet was able to recollect only four men in his neighborhood who favored Jefferson in opposition to Adams. They were good ones, however—Major Zeigler,* William Henry Harrison, William McMillan and John Smith. But party spirit rapidly rose during Adams' administration. The "alien and sedition laws," intended by the Federalists to crush French intrigue, by invading the liberty of the press insured the triumph of the opposing party. As St. Clair wrote a pamphlet defending these obnoxious laws, and was praised therefor by John Adams, the opposition naturally directed toward his gray head their vials of wrath. Across the river the Kentuckians asserted the right of nullification. Northwest of the Ohio, the Federalists were strongest on the Muskingum, fairly held their own on the Miami, had many friends at Detroit, and were being reinforced by the pioneer settlers of the Western reserve, but on the Scioto the Republicans were supreme, and their strength was not insignificant in all the other settlements, fostered by the organization of Republican clubs, and the general desire for greater political rights, for which people looked to statehood and the success of the Republican party, though, in fact, the South, where that party was strongest, had control of Congress when the objectionable plan of government was framed in 1787.

It is difficult to determine how much influence the institution of slavery had in this political dissension in the Northwest territory. There were petitions to Congress for the suspension of the prohibition of slavery in 1796, and again in 1799 by Virginia officers who proposed to settle in the Military tract, but St. Clair himself had given the ordinance a liberal construction further west. When the people of the Vincennes and Illinois country, where negro slaves had been introduced by shipment from San Domingo in 1726,† anxiously inquired about their rights under the ordinance of 1787, St. Clair advised them that the sixth article was not retroactive but prospective, and that Congress had not intended to abolish slavery already existing in the territory. Neither was slavery interfered

*Zeigler, a native of Germany, had the reputation of having served under Frederick the Great and Catherine of Russia, was a gallant soldier of the Revolution, and captain in the single regiment of the regular army formed later under Harmar. He served in Harmar's campaign, commanded Fort Harmar and afterward Fort Washington and was the first United States marshal of Ohio.

†Governor Reynolds, "My Own Times."

with at Detroit, where there were so many Pani Indians held in that condition that the word Pani (Pawnee) came to be a common name for slaves of any color.* At Detroit, however, property in slaves was considered to have the protection of the Jay treaty. A few years later St. Clair intimated that the "institution" was somewhat involved in the fight, saying: "Republicans! What is a Republican? Is there a single man in all this country that is not a republican, both in principle and practice, except perhaps a few people who wish to introduce negro slavery amongst us, and those chiefly residents of Ross county?"† But when he said this St. Clair was making his last desperate appeal for support.

The creation of new counties meanwhile went on, Jefferson being established July 29, 1797, from the northern part of Washington, including the Western reserve east of the Cuyahoga, with Steubenville as the county seat. A year later, June 22, 1798, Hamilton county was extended westward to the Greenville treaty line, and August 20, 1798, Ross county, named for James Ross, of Pennsylvania, was set off from the northern part of Adams.

From the organization of the Territory in 1788 it had had no representation in Congress, or any representative government. Such were the restrictions of the ordinance of 1787. Now an effort was made toward self-government, and in 1798 a census was taken, which showed more than "five thousand free male inhabitants of full age" in the Northwest territory. The governor accordingly proclaimed an election on the third Monday of December, for the choice of a house of representatives in the general assembly to which the district was entitled at that stage of development. As the framers of the ordinance had provided, such of the five thousand "free males" as owned fifty acres of land were entitled to vote, and those who owned two hundred acres were eligible to office. Following the plan of the ordinance, the house of representatives met at Cincinnati January 22, 1799, nominated ten persons as candidates for the upper house, or legislative council, and from these ten President John Adams selected five. First was Jacob Burnet, a young, swarthy, black-eyed gentleman, son of the surgeon-general of Washington's army, who had graduated at Princeton, and come to Cincinnati to practice law. He wore his hair in a queue and was a thorough Federalist. The others were James Findlay, of Cincinnati, another young gentleman, twenty-nine years of age, rather austere, like Burnet, and a Federalist, scion of a prominent family in Pennsylvania; Henry Vanderburg, whose history belongs to the Indiana country that he represented; Col. Robert Oliver, of Washington county, an Irish soldier of the Revolution, who succeeded Parsons as a director of the Ohio

*Hinsdale's "Old Northwest."

†His speech at Cincinnati, 1802.

company, and David Vance, of Jefferson county. On September 24, 1799, the legislature was organized at Cincinnati, with the executive council so appointed, which elected Vanderburg as its president, and the lower house chosen by the people, with the following members: Hamilton county: William Goforth, William McMillan,* John Smith, John Ludlow, Robert Benham, Aaron Caldwell, Isaac Martin. Ross county: Thomas Worthington, Samuel Finley, Elias Langham, Edward Tiffin. Wayne county [Detroit]: Solomon Sibley, Charles F. Chaubert de Joncaire, Jacob Visger. Adams county: Joseph Darlinton, Nathaniel Massie. Jefferson county: James Pritchard. Washington county: Return Jonathan Meigs. Knox county (west of Ohio): Shadrach Bond.

Edward Tiffin, of Chillicothe, already to be reckoned in opposition of the governor, was elected speaker of the house. Of the council Henry Vanderburg was president and William C. Schenck, secretary. The duty of the new legislature in which the greatest interest was taken was the election of a delegate to Congress, who, though denied a vote in that body, would be allowed to speak in behalf of his constituents. Two candidates led the field: one, Capt. William Henry Harrison, secretary of the Territory, and son-in-law of Judge Symmes; the other, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., son of the governor. Harrison was elected by a majority of one vote.

The relations of the governor and legislature were marked by great courtesy and ceremony. He addressed each house, recommending legislation, and received a response from each, to which he replied, and then this first legislature in Ohio went to work, amending or repealing existing laws and providing new ones, the council depending on Jacob Burnet almost entirely to draft the bills originating in that body.† The whole number of acts passed and approved by the governor was thirty-seven. Of these the most important related to the militia, to the administration of justice and to taxation. Justices of the peace were authorized to hear and determine all actions upon the case, except trover, and all actions of debt, except upon bonds for the performance of covenants, without limitation as to the amount in controversy, and a regular system of taxation was established. The tax for territorial purposes was levied upon lands, that for county purposes upon persons, personal property and houses and lots. One of the petitions presented was for authority to make a lottery at Chillicothe to raise $3,000 for the purpose of erecting a Presbyterian church, and it is a memorable lesson in government that this prayer was granted by the council of men sifted out by legislature and president, while the house elected directly by the people rejected it.

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*William McMillan, a native of Virginia, was a college bred man, one of the first settlers of the Miami country, and a man of a high order of talent.

†Letters of Judge Burnet.

Notwithstanding the violence of political spirit an address of confidence and congratulation was addressed to President Adams, though five members voted in opposition, and there was generally a feeling of attachment to Governor St. Clair, but the latter, by the close of the session, had greatly injured his political strength. Under the ordinance of 1787 he suffered very little dimunition in absolute power by the change to a government more popular in form, for he retained the right to veto any bill passed by the legislature, without that body having any power of overriding his veto. Consequently the governor vetoed eleven bills, and it is an index to his want of tact that, resting on the letter of the ordinance, he gave no sign to the legislature of his reasons for disapproval until the end of the session. Though the legislature could not pass a bill over his veto, yet the prompt communication of his objections would have been a courteous recognition of their undoubted power to enact another bill on the same subject. But the governor preferred to stand alone in the maintenance of his peculiar privileges, and some friends he might have held went over to the opposition.

The most important vetoes, those that excited most criticism, were due to the movement, now begun, for the organization of a State. The Scioto valley people led in advocating this for various reasons, not the least of which was the need of another Republican state for the election of a president, and St. Clair and the Federalists opposed it for the same reason, as Ohio had very much the appearance of Republican control. For political reasons, the governor opposed any steps toward statehood, and favored division into smaller territories, and enough of them to indefinitely postpone admission of any one, or, if one must be admitted, such a boundary as to make it probably Federalist. Consequently he vetoed a bill for a census of the "eastern division" of the territory, because no such division was yet recognized by Congress. He found authority in the language of the ordinance, also, to retain control of the formation of new counties, a powerful weapon in the hands of the legislature, and vetoed bills to set off a new county from Hamilton and Adams, and create the county of Clark in the Western reserve. These two matters, territorial and county division, became the main subjects of political dispute throughout the territory. St. Clair wrote letters, unfortunately, and even that to Delegate Harrison was given to the public. To Senator James Ross he wrote that "a multitude of indigent and ignorant persons are but ill-qualified to form a constitution and government for themselves. They are too far removed from the seat of government to be much impressed with the power of the United States. Their connection with any of them is very slender, many of them having left nothing but creditors behind them, whom they would willingly forget entirely. Fixed political principles they have none; though at first they seem attached to the general government

it is in fact but a passing fancy . . . and there are a good many who hold sentiments in direct opposition to its principles. . . . Their government would most probably be democratic in form and oligarchic in its execution, and more troublesome and more opposed to the measures of the United States than even Kentucky." Hence the governor urged a division of the territory, in order to "keep them in the colonial stage for a good many years to come." He had already suggested certain lines of division to Secretary of State Pickering, but on reflection changed his mind, because "the eastern division would be surely Federal," and "the design would be too evident." The line he favored would put Hamilton and Wayne counties in the western territory. The Ross county people urged a division on the Great Miami line. "Their views are natural and innocent enough," said the governor, "they look no further than giving the capital to Chillicothe;" but St. Clair suggested that such a division would not retard the admission of a state, and that the state thus formed would be "democratic and unfriendly to the United States."

It is to be said in mitigation of St. Clair's apparent disposition to class his political opponents as enemies of the United States, that he meant by "democratic," that party (somewhat distinct from the Jeffersonian "Republicans") then known as Democrats because of French sympathy, who were blamed with the rebellion in Pennsylvania and the famous "nullification" resolutions of Kentucky, and the discontent that was relied upon by Miro and Carondelet to induce the secession of the West. He was driven by political bias to accuse the Ohio settlers of such tendencies, and Tiffin and Worthington retorted by accusing him of yearnings for a monarchy. Such was the politics of that day.

St. Clair, heroic, even to his enemies; "distant, ignored and forgotten" by Congress, as he wrote to De Luziere, was doing his best in fighting for his party, then at the verge of destruction. But he was not actuated by petty selfishness, always neglected opportunities for personal gain, and found "an infinity of enjoyment in repressing the vices of society and leading his people to public happiness by virtue." He urged upon Harrison the need of reform in the land laws, and the latter was duly credited with a new law, permitting the sale of half the public land in tracts as small as 320 acres on easy terms of payment, and establishing four land offices, at Cincinnati, Chillicothe, Marietta and Steubenville.

To Harrison the governor addressed himself quite otherwise than to Ross, on the subject of territorial division, in February, 1800, advising a triple partition, on the Scioto and a line north from the mouth of the Kentucky river, making the capitals, Marietta, Cincinnati and Vincennes. "Almost any division into two parts would ruin Cincinnati," he shrewdly suggested to the son-in-law of Judge

Symmes. But Congress wisely decided to carry on the work of partition, laying the foundations of new states, after the advice of the always level-headed Washington, in conformity with the natural groupings of population. By the act approved May 7, 1800, the Northwest territory was cut in two by setting off Indiana territory west of the line of Wayne's treaty, running from a point opposite the mouth of Kentucky river to Fort Recovery, and thence due north to the Canada line. The region eastward remained under the title of the territory northwest of the River Ohio, with the provision that when admitted as a state it should be with the same bounds, and the capital was fixed, until the legislature should otherwise order, at Chillicothe. This was a great victory for the Chillicothe party. While it was also a victory for the Republican party, "the design," to quote the words of the governor, was not "too evident." There remained a chance of Federalist control in the eastern territory as long as Wayne county, including what is now eastern Michigan, was part of the domain. Another success of the Chillicothe party was the appointment of Harrison as governor of Indiana territory. To succeed him as secretary under St. Clair, Charles Willing Byrd had been appointed, who proved to be thoroughly devoted to the anti-St. Clair cause. William McMillan, of Cincinnati, was appointed to Harrison's seat in Congress.

The next most exciting political event in the early part of 1800 was the creation of the new county of Trumbull. During the early settlement of the Western Reserve, says Col. Charles Whittlesey: "So little was known of the respective powers of the State and of the United States under the constitution of 1787 that many of the settlers thought the land company had received political authority and could found a new state, and like William Penn, be proprietors and governors. It was imagined that the deed of Connecticut conveyed powers of civil government to the company, and at the Conneaut celebration, the second toast drank was to 'The State of New Connecticut.'" The same misconception may be observed in the early proceedings of the Ohio company and its settlers. After Jefferson county was established, and the tax collector went up into the reserve from Steubenville, he was laughed at for his pains. The settlers had a notion that their state government was at Hartford, and in the home state the land company asked the Connecticut legislature to give a county government to the Western reserve. But the legislature was doubtful of its authority. This condition of affairs put the land company in alarm regarding the validity of titles, and John Marshall, of Virginia, not yet chief justice of the United States, was called upon for an opinion. He held that "As the purchasers of the land commonly called the Connecticut reserve hold their title under the State of Connecticut they cannot submit to the government established by the United States in the Northwest territory, without

endangering their titles, and the jurisdiction of laws could not be extended over them without much inconvenience." Congress took up the matter, and after much animated discussion, threatening to waken all the old and sleeping colonial disputes, a bill was passed authorizing a release of the title of the United States in the reserve, on condition that Connecticut should then in turn relinquish all claims to territory and jurisdiction, not only in the reserve, but in a New York tract where the titles were tied up by litigation. This bill was approved April 28, 1800, and upon the carrying out of its provisions, the Western reserve became subject to the government of the Northwest territory.* Accordingly, on July 10, 1800, Governor St. Clair exercised the privilege that he claimed in opposition to the legislature, and, after corresponding with Marshall, proclaimed a new county, including all the Western reserve east and west of the Cuyahoga, and named it in honor of "Brother Jonathan" Trumbull, fourteen years governor of Connecticut, the famous friend of Washington and a sturdy Federalist. The county seat was located at Warren, where there were then two log cabins; the county was organized in August; and in October, by 38 votes out of a total poll of 42, the county elected to the legislature another Federalist, Gen. Edward Paine, a pioneer of the lakeshore settlement that bears his name.

In the same year the United States census was taken, showing a population in Hamilton county of 14,692, in Jefferson of 8,766, in Ross of 8,540, in Adams of 3,432, in Wayne (including Detroit) of 3,206, in Washington of 5,427, and in Trumbull of 1,302. The population was only three-fourths of that required by the ordinance of 1787, "sixty thousand free inhabitants," to be "admitted by its delegates into the congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original states." Nevertheless the movement for state organization was well afoot, and was increased in vigor by the organization of Trumbull county, which the legislature regarded as an usurpation of its functions. Edward Tiffin and others issued a call to voters of the territory to instruct their representatives in the next legislature regarding the propriety of going into a state government, and this had its answer from the Federalists in the resolution adopted at Marietta (January, 1801): "That designing characters were aiming at self-aggrandizement and would sacrifice the rights and property of citizens at the shrine of private ambition."

The most effective defense of the governor throughout these disputes appeared in a series of letters to the Gazette at Chillicothe,

*That part of the reserve west of the Cuyahoga remained in the hands of Askins and the Indians, Askins making a great effort to gain confirmation of his claim from Congress, until July, 1805, when the Fire Lands company, of which the formal title was "the proprietors of the half million acres lying south of Lake Erie called Sufferers' Land," obtained a deed for the country from the Indians, and Askins abandoned his contest.

written by Charles Hammond (born in Maryland, 1779), a young man then residing at Wheeling. Introduced to Ohio by these eloquent letters, he was admitted to the bar at Marietta in 1803, and then made his home at St. Clairsville, beginning a career as one of the ablest lawyers and journalists who have ever lived in the State.

When he addressed the second legislature, which met at Chillicothe, November 3, 1800, St. Clair said that "the vilest calumnies and the greatest falsehoods" were being circulated to defeat his reappointment as governor, but he did not yield an inch in his policy, and took occasion to freely criticise his enemies in Adams county for failure to execute the laws and ordinances. The legislature, with Edward Tiffin as speaker, revealed its independent spirit by questioning the right of Congress to change the territorial capital; asserted its exclusive power to erect new counties, and asked the governor to return vetoed bills to the house within ten days, with his objections. The governor answered this request with an elaborate argument in support of his policy, and on December 9th he proclaimed two more new counties: Clermont, adjoining the Symmes purchase, where Philip Gatch of Virginia and John Sargent of Maryland, who had freed their slaves before coming, were representative citizens and afterward delegates to the constitutional convention; and Fairfield, in what was known as the United States military lands, east of the Virginia military tract, a region in which Ebenezer Zane had just founded a town on his Limestone road, calling it Lancaster in honor of a party of Pennsylvania settlers.

There was active opposition to the governor's appointment for a fifth term, which fell in the closing days of John Adams, the plan being to hang up the appointment so that Secretary Byrd would become his successor, but the governor adjourned the legislature, so that the secretary had no authority under the ordinance to act after the expiration of the governor's term. It was a day of bold and revolutionary politics. Finally, on the same day that John Marshall became chief justice, St. Clair was renominated as governor.

The national election of 1800 resulted in a tie in the electoral vote, and was thrown into the lower house of Congress, where for a week the states were divided without a decisive majority, between Thomas Jefferson, the great statesman who, with his hair unpowdered and without a queue, his democratic loose trousers, and shoes tied with strings, represented in dress as well as principle the popular spirit of republicanism and democracy; and Aaron Burr, the brilliant lawyer and founder and representative of the New York style of politics, whom the Federalists were inclined to support in preference to the Virginia slaveholder who opposed slavery, plantation lord who advocated the rights of man, and speculative philosopher who hated the restraints of religious systems. By Jefferson's assurances to Adams that he had no intention to repudiate the public debt and overturn

the constitution, the most daring of the Federalists were held back from extreme measures which would have imperiled the nation, and finally the great political revolution was consummated by the quiet inauguration of Jefferson.

The governor continued to show his disregard of the legislature by proclaiming, September 7, 1801, the new county of Belmont, comprising the southern part of the Seven ranges, with the county seat at St. Clairsville. In the fall of 1801, when the legislature met at Chillicothe, and Congress at Washington—Paul Fearing,* a friend of the governor, representing the territory in the latter body—the agitation for statehood by one party and further territorial division by the other, was resumed. Meanwhile there was a famous conversation between Governor St. Clair, and his friends, George Tod and General Paine, at the home of Joseph Massie, overheard by Francis Dunlavy and Jacob White, on the subject of President Jefferson's first message. St. Clair's comments were such that the report got out that he utterly despised militia, Jefferson's substitute for a regular army, and preferred a monarchy to the condition of things into which the country was drifting.

St. Clair's party was in full control of the council, and twelve to eight in the house. It was not difficult to pass a resolution, assenting to a new division of the territory into three parts, the two north and south lines to be the Scioto river and a line north from Clark's grant in Indiana. Practically this was a division of the future state of Ohio on the Scioto, throwing the Western reserve into the eastern district, and would postpone the admission of a state for a long time. To further sustain this policy an act was passed changing the capital of the territory from Chillicothe to Cincinnati. This was followed by a proposition to burn the governor in effigy, which Colonel Worthington prevented, and on Christmas eve there was a disturbance which approached the character of a riot.

It was bad politics to persist in this policy of division in the face of the success of the Republican party, every day growing stronger both east and west, but such was the tenacity of St. Clair, who would go down, if he must, all his colors flying. The leaders of the opposition, who, according to the governor, were Worthington, Tiffin, Massie, Darlinton and Michael Baldwin, sent Colonel Worthington and Baldwin to Washington to oppose division and obtain authority to organize a state east of the Miami line. While they found it easy to interest the dominant party in their plan, Fearing could not hope to bring any Republicans to his support except those interested in western lands who wished to avoid state taxation.†

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*Paul Fearing, born in Massachusetts in 1762, came to Marietta in the first months of settlement, was the first lawyer admitted to practice in Ohio, and was prominent as long as the Federalists were in power. He died of the fatal fevers in 1822.

†Fearing's letter to St. Clair, January, 1802.

The Chillicothe "junta," as the governor called it, also made a direct attack upon St. Clair. Massie wrote to James Madison, secretary of state, asking the governor's removal because he had advised, in the letters to Harrison and Pinckney, division of the territory for political reasons; had demanded and received oppressive fees; had erected new counties without right; had made public utterances (in the conversation with Tod and Paine) favoring monarchical government, and because he had attempted to influence justices of the peace in their performance of duty. Colonel Worthington elaborated the charges, also accusing the governor of attempting to create and attach to himself a political party.

"In case the old man was to be removed," who should be governor? wrote Worthington to Massie,* suggesting Massie himself, but that gentleman, never ambitious for office, modestly disclaimed such an honor. "My first and great wish," he wrote, "is to get him from the head of the government, and then I am sure some suitable person might be found." But the charges against St. Clair were so flimsy, and respect for the old general so profound, that Jefferson, though anxious to please his friends, contented himself with advising the defiant governor to yield to the legislature in the matter of new counties and abolish the rather heavy fees he had established for marriage and ferry licenses, suggestions that St. Clair promptly accepted.

Spurred to exertion by this personal attack, St. Clair went to Washington in the spring of 1802 to defend himself and fight the statehood proposition, and four hundred dollars were raised in Cincinnati to send McMillan to assist him. The legislature, meanwhile, in December, 1801, had been prorogued to meet at Cincinnati in the fall of 1802. The governor reached Washington too late to counteract the work of Colonel Worthington, if he could have influenced the party in power. Worthington labored so earnestly to "terminate the influence of tyranny," and "ameliorate the circumstances of thousands by freeing them from the domination of a despotic chief,"† and was so effectively aided by John Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and William B. Giles, of Virginia, Jefferson's close friends, that March 4, 1802, a report was made to the house of congress in favor of a state convention in the Eastern division of the Northwest territory. It avoided the restriction of the ordinance concerning population by the hypothesis that since the census of 1800 the increase east of the Miami would produce a population of sixty thousand by the time a state government could be formed.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the study of human

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* St. Clair papers.

† See his letters to Giles and Finley.

nature in politics, that the enabling act approved April 30, 1802,* though enacted by a Republican congress and approved by Jefferson, maintained without abatement the strong powers of a central government cherished by the hated Federalists. It was said to be more "despotic" than anything the Federalists had attempted. Mr. Griswold, of Connecticut, declared that the bill threatened the consolidation and destruction of all the states; that the assuming by Congress of the power to district the Ohio country and apportion the delegates to the convention was arbitrary and unjust; that the whole enactment was beyond the power of Congress and an invasion of popular rights, and that the next thing to be expected would be a similar invasion of the rights of the states. Mr. Fearing contended that Congress had the power to waive the requirement of 60,000 population, perhaps, but it could go no further; but Congress decided that its powers were unlimited in the territories by a vote of 47 to 29 in the house, the middle and eastern states dividing almost equally on the question, and the South supplying the decided majority by a vote of 26 to 9. One of the votes in the negative was cast by Manasseh Cutler, then a representative from Massachusetts. "This act did not contain a gleam of what is called popular sovereignty," says Professor Hinsdale.† "The territorial legislature was wholly ignored. Neither the legislature nor the people themselves were asked to pass on the question of entering into a state government. The sole function of the electors was to vote for members of the convention." But the great majority of the Ohio people were satisfied to have it so.

This was the first of the "enabling acts." Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee had been admitted after their people had adopted constitutions and organized state governments without asking permission from Congress. But the circumstances were different, for those states had not been formed from territory absolutely under the jurisdiction of Congress. The apparently despotic features were not so marked in subsequent enabling acts. In the case of Ohio the Federalists said at the time, that it was a matter of partisan politics, the Republicans being ready to invade local rights in order to prevent Federalist control of the apportionment of delegates to the convention. The act authorized the inhabitants of the Eastern division to elect delegates to a convention to determine the expediency of forming a constitution and state government, and either proceed to do so or call another convention. Congress prescribed the number of delegates, thirty-five, and apportioned them among the counties: Hamilton 10, Ross 5, Jefferson 5, Washington 4, Adams 3, Trumbull 2, Fairfield 2, Clermont 2; Wayne being excluded.

* Entitled, "An act to enable the people of theEastern Division of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio to form a Constitution and State government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States."

† "The Old Northwest."

In organizing the state, such name might be adopted as deemed proper, and the state so formed would be admitted to the Union on the same footing as the original states. The boundary on the west should be the meridian of the mouth of the Great Miami, and in pursuance of the articles of the ordinance of 1787 that permitted division into five states, the parallel of the southern extremity of Lake Michigan should be the northern boundary of the state west of Lake Erie. This would cut off Detroit and leave the population of the proposed state less than 40,000, whereas the ordinance of 1787 required 60,000. But in this regard the ordinance was ignored, as it has been since then in establishing other state lines, and in forming six states instead of five. Furthermore Congress proposed three conditions of admission: Congress would grant the sixteenth or school sections to the inhabitants of each township, and transfer the Scioto salt springs reservation to the State, and asked that the State exempt from taxes all public lands thereafter sold by Congress, for five years after such sale, on condition that Congress appropriate five per cent of the receipts from land sales to the building of a highway from navigable water in the east to and through the State. Until the next census the State was to be given one representative in Congress, besides two senators.

Then the campaign was on for the election of delegates to the convention. Detroit had no part in it, and was soon mollified by promise of a new territory of which it should be the capital. St. Clair, returning to the territory, began organizing the opposition to statehood, and had grounds to hope that a great part of Hamilton, all of Washington and a majority of Jefferson county were with him. A meeting at Dayton in September unanimously passed resolutions denouncing the enabling act as an usurpation, bearing a "striking resemblance" to the tyrannies of Great Britain, and demanding that the coming convention order a new census and a new convention. A newspaper writer declared statehood was "a scheme to furnish offices for the Chillicothe gentry—the ambitious and wealthy at the expense of the poor." Washington county had already declared against statehood, in delegate convention, and young Return Jonathan Meigs, a friend of Colonel Worthington, wrote to him that "Federalism was raging with intolerant fury." On the other hand General Darlinton said the people of Adams county congratulated themselves on the prospect of soon shaking off the "iron fetters of aristocracy" and bringing about the downfall of the "Tory party in the territory." A writer in the Scioto Gazette declared that it was practically impossible to administer a government conducive to national happiness under the ordinance of 1787. Aside from these considerations the friends of statehood promised "plains covered with herds, and farms with crops to gladden the hearts of the owners, if the tree of liberty

might be permitted to extend its benign branches over the citizen and protect him from oppression and tyranny."

The main issues, as presented in the calm and temperate statement of Nathaniel Massie, a candidate for delegate to the convention, in the Scioto Gazette, were: Shall a state government be organized as soon as possible? Shall it be republican? Shall slavery be permitted in the State? These are the only questions he mentions in a publication designed to inform the voters of his position. On the slavery question this Virginian said: "I believe the introduction of slavery would ultimately prove injurious to our country, although it might at present, and for some time hence, contribute to improve it. . . I am clearly of the opinion that it ought not to be admitted in any shape whatever." This illustrates the fact that opposition to slavery in Ohio was not confined to the settlements of Eastern or New England people. A mass meeting of citizens at Chillicothe resolved: "We want a constitution that will set the rights of the meanest African and the most abject beggar upon an equal footing with those citizens of the greatest wealth and equipage." There were candidates at the capital who favored the admission of slavery, but the delegates elected from Ross county—Worthington, Tiffin, Massie, Baldwin and Grubb—had all declared themselves in opposition.

At the election of delegates the opposition to St. Clair had its own way generally. When the convention met at Chillicothe, November 1, 1802, Dr. Edward Tiffin was elected president, and it was evident that there would be no delay about claiming admission to the Union as a state. The membership of this historic body, which framed the first constitution of Ohio, was as follows:

Adams county: Joseph Darlinton, Israel Donalson and Thomas Kirker.

Belmont county: James Caldwell and Elijah Woods.

Clermont: Philip Gatch and James Sargent.

Fairfield: Henry Abrams and Emanuel Carpenter.

Hamilton: John W. Browne, Charles Willing Byrd, Francis Dunlavy, William Goforth, John Kitchel, Jeremiah Morrow, John Paul, John Reily, John Smith, and John Wilson.

Jefferson: Rudolph Bair, George Humphrey, John Milligan, Nathan Updegraff, Bazaleel Wells.

Ross: Michael Baldwin, James Grubb, Nathaniel Massie, Edward Tiffin, and Thomas Worthington.

Trumbull: David Abbott and Samuel Huntington.

Washington: Ephraim Cutler, Benjamin Ives Gilman, John McIntyre and Rufus Putnam.

Upon this body St. Clair had little or no influence. He had gone too far and made himself an obstructionist of the inevitable. Yet he asked leave to address the convention at its opening, and this being denied, accepted permission to appear before the body on November

3d, as plain "Arthur St. Clair, Esquire." Apparently he hoped to arouse the resentment of the convention against Congress sufficiently to postpone the framing of a constitution. But he made a grave mistake. The republicans victorious were no longer concerned about technical aggressions of Congress, and it was only Federalists who for some years were seriously unhappy about constitutional rights. As a prelude the governor admitted that his government had not been as popular as it might have been, but he appealed to the people to sustain his assertion that "it had been administered with gentleness and with one single view, the good of the whole." He then proceeded with his arraignment of Congress, asserting that the people of the territory did not need an act of Congress to form a constitution, that the act of Congress was "in truth a nullity" and of no more force on that subject than "an edict of the first consul of France." The people of Wayne county, he declared, had been "bartered away like sheep in a market," and remitted to a stage of government that had been villified, in Ohio, with "every epithet of opprobrium which the English language affords." He resented the conditions made by Congress about the public lands, declared Congress had attempted to "drive a hard bargain," that the promise of a national road was "a mere illusion," that the saving of newly sold lands from taxation would burden present owners, and that the restriction to one representative in Congress was an insult. He deplored the launching of a new state at a time when "party rage is stalking with destructive strides over the whole continent. That baleful spirit destroyed also the ancient republics, and the United States seems to be running the same career that ruined them with a rapidity truly alarming." By these arguments St. Clair did not postpone state organization. Ephraim Cutler, of Marietta, cast the only vote that way. But the temper of the governor's address was fatal to himself.

On November 12th, nine days later, James Madison, secretary of state, sent the following letter to be delivered to St. Clair by Secretary Byrd, who was directed to assume the duties of governor: "Sir: The president observing, in an address lately delivered by you to the convention held at Chillicothe, an intemperance and indecorum of language toward the legislature of the United States, and a disorganizing spirit and tendency of very evil example and grossly violating the rule of conduct enjoined by your public state, determines that your commission of governor of the Northwest territory shall cease on the receipt of this notification."

St. Clair had already declined to be a candidate for governor of the state, and he soon made public his reply to Secretary Madison, in which he asserted that "the violent, hasty and unprecedented intrusion of the legislature of the United States into the internal concerns of the Northwest territory was at least indecorous and inconsistent with its public duty," and that, "degraded as our country is,

and abject as too many of her sons have become," some remained to fitly characterize the separation of Wayne county. To Madison he said: "Be pleased, sir, to accept my thanks for the peculiar delicacy you observed in committing the delivery of your letter, furnishing him with a copy of it, to Mr. Byrd, against whom there are now in your hands to be laid before the president complaints of . . . neglect and refusal to perform official duty."

There is little in the subject matter of these old disputes to interest the reader of today. It cannot be comprehended why, on the merits of the case, there should be serious opposition to forming a state with the wide bounds given it, and the exclusion of the Michigan part of Wayne county seems clearly according to the plan of division established by the ordinance. But all this is essential to a picture of life in Ohio at that day. The bare outlines have been given. The details might be sketched in by anyone familiar with politics today, for politics in every age is essentially the same.

With the advent of the Republican party in power, headed by Thomas Worthington, the Federalists retired from all official burdens. "We were proscribed," says Judge Burnet, "and as soon as the plans of our competitors were consummated, we submitted to our destiny with good grace, and withdrew from all participation in the politics of the day." Conscious of the worthy record of their party in founding the Union, they bore with such grace as they could the popular cry that they were aristocrats, opposed to the liberties of the people.

General St. Clair passed from the field of public affairs, after fourteen years at the head of government in the Northwest. His latter years were full of misfortune. He was soon compelled to give up his old home in Pennsylvania. He had lost all his modest wealth in the public service, and when Congress tardily granted him a pension, his creditors waited for it at the door of the treasury. During the last days of his life he shared with his daughter Louisa the shelter of a log house, on one of the Pennsylvania highways of western travel. Despite his poverty he never abandoned the insignia of an officer of the Revolution and a gentleman of the Federal party, the black coat and knee breeches, the long hair done up in a queue and powdered. No one met him in his humble abode without admiration of his courtly and distinguished manner.

CHAPTER VIII.

FIRS YEARS OF STATEHOOD.

GOVERNORS: EDWARD TIFFIN, 1803-1807—THOMAS KIRKER, 1807-1808—SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, 1808-1810—RETURN JONATHAN MEIGS, 1810-1812.

THE principle of life in the West and in Ohio, emphatically, is self-rule, said one of the ablest writers of the State, nearly seventy years ago.* "Nowhere had this principle, as the central one of the social and political body called a state or people, been seen fully acting until Ohio was settled. In the old world self-rule, political and social, unembarrassed by feudal or servile habits of life, has not been seen to this day; and in all our Atlantic states more or less of the feudal spirit was ever found before the Revolution, nor are all its marks gone yet; and through the whole South the servile element prevented the full operation of the principle of self-rule. No man that governs others as a lord, can be, socially speaking, what he is who governs none but himself. Other faculties, other wishes, other views, are brought out in the hereditary lord, than those which come forth in the merely independent man. In Ohio, then, was first founded a nearly true democratic community; here men were from the first socially equal compared with the older states; here were none of those many habits which first arose in feudal times—the habit of looking up to some family or place, or following the opinions of the man springing from that family, or holding that place, or going on in certain beaten tracks of thought, action and feeling—all these things were not; and the slight political differences made by the ordinances left no permanent mark. So that I do not doubt that Ohio, when she became a state, was the truest democracy which had yet existed."

The year 1803 began a new era in the history of America. The admission of the State of Ohio gave promise of four more in the Northwest consecrated as she was to self-rule and social independence,

* Address of James H. Perkins, before the Ohio Historical Society, 1837.

and the purchase of Louisiana province a few months later vastly increased the space for the building of similar commonwealths. In this new country the lovers of liberty sought new homes, sparing the ancient order of things to slowly pass away in the South and East.

The notions of the pioneers of Ohio, who have so thoroughly conquered that it can hardly be realized that any other form of society ever existed in America, unless one study certain survivals of ancient conditions in the South, were shown to some extent in the constitution and laws of Ohio, framed in 1802 and succeeding years.* It is true that the constitutional convention, which convened November 1, 1802, and signed the new instrument on the 29th of the same month, refused to submit its work to popular vote. But this exception was on behalf of the tyranny of politics, to which the American people willingly submit. Jeffersonian senators, representatives and electors were urgently needed, and the risk of delay could not be endured. But it appears that the action of the convention had the popular approval; and the eastern division of the Northwest territory became the constitutional State of Ohio November 29, 1802.

In the distribution of powers of government among the legislative, judicial and executive departments, this first constitution is notable for the restriction of the powers of the governor. "The governor is a name almost without meaning. He may appoint one or two officers; in certain contingencies he may exercise one or two unimportant powers; it is his duty to make out commissions, and he enjoys the petty prerogative of pardon and reprieve; and this is all."† The governor was to be elected every two years, and one man could not hold the office more than four years in six. The legislature, on the other hand, had not only the exclusive right of making laws, but the appointment of all the judges, all the civil officers in immediate connection with the government, and the chief military officers, and could define at pleasure the jurisdiction of the courts. The terms of the state officers, secretary, treasurer and auditor, to be elected by the legislature, were restricted to three years. But the judges, also chosen by the legislature, were permitted to serve seven years. The legislators themselves were kept close to popular touch, the general assembly meeting every year, with representatives elected as often and senators every two years. The bill of rights declared the complete authority of the people to alter, reform or abolish their government; provided against unwarrantable seizure and search; asserted the right of the citizen to speak, write or print as he thinks proper on any subject; restricted imprisonment for debt, prohibited poll taxes, and reserved the right of the citizen to carry arms.

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*"The constitution of Ohio shows the democratical opinions prevalent on the western frontier. It reduced the executive power almost to a nonentity," says J. C. Hamilton in his biography of the great Federalist.

† Salmon P. Chase, 1833.

The judicial system adopted and maintained for many years under this constitution was well enough adapted to a state of nine counties, but became expensive and inconvenient as the population increased. The supreme court, of three judges at first, was a sort of peripatetic court, being required to sit once a year in each county. The next lower court was the court of common pleas, for which the State was divided in three circuits, a president judge in each circuit, and two or three associate judges in each county. Besides, there were to be justices of the peace in each county, important officers under this system. "The judicial department has power enough," commented Judge Chase in 1833, "but it is not, perhaps, sufficiently secured in the independent and unbiased exercise of that power."

"Two other features of the constitution deserve particular notice. The first is the total absence of property qualifications for office and for voters; the poorest, equally with the rich, may elect and be elected to any office in the state. The second is the immediate responsibility of every agent in the government to the people; most of the officers, the right of appointing whom is not vested by the constitution in some particular person or body, being elective by the people, and the constant tendency of things being to make them all so."

There was an effort made in the constitutional convention to countenance slavery in the new state. More strongly, the same movement was seen in Indiana in the same year, a petition being sent to Congress for the abrogation of the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, on which John Randolph, of Virginia, reported that the territory should continue to submit to the "sagacious and benevolent restraint" of that charter. In the Ohio convention, John W. Brown, member of the committee on bill of rights, offered a declaration that no person shall be held in slavery after thirty-five years of age, if a male, or twenty-five years if a female, and urged its adoption as recommended by some of the wisest statesmen of the country. But an article was proposed forbidding slavery in the words of the ordinance, and going further to prohibit the holding of slaves under pretense of indenture of apprenticeship, after they were of legal age, and annulling all indentures of negroes and mulattoes made thereafter outside the state, or in the state, if the term exceeded one year, except in case of apprenticeships. This prevailed in the committee by a vote of five to four, and it was saved in the convention by the change of one vote.*

The rejection of the Brown resolution and the prohibition of the indenture system, it is to be noted, did not involve a close vote on the permission of slavery, unqualifiedly, as might be inferred from the discussion of this subject in Professor Hinsdale's "Old Northwest."

*Address of Prof. E. B. Andrews, who ascribes the article to Ephraim Cutler. Thomas Worthington is also credited with the clause forbidding negro apprenticeship.

The majority in the convention against such a proposition was decided. But some delegates were evidently in favor of allowing negroes to be held as slaves during the early part of their lives, or as long as the master pleased if the legal form of indenture were observed. The strength of the sentiment against slavery was shown by the proposition to confer manhood suffrage upon the males of the three hundred colored people already in the State, and there was animated discussion of the subject. After the article was adopted defining the electors as "white male inhabitants," etc., a proviso was actually passed extending the suffrage to the male negroes and mulattoes then residing in the territory, if they should make a record of citizenship within six months. Not so many were in favor of giving the descendants of these negro pioneers the same privilege, and a resolution to that effect was lost by one vote. But there is no exception to white suffrage in the constitution of 1802. When the final vote came, there was a motion to strike out the negro suffrage proviso, and it was carried by the vote of President Tiffin, the house being evenly divided. His vote was so cast, no doubt, because the position taken regarding the negro race by the proviso was extremely advanced and was likely to arouse violent criticism. The proviso would extend the suffrage to only a few score men, and its importance did not seem to outweigh the need of avoiding unnecessary opposition to the hastily framed and hastily adopted constitution, and the danger of rejection by Congress.

As to the conditions proposed by Congress, the convention asked modification so that the proceeds of the sale of section sixteen in every township should go to the state for the use of public schools, also for the same purpose one thirty-sixth of the Virginia military lands, the United States military tract, and the Connecticut reserve; also that three of the five per cent of land proceeds should be expended on roads in Ohio.

The convention made a temporary apportionment of representatives and senators, provided for a general election of officers January 11, 1803, and continued the territorial officers in the exercise of their duties until the new officers were installed. But the issuing of writs for an election was put in the hands of the president of the convention. The territorial laws "not inconsistent with the constitution," were also continued in force until the State legislature should make other enactments.

The preamble of the constitution declared that "We, the people of the Eastern Division of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio . . . 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." It asserted "the right of admission as a member of the Union," as consistent with the constitution

of the United States, the ordinance of 1787, and the act of Congress enabling them "to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states."

It can hardly be doubted that in the opinion of the majority in Congress Ohio passed from the condition of a territory, subject to the arbitrary will of Congress, into the charmed upper region of "independent and sovereign states," when the constitution was adopted. But when did the state enter the Union? Evidently Congress had doubts, for, in the winter following, a committee was directed to report what legislation was necessary, *if any*, for admitting the State of Ohio into the Union, and extending the laws of the United States over the state. This committee reported a bill, which was enacted, and approved February 19, 1803, entitled "An act to provide for the execution of the laws of the United States within the State of Ohio," extending the laws of the United States over the new state, and establishing a federal district court, to hold its first session at Chillicothe in June. This act was doubtless intended to cover all the legislation necessary to recognize Ohio as a member of the Union. On March 3, 1803, another act was approved, granting the modifications asked by the state convention in the conditions of the enabling act, and then certainly "the compact was completed," in the words of Judge Chase, under which senators and representatives of the State might take seats in Congress. Perhaps, if they had been elected, they might have been seated before, as there had been question of the right of Mr. Fearing to continue in Congress.

In brief, it may be said that there was no act of Congress which, in so many words, admitted Ohio to the Union, and from this it might be inferred that the State was already in the Union. But the laws of the United States, hitherto partly withheld, were extended over it February 19, 1803, and this date has the strongest claim to be regarded as the epoch of admission.*

At the election, held in January, 1803, Dr. Edward Tiffin was elected governor without opposition, receiving 4,565 votes. His early career has already been mentioned. He was an eloquent and impassioned speaker, as well as a man of many winning characteristics. Having joined the Methodist church in 1790, while in the Shenandoah valley, he had been made a lay preacher by Francis Asbury, and he frequently filled the frontier pulpit, and read the service at times in St. Paul's Episcopal church at Chillicothe. He was the one man of his party in Ohio most likely to meet the general

* A statement of the theory that upon the meeting of the legislature, March 1, 1803, the territorial government on that day ceased, and Ohio became a state in the Union, may be found in Mr. Rufus King's "Ohio." The fact that the United States paid the territorial judges up to that day is cited as "an authoritative decision of the subject."

approval of the powers at Washington and the people of the State, whom he had served as speaker of the Territorial legislature and president of the constitutional convention.

When the legislature met March 1, 1803, Nathaniel Massie was elected speaker of the senate, and Michael Baldwin speaker of the house. A few days later Thomas Worthington was elected United States senator for the short term, and William Creighton secretary of state. All these were men of Ross county, which was in supreme control. Thomas Gibson was made auditor of state, and William McFarland treasurer, and as United States senator for the full term John Smith, of Hamilton county, was selected. As judges of the supreme court, the choice fell upon Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., of Marietta, Samuel Huntington, of Cleveland, and William Sprigg. Calvin Pease was elected president judge of the court of common pleas for the First circuit, Wyllys Silliman* for the Second, and Francis Dunlavy for the Third. Charles Willing Byrd was not neglected either. President Jefferson made him the first United States district judge of Ohio.

The two senators were second to none under the new regime in power and influence. Worthington was the real power at the head of affairs. He was then thirty-four years old, a young man, but of great energy and ardent temperament. A native of the Shenandoah valley, he brought with him to Virginia probably the most aristocratic establishment the state then possessed. But, like Jefferson in aristocratic conditions, he was also like him in democratic sentiment. After he took his seat in the United States senate in the fall of 1803, he soon gained recognition as a man of brain and energy: not a great orator, but a worker, and his work was for the good of the Northwest. In 1807 he was the author of a resolution calling on Secretary Gallatin to report a plan for applying the resources of Congress to such public improvements, as highways and canals, that deserved the aid of the national government. Jefferson called him "the truest, bravest patriot since the days of old Rome;" VanBuren alluded to him as "the illustrious founder of the commonwealth of Ohio," and Salmon P. Chase has characterized him as "the father of internal improvements, of the great National road and of the Erie canal." The Rev. John Smith also made a worthy senator, and he was a man of real native force and ability. On June 11th, following the first legislature, Jeremiah Morrow was elected as the first representative in Congress, beginning for that gentleman a memorable career in public

*Wyllys Silliman, was born in Connecticut in 1777, edited a Federalist newspaper in western Virginia in 1800–01, and coming to Ohio married a sister of Lewis Cass, and was the first lawyer at Zanesville, where he was register of the land office, 1805–11. During part of President Jackson's second term he was solicitor of the United States treasury. He was one of the most eloquent men of his day.

life. For a long time he was one of the most popular men in Ohio. He, also, was of the type of man to give Ohio credit in the halls of Congress.

The officials thus named continued in service practically all the time of the administration of Governor Tiffin, who was re-elected in 1805, receiving 4,783 votes, with none in opposition. Jeremiah Morrow was re-elected to Congress four times, serving until 1813, and State Treasurer McFarland was kept in his position for fourteen years.

Of the legislatures of Governor Tiffin's administration something may be said of general interest. The first duty before them was to adapt the old territorial laws to the new constitution. The new judicial system was to some extent regulated by the first legislature, and the county administration duties of the old quarter sessions court were transferred to associate justices of the court of common pleas. These three men in each county were entrusted with the establishing of highways, erecting public buildings, granting licenses, etc. But the first legislature did not attempt much. Eight new counties were created: Butler, named in honor of Richard Butler, a gallant officer who lost his life in St. Clair's campaign, a county of which the nucleus was Hamilton, that had grown up about the site of Fort Hamilton; Columbiana (a name formed from Columbian as Indiana is formed from Indian), a county including the old adventure ground of the Poes and others of the earliest settlers, where Rev. Lewis Kinney had founded New Lisbon in 1802; Franklin, of which the seat was Franklinton, laid out by Lucas Sullivant, a Kentucky surveyor, in 1797, with another important settlement at Worthington, an Episcopalian colony founded in 1803 by the Scioto company of Granby, Conn., of which the leading spirit was Col. James Kilbourn*; Gallia, a county on the Ohio river with the French settlement, Gallipolis, as its capital; Greene, named in honor of Gen. Nathaniel Greene, including no town at its beginning, though Xenia was laid off by Joseph C. Vance, on the land of John Paul, a few months later; Montgomery, commemorating Gen. Richard Montgomery, who fell at Quebec, with the seat of government at Dayton, founded several years before, as previously noted; and Scioto, including the mouth of that river and the French grant. Montgomery, Greene and Franklin were extended in jurisdiction to the north boundary of the State, including all the Indian country, formerly part of Wayne county, except a strip south of the Connecticut reserve.

In the second legislature, of December, 1803, the first session provided for by the general provisions of the constitution, further

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*James Kilbourn, while in Ohio in 1802, selecting a site for the settlement, made a map of the State very popular with the pioneers. Information regarding the Indian country was given him by Fitch, his father-in-law, inventor of the steamboat, who had been a prisoner in that region.

important steps were taken in the system of government. Then incorporation of civil townships for local government was first provided for and boards of commissioners were established in each county. A law was passed to encourage immigration, according aliens the same proprietary rights as native citizens. The three per cent fund from the national government was divided, to be applied in various parts of the state, under different boards of commissioners, an unwise measure, for after the expenditure of several hundred thousand dollars, during thirty years, "the beneficial effects were hardly anywhere visible." The revenue system was revised at this session, but the main reliance for taxation continued to be the lands, a considerable part of which was in the hands of non-residents of the State. One-third of the taxes levied by the legislature were to go to the county treasuries, for local expenses, in addition to which county commissioners and township trustees were authorized to levy taxes for certain purposes, a system not so favorable to local independence as latterly prevails.

The next session, 1804, undertook to revise the whole system of laws. All the laws of the Territorial governor and judges and legislature were repealed, with some few exceptions, and in place a new and tolerably complete system of statute law was enacted. It is not practicable to follow up the legislative enactments, but this brief mention of early legislation will serve to call attention to the important work of the founders of the state.* Other counties set off from the older ones during Tiffin's administration were Muskingum, with Zanesville as the county seat, January 7, 1804; Highland, February 18, 1805; Athens and Champaign, February 20, 1805; Geauga, December 31, 1805; Miami, January 16, 1807; Portage, February 10, 1807.

The second legislature (December, 1803) organized a militia system, dividing the state into districts, each of which should muster a military division. Of the first division, in the southwest, John S. Gano was made major-general and Daniel Symmes quartermaster-general; of the Second division, Nathaniel Massie major-general and David Bradford, quartermaster-general; of the Third division, on the upper Ohio, Joseph Buell major-general and Samuel Carpenter quartermaster-general; of the Fourth division, in the northeast, Elijah Wadsworth major-general and Brice Viers quartermaster-general. Before this, there had been a war alarm, and a call for Ohio volunteers. The sale of Louisiana to the United States by Napoleon had aroused much indignation in Spain, the whole transaction being, in fact, an outrage upon that country, if one stop to

*This synopsis is abbreviated from that given by Judge Chase, in his sketch of Ohio history which was prefixed to the edition of the statutes of Ohio, edited by him and published in 1833.

consider the futile objections that are made to the revelation of "manifest destiny" by conquering soldiers and statesmen. The Spanish right was really about on a par with that of the Indians, as weighed against the demands of civilization. The Spaniards in Louisiana made a show of resistance to the spread of American dominion, and President Jefferson called on Governor Tiffin, in 1803, to prepare a regiment for use if necessary. When the call was made on the Second division, says Colonel McDonald, the Scioto valley furnished a full regiment of men. The company officers of the regiment assembled in Chillicothe and unanimously elected Duncan McArthur to the command as colonel. But the vast western region was possessed in peace, and Judge Meigs, of the supreme court of Ohio, was selected by Jefferson to command the upper country, with the rank of brevet lieutenant-colonel in the United States army, with headquarters at St. Louis, and also to hold the office of supreme judge in the west. He resigned his judgeship in the Ohio supreme court and was succeeded by Daniel Symmes.

To aid in the realization of the period when Ohio became a state, and the conditions under which the pioneers labored, a few words may be said. It was three years before the first mining of coal in the United States, five years before the first practical steamboat, thirteen years before gas was used anywhere in America for lighting. It was about a quarter century before steam railroads, steam printing presses and friction matches were heard of, forty years before the telegraph and the sewing machine, half a century before kerosene lamps, and three quarters of a century before telephones, electric lights and trolley cars. It was in the age of tallow candles, flat boats and Conestoga wagons. The news of the world, brought by horsemen across the mountains, was of Napoleon Bonaparte, who made himself emperor of France in 1804, fought at Austerlitz in 1805 and finished at Waterloo in 1815.

The building of ocean-going vessels was at this time a flourishing industry at Marietta. In May, 1800, the first one, called the St. Clair, a full-rigged brig, cleared from Marietta, loaded with flour and pork on the way down and sailed from New Orleans to Philadelphia. On account of this industry, farmers gave more attention to hemp growing, ropewalks were established, and iron was imported from the forges of the Juniata. In 1805 two ships, seven brigs and three schooners were built and rigged at Marietta to sail the rivers to New Orleans. Capt. Jonathan Devol, who managed the building of the Ohio Mayflower, built the boat Muskingum of 230 tons in 1801–02 for Benjamin Ives Gilman, and other vessels, and in 1805 he sailed to New Orleans in a schooner from his own yard. Edward W. Tupper, son of Gen. Benjamin Tupper, at his Marietta shipyard built the brig Orlando, that sailed down the Ohio and Mississippi and to the Mediterranean. He was also the builder of two United States

gunboats in 1807. The most popular river boats continued to be the arks, built of plank, fastened to ribs or knees with wooden bolts. Forty to sixty feet long, and twelve or eighteen wide, they carried sixty to eighty tons, without any effort except steering on the part of the crew. When emptied at New Orleans or Natchez they were taken apart and sold as lumber. The sailing boats were not expected to return either, but they had the advantage of being able to venture out in the gulf and seek other ports. The exports were flour, corn, hemp, and flax, beef, pork, smoked hams of venison, whiskey, peach brandy, oak staves and lumber.

But, as it was well-nigh impossible to bring goods up the Mississippi, it was easy to prophesy, as did a writer of that day: "The people of the upper country will always procure their goods at Washington, Baltimore or Philadelphia, and have them brought thence in waggons. So circumstanced, they will be provident in their use of foreign articles; they will prevent their need of them by setting up various manufactories, the raw material of which they so abundantly possess, and thus supply other places, without needing or being able to receive any returns but specie. The consequence will be that this interior country must every year become more independent upon other countries, more prosperous and more happy."

The published journal of a traveler through Ohio reveals the progress of settlement a year or two after the beginning of statehood.* At Marietta he noted a difference as he came from the Virginia country. "Here, in Ohio, they are intelligent, industrious and thriving; there on the backskirts of Virginia, ignorant, lazy and poor. Here the buildings are neat, though small, and furnished in many instances with brick chimneys and glass windows; there the habitations are miserable cabins. Here the grounds are laid out in a regular manner and inclosed by strong posts and rails, there the fields are surrounded by a rough zig-zag log fence. Here are thrifty young apple orchards; there the only fruit is the peach, from which a good brandy is distilled." But Ohio had a good many peach trees also, as well as brandy, and Marietta was an exceptional community, even in Ohio. Marietta had ninety-one dwellings, of which eleven were brick and three stone, eight stores and three rope walks. Much business was done, and ship building was promising great results. The other towns in Washington county were Belle Pre, 17 miles below, opposite the elegant mansion of Blennerhassett on an island of more than a hundred acres; Waterford, Adams on the Muskingum, Salem on Duck Creek, founded in 1795, Athens on the Hockhocking, site of the Ohio university, Ames, north of Athens, and Newport, above Marietta.

Harris gave a brief notice of each county. In Trumbull were

*Thaddeus Mason Harris, "Journal of a Tour," published in 1805.

the towns of Warren, a pleasant and thriving town on Beaver creek, with considerable trade by portage to La Grande Riviere, into the lake; Youngstown, a flourishing settlement. and "Cleveland, a pleasant little town." Jefferson county had the towns of Steubenville laid out in 1795, very flourishing, and Warren, a small place sixteen miles below. St. Clairsville and Pultney, small settlements, were the main features of Belmont county.

Gallia county had its main settlement at Gallipolis, which had about a hundred houses in two rows (the French inhabitants of which had mostly gone to the grant about twenty-four miles below, where M. Gervais platted Burrsburg), and Fairhaven, a small town opposite the mouth of the Kanawha. Scioto county boasted of Alexandria, a hamlet at the mouth of the Scioto, with great expectations, and Adams county had the river towns of Massiesburg and Manchester. Clermont had one town, Williamsburg, with twelve or fifteen houses. Hamilton county, after this long stretch of emptiness, was an agreeable change, with Cincinnati,* boasting upwards of three hundred dwellings. "A printing press is established here, which issues a weekly paper." The other towns were Columbia, Newtown and North Bend. Muskingum county had two rival towns, Springfield, on the east bank of the Muskingum, with thirteen families, and Zanesville opposite, with ten families, on Zane's grant. Both were on the post road from the east to Kentucky. Besides these were the Moravian towns of Schœnbrun, resettled in 1799 or 1800; Gnadenhütten, ten miles below; Salem, six miles further down the river, and Tuscarawi, platted at the forks in 1799. Fairfield county had the fine little town of Lancaster, established in 1800. In Ross, Chillicothe had considerable importance as a town of one hundred and fifty houses; Newmarket had twelve and Westfall ten. Franklinton, "a small but flourishing town on the forks of the Scioto, forty miles above Chillicothe," was the metropolis of the vast interior county of Franklin. Warren county had its villages of Deerfield and Waynesburg. The one town of Butler county was Hamilton, a small settlement. Dayton and Franklin were similar small settlements in Montgomery county. These few counties, which comprised the State at that time, had the following number of white males in 1803: Trumbull, 1,111; Columbiana, 542; Jefferson, 1,533; Belmont, 1,030; Washington and Muskingum, 1,246; Gallia, 307; Scioto, 249; Adams, 906; Clermont, 755; Hamilton, 1,700; Fairfield, 1,051; Ross,

*Among the men who came to Cincinnati in 1803 was Nicholas Longworth, born in Newark, N. J., in 1782. He was the first to introduce the culture of the grape and the making of wine in Ohio, became very wealthy by investments in real estate, and was one of the most eminent and useful citizens of Ohio. It was in his honor that Longfellow made the pun at a social meeting, "Worth makes the man and want of it the fellow."

1,982; Franklin, 240; Warren, 854; Greene, 446; Butler, 836, and Montgomery, 526. The total white males were 15,314.

In July, 1805, as has been previously noted, the proprietors of Sufferers' Land (Fire Lands) bought of the Indians the part of the Connecticut reserve west of the Cuyahoga. In the same year a treaty was made at Fort Industry, the site of the future Toledo, by the United States, by which the Indians ceded not only what is called the Fire Lands, but the strip south of it, as far west as the west line of the Connecticut reserve. The Wyandots, Chippewas, Munsees and Delawares, who made this cession, were promised a perpetual annuity of $1,000, $175 of which was to be paid by the Fire Lands company, which had previously agreed to pay the Indians $4,000 down and $12,000 in six annual payments for the land they obtained. In 1807 Governor Hull, of Michigan, by treaty of friendship at Detroit, secured the right to Ohio of building a road from the western limit of the Fire Lands to the Maumee rapids, and a strip a mile wide on each side of the road, as well as another road south from Lower Sandusky (Fremont). Taylor Sherman,* of Connecticut, was sent out to superintend the settlement of the Fire Lands, and on February 7, 1809, the region was set off as the county of Huron. The strip of Indian country south of this, also acquired by the treaty of 1805, remained without a name, except the "New Purchase," until it was formally designated as Wayne county in 1808, including also the present counties of Ashland and Richland and parts of Stark, Holmes, Morrow and Crawford.

Thomas Ashe, an Englishman, coming down the Ohio in 1806,† on reaching the mouth of the Scioto was curious to see Chillicothe, and its democratical government, of which he had heard much, and he undertook to walk up through the rather wet lands west of the river. "I suffered much for my curiosity," he said. "My route lay through a wilderness so thick, deep, dark and impenetrable that the light, much less the air of heaven, was nearly denied access. We were likewise almost stung to madness by musketoes. So numerous were these persecutors, that we walked amidst them as in a cloud, and suffered to an excess not possible to describe." Chillicothe he found a town of about 150 houses. At Cincinnati there were twice as many. The importance of the latter city he ascribed largely to the fact that "in Holland, Germany, Ireland and the remotest parts of America, persons intending to emigrate declare they will go to the Miamies," so famous was that fertile and beautiful region. At

*His son, Charles R. Sherman, followed him to Ohio, and became a lawyer at Lancaster, and later one of the ablest judges of the supreme court. Among his children were Senator John Sherman and General William Tecumseh Sherman.

†"Travels in America," London, 1808. Ashe traveled under an assumed name and was afterward called the "swindling Englishman," and "the infamous Ashe." The West was not tolerant of criticism in those days.

Lebanon he found the community of Shaking Quakers, and at Dayton much shaking of another sort, from malaria.

In the Warren county settlements, which included Lebanon and the homes of Francis Dunlavy and Matthias Corwin, father of Tom Corwin, and the farm and mill of Jeremiah Morrow, there were strange doings about this time. In 1802 there came from Kentucky a Presbyterian preacher, Richard McNemar, a gaunt, restless man, learned in the ancient languages, who started a "revival," in which the congregation went into convulsions, shouted, jerked, barked, rolled about upon the ground, prophesied, and exhibited faces of such ecstasy that it was not doubted that they were more favored than St. Paul, who could only look "as through a glass darkly" upon the glories of eternity. At these meetings the people would sing with such energy that they could be heard for miles around.

James B. Finley, of Highland county, son of the Rev. Robert W. Finley, went down into Kentucky in 1801 to see the famous Cane Ridge camp-meeting; was terrified by the noise and fervor, of twenty-five thousand shouting people, but yielded to the impulse, and became one of the leading workers under Francis Asbury, who preached at the Chillicothe statehouse in 1803. Presbyterians were also active in the great religious movement, that continued until 1810. Apparently inseparable from the "revivals" were "the jerks," a peculiar nervous disorder that some declared was the work of the devil. At the camp-meetings, that became common, one of the most famous preachers was Lorenzo Dow, a native of Connecticut, who traveled and exhorted from the Lakes to the Gulf.

In March, 1805, there arrived at Lebanon the forerunners of another religious movement, John Meacham and his associates, who came to found a community of the Shaking Quakers, started in England about sixty years before, in the delusions of a woman, Ann Lee, who claimed to be a re-incarnation of Christ. She was put in a madhouse in the old country, but came to America and found favor. The sect had much success at Lebanon, and founded the Shaker town at Union Village.

There was also brought into the wilderness the mystical doctrines of Swedenborg by one of the memorable characters of pioneer days, Jonathan Chapman, who is said to have been born at Boston about 1775. He came into the Territory in 1801 with a horse load of appleseeds, planted an orchard in Licking county, and was ever afterward known as "Johnny Appleseed." In 1806 he came down the Ohio by boat and went up the Muskingum and Mohican into the Ashland county country, where he planted more nurseries. To the Indians he was a great "medicine man," and to the whites a mysterious but always welcome visitation. From his seeds thousands of orchards grew, and he may have imparted some degree of mystical

coloring to the religious life of the frontier by his eloquent discourses. For forty years he wandered about in Ohio and Indiana, clad sometimes in a coffee sack, with his cooking pan for a hat.

In the Western Reserve and other parts of the State religious colonies were founded, such as the town of Tallmadge, in Summit county, established exclusively for Congregationalists or Presbyterians by David Bacon, a missionary from Connecticut, in 1807. There was bred Leonard Bacon, a famous theologian of later days, and his sister, Delia Bacon, who became noted in England as well as America for her attempt to transfer to the great English philosopher whose name she bore the honors of him who wrote "not for an age but for all time."

The State was yet mainly in a condition of nature. "We do not believe there was even one bridge in the State when it was organized," says Caleb Atwater, in his quaint history. "The roads were few and it was no easy matter for a stranger to follow them." Atwater himself preferred to thread the forests with the aid of a compass. The judges of the supreme court and the circuit judges, traveling from county to county, attended by a retinue of lawyers, were accustomed to swim rivers and smilingly submit to the buffetings of nature and the attentions of the mosquitoes, which were almost overwhelming.

Much has been written of the lack of comfort of the settlers, and their sufferings. It is a common theme, and need not here be dwelt upon. Living in their log cabins and laboring tremendously at clearing away the giant trees, the man and wife and their flock of children were happy, as happy as any people are now. The men and women of today would do the same work now if they were similarly situated, and develop just as much endurance of mind and muscle, and the men and women of that day, if suddenly brought back from their well-earned rest to fill our places, would quickly adapt themselves to the present conditions. Thousands of times have sections of humanity gone through as great a progress, in the essentials of life, as has occurred since 1803 in Ohio, and man forever remains the same, wonderful in adaptation to circumstances, and departing little from the original creature, whether he stand in wonder of himself as the master of the newly invented stone axe, or the newly invented steam engine, trolley-car and telephone.

But Ohio was not all log houses during the administration of the genial Doctor Tiffin. There was a really imposing stone capitol at Chillicothe, and upon the hills overlooking the town were the mansions of Senator Worthington and Duncan McArthur, as deserving of a place in romance as the plantation homes of Virginia. Worthington's home was a Virginia mansion transplanted. It was fancifully named, according to the custom of the Virginia gentlemen when they built homes in the wilderness, and known as Adena. A grand place it was, in fact, and furnished for the entertainment of such worthies as the duke of Saxe-Weimar, the Clays and Breckinridges

of Kentucky and President Monroe, who enjoyed its hospitality in later years. Duncan McArthur, who had come to Ohio with the Pennsylvania soldiers in 1790 and fought under Harmar at the head of the Maumee; skirmished with the Indians at Captina, below Wheeling, in 1792; hunted along the Ohio with Joseph Vance, and carried a chain with Nathaniel Massie in 1793; scouted against the Indians along the river in the service of Kentucky, and after the treaty of Greenville helped plant the town of Chillicothe, was now becoming one of the greatest land owners of Ohio, and his mansion corresponded to his prosperity. General Massie's comfortable home at Paint Creek was also a place of much social life. Here the Virginians who came frequently on land business were entertained. Colonel McDonald recalled that the hospitality of this home bordered on extravagance, especially when the general welcomed any old companion in frontier adventure. "His lady, although raised in polished and fashionable life, took great pleasure in rendering his awkward woods companions easy and at home. I well remember that it was in Mrs. Massie's room I first saw tea handed around for supper, which I then thought foolish business and still remain of that opinion."*

Another famous mansion, not quite in the State, as all her territory is "northwest of the river Ohio," was on an island opposite Belpré. Elijah Backus, of Connecticut, bought the island of its original claimant for a small price, and sold half of it about 1798 at $26 an acre, to an easy victim who had come down the river fresh from Ireland. This purchaser was Harmon Blennerhassett, a native of England, then thirty years old, a graduate of Trinity college, Dublin, who had inherited a small fortune and married a daughter of the lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Man. Locating on the island, so that he might own a few slaves, he made business investments at Marietta, and spent a good part of his money in building a spacious frame house, in plan and architectural finish resembling a barracks, but furnished with considerable luxuriance and good taste. About forty thousand dollars is said to have been expended on the residence and grounds. The master is described as a tall, slight-built, short-sighted man, a good musician, devoted to scientific experiments, but with little aptitude for business, who dressed in scarlet or buff small-clothes and a blue broadcloth coat, silk stockings and silver buckled shoes, after the fashion of the gentry of that day. His wife, a charming woman, could jump a fence and lead the dance with equal ease, and as she rode her horse from Belpré to Marietta, attired in scarlet habit, she reminded the sober-minded pioneers of some tropical bird of gay plumage and rapid flight, winging its way through the woods.†

* Biographical Sketches, by Col. John McDonald, 1838.

† Such is the description of Dr. S. P. Hildreth, of Marietta, in his "Pioneers of Ohio."

There were numerous balls and assemblies at Marietta and Belpré, as well as at her home, in which she was the chief spirit.

In 1804 the first presidential electors of Ohio were chosen: William Goforth, James Pritchard and Nathaniel Massie, who cast the vote of the State for Thomas Jefferson for a second term. Jefferson's administration was "almost worshipped by our people," says Caleb Atwater, "who were greatly caressed in return, by the object of their reverence." There was some opposition, for a resolution in the legislature, commending the government for taking possession of Louisiana, passed the house by a majority of only one, and the opposition had a protest spread upon the journal against absurd commendations of the government for doing its duty. Among these protestants was Philemon Beecher, from Connecticut, a man then thirty years old, who had settled at Lancaster; the pioneer of the Beechers in Ohio, and dean of the famous Lancaster group of lawyers.

It will be remembered that Napoleon Bonaparte, citizen of the republic of France, in 1804 declared himself emperor of the French. The same year was the last of the term of Aaron Burr as vice-president of the United States. He sought to step from that place to the governorship of New York, but was thwarted by Alexander Hamilton. Deeply offended by the personal charges traceable to Hamilton, Burr forced the great Federalist to meet him in a duel that resulted in Hamilton's death. Duels were common in that day, even along the Ohio river, but such a storm of indignation arose over the killing of Hamilton that Burr soon realized that his wonderful political career was ended in the east. His property in New York was seized by creditors, and if he had entered New Jersey he would have been arrested on the charge of murder. No man had been more popular in the United States, no man was more brilliant and winning. He was not unlike Napoleon, a little man, with marvelous eyes; a soldier also, gallant and successful. Bidding farewell to the senate in March, 1805, with a speech that left his distinguished audience in tears, Aaron Burr followed the advice of Gen. James Wilkinson and came down the Ohio on his way to Nashville, where it was hoped he might be elected to Congress. He traveled too slowly, and that scheme failed. But he was received as one of the great men of the age in Kentucky, Tennessee, and at New Orleans, whither he continued his journey. In sailing down the Ohio in one of the arks of that period he stopped at Marietta, and called at the famous Blennerhassett home, finding the good man out, but greatly fascinating his wife, as he did all women and most men. At Cincinnati he visited his friends in the senate, John Smith, and Gen. Jonathan Dayton, and at Nashville he was the guest of Andrew Jackson. He interested himself in the schemes of the west and talked with Wilkinson and Dayton about a canal at Louisville. At New Orleans he discovered hostility to American rule. Conflict had again arisen with the

Spanish over the claim of the United States that in buying Louisiana of Napoleon they had also acquired ownership of Texas, Baton Rouge and Mobile. As Burr was returning and enjoying the hospitality of Henry Clay in Kentucky a little revolution broke out among the Americans in Baton Rouge against the Spanish. A year later General Wilkinson and his troops and a Spanish army were confronting each other near Natchitoches, and war with Spain was confidently expected, and in Kentucky and Tennessee anxiously desired. Wilkinson in the fall of 1805 urgently besought William Henry Harrison, who was quietly ruling over his territory in Indiana, to have Burr sent to Congress from that region.

Returning east Burr kept Wilkinson informed of the prospect of war, which by this time seemed fading, for William Pitt had died and Napoleon had intimated that the United States could have Texas and Florida only by another contribution to his war chest. For the last time Burr sought a place in the United States service, at the hands of Jefferson, and being refused, devoted himself to the project of planting a colony in western Louisiana, with the object of making a conquest of Texas and Mexico, and founding an empire of which he should be the head, to which part of the western United States might be admitted, if it should be favorable to the project. The first necessary step in the great scheme was that General Wilkinson should bring on war, which would be easy. Let some hostility be committed, without authority, and if the Spanish moved a finger, Kentucky and Tennessee, if not Ohio, would rise in fury to sweep the Dons from the continent.

Burr, aided by his friends, purchased four hundred thousand acres on the Washita, and with the sympathy and assistance of General Dayton, General Adair of Kentucky and General Jackson of Tennessee, began the organization of a colony and filibustering expedition. In the summer of 1806, with his daughter, Theodosia, and two or three friends, Colonel Burr started down the Ohio again, expecting never to return. In passing, he made little trips ashore, to enlist recruits and assistance. At Cannonsburg he was entertained by Colonel Morgan, who became alarmed by his talk and caused a letter to be sent to President Jefferson, warning him that Burr was plotting to seduce the West from the United States. The president sent John Graham to investigate, but it was two months before the latter could reach Ohio, and meanwhile Burr proceeded with his operations. At Marietta he put the militia regiment through some evolutions, and by this and his courtly grace at the ball that followed, won the general admiration. Many were willing to engage in his mysterious enterprise against the Spanish, and the impression grew that the government was privy to it. Blennerhassett was already enlisted in the scheme by correspondence, and though no man was less fitted for such a project, he devoted himself to it, encouraged by his ambitious wife.

Headquarters were made on the island; fifteen large boats, to carry five hundred men, were undertaken by the boat builders at Marietta, quantities of subsistence stores were purchased, and men were enrolled, who were to come armed and accept pay in Washita land. Other boats were contracted for on the Cumberland river, and money to pay for them deposited with Andrew Jackson.

Blennerhassett's island was then the center of interest in Ohio. Burr traveled somewhat in the State, spreading the fame of his undertaking, one of the places he visited being the home of Senator Worthington. Though the latter was away, the adventurer was entertained by the ladies. To his kindness, according to the family tradition, Adena was indebted for its mossroses, yellow jasmine and sweet honeysuckle. In October, leaving the work at the island in the capable hands of Mrs. Blennerhassett, Burr went into Kentucky. Then trouble began. A Frankfort paper asserted that the old Spanish conspiracies were being revived. Great excitement was aroused, and Burr was called before the grand jury. He was defended by Henry Clay, and triumphantly acquitted. Proceeding to Nashville, it was arranged that he should take a party down the Cumberland and at its mouth join Blennerhassett's flotilla.

Meanwhile General Wilkinson, commander of the American army on the Spanish frontier, had been brought to the point of a weighty decision, by the arrival of Burr's advance agent, bearing a cipher letter announcing the plan of taking possession of New Orleans and making it a base of an expedition against the Spanish colonial government. The general, hitherto, to all appearances, an ally of Burr's, had to choose whether he should remain at the head of the United States army and preserve peace with his Spanish friends, or provoke war with the prospect of becoming second to Burr in a new empire that was yet a dream. He decided on the first course, took the position of the savior of America from treason, warned Jefferson of terrible events, retreated from the Spanish border to guard the Mississippi and New Orleans, and put the whole country in terror with the story that seven thousand armed men were descending the Mississippi. President Jefferson was willing to follow suit, and pursue Burr vindictively. Troops were called out. A bill suspending the writ of habeas corpus passed one house of Congress. General Eaton, another interesting character, came out with a story of what Burr had told him, that was the main foundation of the charge for treason. At the same time, it seems to be as well established as much of the history of the period that Wilkinson sent a demand to the viceroy of Mexico for pay for his services in averting an invasion of that country.

Graham, the president's agent, reached Marietta in the fall of 1806, made inquiries of Blennerhassett, warned him of danger, and had a conference with Governor Tiffin, which resulted in the latter

sending a secret message to the legislature, December 2d. The legislature passed an act intended to quell the conspiracy and the governor called out the sheriffs and militia along the Ohio. General Buell seized Blennerhassett's boats at Marietta, and on hearing that a body of Virginia militia was marching to the island, Blennerhassett, with about thirty companions, set out down the river in four boats, at night, leaving Mrs. Blennerhassett to follow. . Then the Virginia militia occupied the island, had a trial of a band of recruits that were intercepted, and who, of course, were discharged, and after that invaded the wine cellar and sacked the mansion. Burr and Blennerhassett met as agreed at the mouth of the Cumberland, and ignorant of Wilkinson's play of patriotism, dropped down the river to Mississippi. There they heard of the tremendous commotion that had been raised, and the troops that were looking for them. Burr was put under arrest. The grand jury returned a bill condemning his enemies and denouncing Wilkinson's conduct, but, being threatened with military proceedings, Burr fled toward Pensacola, was seized by Captain Gaines and carried to Richmond, Va. Blennerhassett suffered a similar fate, and every man who had talked to Burr in the West was under suspicion. Nearly all his friends were ruined, with a notable exception in Andrew Jackson, who dared to go to Richmond and denounce Jefferson for persecuting his friend. Then followed the great treason trial at Richmond, before Chief Justice John Marshall, of which it is enough to say that after several months of oratory and legal profundity, the accusation of treason failed, and Burr and Blennerhassett were bound over for a trial at Chillicothe in January, 1808, for the misdemeanor of organizing an expedition against Spain, a trial that was never intended to be held and never was. A great feature at Richmond was the speech of William Wirt, attorney-general of the United States. That part of it describing the felicity of Blennerhassett's island and the dire result of the entry of Burr like the serpent into Eden, was a favorite piece in the school readers of the next generations, and as popular for declamation as Rienzi's address to the Romans. While Wirt was delivering it, Blennerhassett and his wife were planning to give further assistance to Burr. Blennerhassett returned to his island to find it laid waste, afterward went to Mississippi and embarked in cotton planting, and thrived until, having been seriously crippled by the failure of the Burr empire, the hard times attending the commercial troubles with Napoleon and Great Britain put an end to his prosperity. He died in poverty in England, and his wife passed away in similar circumstances in America, while endeavoring to obtain justice from Congress. A great flood swept over the island, and finally, in 1811, a fire destroyed the famous mansion. As for Burr, he took refuge in Europe for a time, and then returning had revenge on "the Virginia dynasty" by planning the triumph of Jackson and VanBuren.

"To look back upon the farce now, is like reading an account of the Massachusetts witchcraft," wrote Caleb Atwater in his history of Ohio. A considerable number of people in Ohio suffered in popular esteem for friendship to Burr. The careers of General Dayton and Senator Smith were ended. Smith was accused of treason before the United States senate. A vote to expel him failed by one vote, but he yielded to the unanimous demand of the legislature for his resignation, in December, 1808. "Affidavits of conversations with Colonel Burr were gotten against him;" says Atwater, "many of these willing witnesses we knew, and would not believe them under oath then or at any other time during their lives." After he left office the prejudice against Smith took the form of financial persecution and his property was seized. He abandoned the state, took refuge in Louisiana and died there in 1824.

Governor Tiffin in January, 1807, was elected to the United States senate, to succeed Senator Worthington, an honor for which Philemon Beecher received a creditable support. George Tod, of Trumbull county, a man of Connecticut birth, who had served as state senator, was elected to the supreme court, defeating Richard S. Thomas by one vote. At the election of governor in the same year, there was a memorable contest between Return Jonathan Meigs and Nathaniel Massie, Marietta against Chillicothe, in which the older town seemed to win. The returns showed 6,050 for Meigs and 4,757 for Massie, and though the election was contested, and many returns thrown out, neither of the revisions made could quite wipe out the Meigs majority. Both houses of the legislature sat in joint convention for several days to hear a contest, instituted by the friends of Massie, on the ground that Meigs was disqualified to hold the office because he had been appointed to United States office in Louisiana (Missouri) and Michigan, though he contended that his legal residence had remained at Marietta. By a vote of 24 to 20 he was ruled out as ineligible, and it was declared that there had been a failure to elect.* Thomas Kirker, speaker of the senate, who had become acting governor on the resignation of Tiffin, held the office from January, 1807, to December 12, 1808. Meigs was elected to the supreme court.

The administration of Governor Kirker was marked by agitation for the removal of the capital from Chillicothe, the beginning of a famous attempt to restrict the power of the courts, and the creation of a number of new counties. A minor feature, perhaps, was the enactment of a law compelling every male citizen of military age to collect and turn over to his township clerk annually, one hundred

*It is stated by McDonald and other historians that General Massie was declared elected, and that he declined to accept the office because he had not received a majority. But the record is as above.

squirrel scalps, or if deficient pay at the rate of three cents a scalp for the benefit of those who were better hunters. The fields as well as forests were overrun with these animals, as larger game disappeared, and it was a fight for life on the part of the farmers.

The new counties created were: Knox from Fairfield, named in honor of Gen. Henry Knox, of the Revolution; Licking, also set off from Fairfield, with its county seat at Newark, a town founded in the refugee tract in 1801 by Gen. William C. Schenck, an officer under General Wayne, who was also a pioneer of the Miami valley; Delaware from Franklin, named from the great Indian nation; Stark, including the historic country of Fort Laurens, with the county seat at Canton, laid out in 1806 by Bezaleel Wells, a city commemorating in its name the great interest felt at that time in China; Wayne, the "New Purchase" from the Indians; Tuscarawas, from Muskingum, including the old Moravian towns, with the county seat at New Philadelphia, platted in 1804; and Preble, separated from Montgomery and Butler, and named in honor of the gallant commodore who had recently bombarded Tripoli.

One of the prime necessities of the young State was money. The great difficulties of transportation rendered it impossible to bring enough specie into the State through export of products, if it had been practicable for the early settlers to raise enough products to export. The recourse in this need was to local banks empowered to issue notes, which became the circulating medium. The first legislature, in April, 1803, in the charter of the Miami Exporting company, of Cincinnati, made provision for banking among the commercial functions of that concern, but the first bank proper to receive a charter was that at Marietta in 1808. In the same session of the assembly the founding of a State bank was favorably reported on by Mr. Worthington. The Bank of Chillicothe was chartered for ten years. The state was offered one-sixth of the shares. The great popular demand from these banks was the issue of paper money, but the law did not restrict the amount of it, or require its redemption in specie. Banks of the same sort were incorporated in 1808 at Steubenville and Chillicothe, and three others in 1812–13.

There was a sort of national currency also to be taken into account. The first United States bank, which was in reality a private concern, specially entrusted with the national finances and issue of paper money, was a result of the great Ohio Indian war of 1790–95. "To carry on war at that time, with such Indians as were then, at such a distance in the wilderness, was a severe trial upon the finances of the federal treasury as well as upon the courage and discipline of the troops; and General Hamilton, the head of the treasury, urged that with the aid of a national bank, the war would be better and more successfully conducted; and therefore that it was 'necessary' and might be established as a means of executing a granted power, to-

wit: the power of making war."* This national bank, the first Bank of the United States, flourished, with the credit of successfully sustaining the Ohio war, until its charter expired in 1811.

In 1804–05 there had been a memorable attempt on the part of the leaders of the Jeffersonian party, suggested by Jefferson himself, to remove from the bench of the United States supreme court Judge Samuel Chase of Maryland, a Federalist who was so indiscreet as to remain an "offensive partisan." The Jeffersonians realized that without a freely exercised control of the judiciary, there remained a restriction upon the independence of the legislatures and states, and the removal of John Marshall from the commanding position of chief justice was earnestly desired. It was asserted by the Jeffersonians that for the supreme court to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional would be good ground for impeachment and removal from office. The first blow was struck at Chase, who was vulnerable in his indiscretions, and a momentous battle was waged, that might have changed the form of government and justified the fears of the Federalists in 1800. But Judge Chase was acquitted by the senate acting as a court. This is mentioned because the crisis was echoed in Ohio. The act of the legislature in 1805, defining the duties of justices of the peace, gave those officers jurisdiction of cases involving over $20 and prohibited the recovering of costs in the common pleas court on judgments of from $20 to $50. These provisions were brought in question before the courts, as obnoxious to the seventh amendment of the United States constitution, which ordains that "in suits at common law, when the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved," and also repugnant to a provision in the State constitution that "the right of trial by jury shall be inviolate." The court of common pleas of the Third circuit (of which Calvin Pease was president judge) and Judges Huntington and Tod, of the State supreme court, decided that the provisions of the law of 1805 referred to were unconstitutional and void, and thereupon the legislature ordered the impeachment of the judges.

Judge Huntington did not suffer in popular favor on account of this movement, and being selected in 1808 as the candidate opposed to the Chillicothe party, he was triumphantly elected, receiving 7,293 votes to 5,601 for Thomas Worthington and 3,397 for Thomas Kirker, for governor.†

Samuel Huntington, as has been noted, was of Connecticut birth. He was of Puritan stock and a graduate of Yale college. Coming west in 1800 he made his home at Cleveland and began the practice

*Thomas H. Benton, "Thirty Years' View."

†In this year Nathaniel Massie, Thomas McCune and Stephen Wood were chosen presidential electors, and they threw the vote of Ohio for James Madison.

of law. He was elected to the constitutional convention and the state senate, became speaker of the senate and later judge of the supreme court, from which he was called to the chief magistracy. He was duly installed December 12, 1808, and the proceedings against him were dropped, and articles of impeachment* were reported against Judges Tod and Pease, for "high misdemeanor and wilful, corrupt and wicked disregard of the constitution," in declaring null and void an act of the legislature. They were tried before the senate. Judge Tod, in his answer, "asserted his right and duty to determine cases brought before him as judge, according to the convictions of his judgment, and vindicated the purity of his motives and the uprightness of his judicial conduct."† Nevertheless the senate voted in both cases fifteen to nine for finding the judges guilty, but fifteen being one less than the two-thirds vote required for conviction, the judges retained their places upon the bench. The names of the nine deserve remembrance. They were John Bigger of Warren, Jacob Burton of Fairfield, John P. R. Bureau of Gallia (father-in-law of Samuel F. Vinton), Calvin Cone of Trumbull, Daniel C. Cooper of Montgomery,‡ Joseph Foos of Franklin, Lewis Kinney, Jr., of Columbiana, Henry Massie of Ross, and Elnathan Schofield. Among those who voted for conviction were ex-Governor Kirker and future-Governor McArthur.

During the same session of the legislature an United States senator was elected to succeed John Smith, and Return Jonathan Meigs was chosen by a decisive majority over Nathaniel Massie. William Creighton having resigned the office of secretary of state, Jeremiah McLene, a Chillicothe pioneer and sheriff of Ross county, was elected over Joseph Tiffin. McLene held this office for twenty-three years successively. To succeed Huntington and Meigs in the supreme court, Thomas Scott and Thomas Morris were chosen.

Early in Huntington's administration there was danger of war with European powers, on account of the violation of neutral rights in the course of the Napoleonic wars. In March, 1809, the Ohio militia officers, under orders from the president of the United States, were training picked bodies of men to go into the field, but presently the emergency passed, with the restoration of more amicable relations.

Exasperated by the failure to remove the judges that had dared to

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*It was a common thing for the early legislatures to indulge in impeachment and trial of the various judges. Some prominent men were compelled to pass this ordeal, such as William W. Irwin, who was accused of refusing to meet with his judicial colleagues and speaking slightingly of the importance of his duties. After a solemn trial he was found guilty and removed from office.

†In defense of the judges a famous argument was made by Lewis Cass, a young lawyer of Marietta, whose father, Maj. Jonathan Cass, had been with the army in Wayne's campaign and was now farming near Zanesville.

‡Jonathan Dayton's agent in the Miami valley, and, it may be said, the real founder of the city of Dayton.

annul acts of the legislature, the radical Jeffersonian party made a determined effort to gain greater control of the legislature in 1809. Edward Tiffin resigned from the United States senate, following the death of his wife,* and was elected to the house from Ross county, and Duncan McArthur was re-elected to the senate and made speaker by unanimous vote. Of the house Alexander Campbell, of Adams county,† was speaker pro tempore until elected United States senator to succeed Tiffin, Richard S. Thompson being his main competitor for the honor. To succeed Thomas Gibson as auditor of state, Benjamin Hough was chosen. With all this change the majority in the legislature was not content as long as the obnoxious judges retained office. Consequently a new move was made, based on the cry that the public officers had been in power long enough and should give place to new men. A resolution was passed, in January, 1810, called the "Sweeper resolution," providing that officers chosen to fill vacancies arising during the original terms in the judiciary should go out at the expiration of those terms.

By this legislation the judges of the supreme and common pleas courts were removed from office. Thomas Scott, William W. Irwin and Francis Dunlavy were elected as a new supreme court, and John Thompson and Benjamin Ruggles were elected president judges of the Second and Third circuits. Ruggles, born in Connecticut in 1783, had been a lawyer at Marietta since 1807, and now moved to St. Clairsville, where, after a career of great distinction he died in 1857. A full new set of associate judges was also provided for the counties. "Many of the counties had not been organized half seven years and the judges in not a few instances had not served two years," Mr. Atwater commented. "In some such cases, both sets of judges attempted to act officially. The whole state was thrown into utter confusion for a time, but finally one and all became convinced that the Sweeper Resolution was all wrong." It was also his opinion that "all the acts of this session were equally violent and unconstitutional, for 'madness ruled the hour.' " One of the measures was a resolution to remove the seat of government temporarily to Zanesville. A commission was appointed in February, 1810, composed of James Findlay, Joseph Darlinton and William McFarland, to whom Wyllys

*Stanley Griswold, of Cuyahoga, was appointed ad interim. He was a Connecticut man who had been expelled from the ministry of his church for preaching Jeffersonian politics; had been secretary of Michigan territory, and from 1810 until his death was United States judge for the Northwest territory.

†Alexander Campbell, born in Green Brier county, Va., in 1779, an orphan in boyhood, was reared in East Tennessee and Kentucky, studied medicine, came to Adams county as a doctor, in 1804, was thrice elected to the legislature, and then to the United States senate, where he opposed slavery, the Mexican war and the United States bank. He rode his horse to and from Washington. After being senator he served several times in the legislature and was a Harrison elector in 1836.

Silliman and Rezin Beall were subsequently added, to select a permanent seat of government.

Thus the administration of Governor Huntington passed, in a stormy manner. It should be remembered for the practical failure to put the judiciary under the dominion of the legislature and prevent the co-ordination of powers that are characteristic of American government, and for the beginning of the effort to move the capital, which revealed the growth of population away from the Ohio river region. Several new counties were also created. In 1809 Darke county, with the county seat at Greenville, founded by John Devor in 1808, was erected (though not organized until 1817); the Firelands were named Huron county, and in January and February, 1810, the counties of Cuyahoga, Pickaway, Guernsey, Coshocton, Fayette, Clinton and Madison, were organized.

All this legislation revealed the progress of the state, and the census of 1810 showed that in seven years the population had increased from less than fifty thousand to 230,760. At the same time the total tax valuation of lands had risen from three million to nearly $10,000,000, and the state revenues had grown from $22,000 to nearly $86,000. The lusty seven-year-old had already far surpassed in population the original states of Delaware and Rhode Island and New Hampshire, and was not far behind Connecticut, Georgia and New Jersey. Of the more newly admitted states Tennessee was not far behind, but Kentucky could still look down upon Ohio as something of a wilderness.

At the State election of 1810 Return Jonathan Meigs was again a candidate and pitted against another Chillicothe man, the distinguished Thomas Worthington. The campaign was spirited and exciting and Meigs was successful, despite the prestige of his opponent, by a majority of over two thousand. He was duly inaugurated in December, 1810, without question of his citizenship. This creating a vacancy in the United States senatorship, there was a warm contest for that honor and on the sixth ballot Worthington gained the one vote necessary to elect, Samuel Huntington being his close opponent.

Governor Meigs was one of the ablest men of the early days of Ohio, worthy of the honor bestowed upon him. He was re-elected in 1812 by a majority of nearly four thousand over Thomas Scott, of Ross county.

When the legislature met at Zanesville in December, 1810, the capital commissioners reported in favor of a site on the lands of John and Peter Sells, on the Scioto, a few miles west of Worthington, but the matter went over to the next legislature, when nine propositions were made by landowners to donate sites. One was from Henry Neville, of 150 acres on the Pickaway plains. Circleville tendered a cash donation, and James Kilbourne, of Worthington, offered the

necessary grounds and buildings. But eventually Col. James Johnson, Alexander McLaughlin, John Kerr and Lyne Starling were successful in securing the acceptance of their offer to donate twenty acres and expend $50,000 in building the statehouse, offices and penitentiary, on the high lands opposite the town of Franklinton. This was the beginning of the city of Columbus, the present capital of the State, in which the first lots were sold June 18, 1812. The temporary state capital was again established at Chillicothe until the new buildings were completed, and the legislature met but twice at the city of Zanesville.

According to the apportionment made under the census of 1810, Ohio had a great increase of representation in the lower house of Congress, from one to six representatives. The first delegation of six, was John McLean, John Alexander, Duncan McArthur, James Caldwell, James Kilbourn and John S. Edwards. McLean, then twenty-seven years old, was a native of New Jersey, who was brought west by his family in 1789, locating in Warren county ten years later. He studied law under the junior St. Clair and became a lawyer in 1807. John Alexander was an early settler of Greene county; Duncan McArthur we know, and also James Kilbourn. Caldwell was a Belmont county man. Edwards was a pioneer wool grower in the Western reserve. He resigned to lead a militia regiment in the war, and his successor Rezin Beall, of New Lisbon, a Marylander who had served under Harmar and Wayne, also resigned to command a brigade of militia. David Clendenin, of Trumbull, was the actual first representative from the Western reserve. McArthur also resigned for the war and his place was taken by William Creighton. Jeremiah Morrow, who was the solitary representative of Ohio in 1803-13, was elected to the United States senate to succeed Campbell and served six years.

The conveniences of travel to Ohio were not yet much improved by 1812. The great National road, that was to furnish access to the eastern seaboard, was being opened very slowly. It was to be built, as will be remembered, by a part of the receipts from sale of public lands in Ohio and the northwest. When the fund available for building east of Ohio, two per cent, amounted to about $12,000, in 1805, a move was made toward building a road, and Joseph Kerr, of Ross county, was appointed by President Jefferson as one of the three commissioners to locate it. A substantial road, sixty-six feet wide, was ordered, and $30,000 appropriated in 1806. The road, as marked and cleared of trees in 1808, followed in a general way, Braddock's route toward Pittsburg, crossing the Monongahela at Redstone. There was intense rivalry between Wheeling and Steubenville for the terminus of the eastern division, but through the influence of Henry Clay the Virginia town won. Construction went on at the cost of $6,000 a mile, but it was not until 1818, some years

after the period now under consideration, that mail coaches began to run over this magnificent road, from Washington to Wheeling.

With this highway incomplete and communication with the east very difficult and expensive, the Ohio and Mississippi rivers continued to be the main outlet of the surplus of Ohio, but with the great inconvenience that while it was easy to to go down the river with flatboats and sail-rigged vessel, it was almost impossible to get back that way. For this reason most adventurers down the Ohio sold their craft on reaching New Orleans and returned overland. In 1812 a hundred boats loaded with Ohio products left Chillicothe for Natchez and New Orleans, and in the same year a vessel sailed from the mouth of the Scioto for foreign ports. There was similar commerce on the Muskingum and Miami in the early years of the State, as well as from Cincinnati and Marietta, the principal ports. After Robert Fulton, in 1807, was successful in running a steamboat on the Hudson river, there began a new era of navigation on the rivers, but it was slower in development than might have been expected. In 1809, Mr. Roosevelt, of New York, the associate of Fulton, went down the Ohio to inspect the river as to the practicability of steam navigation, and as a result, the steamer New Orleans was built at Pittsburg. While the advent of this new marvel was expected in 1811, there was a great river event at Cincinnati, that was thus reported in the Baltimore Weekly Register:

"Cincinnati, May 29.—Arrived at this place, on Sunday morning, the 26th inst., barge Cincinnati, Beatle commander, from New Orleans, with a cargo of sugar, hides, logwood, crates, etc. She sailed from New Orleans the 3d of March, arrived at the Falls the 9th of May, 68 days, remained at Falls 9 days, and sailed from thence on the 17th inst. This is the first rigged vessel that ever arrived at Cincinnati from below. She is but 100 feet keel, 16 feet beam, rigged sloop fashion, and burthen 64 tons. She was worked over the falls by 18 men, in half a day."

In the following October the expected steamboat came down the river from Pittsburg, watched by thousands and admired for the rapidity of its movement. Reaching Cincinnati at night the town was alarmed by the strange noise of escaping steam. The boat ran between Cincinnati and Louisville until high water enabled it to shoot the rapids. Then it proceeded to the lower Mississippi, on the way narrowly escaping destruction by the great earthquake of December, 1811, which changed the channel of the river, and was felt in Ohio and all parts of the United States. Two years later the second steamer went down from Pittsburg (the Vesuvius), and she attempted to make the return trip, but ran aground, and for some time it was not thought practicable to run steamers above Natchez.

In addition to the hope of a broad highway over the mountains and better navigation on the great rivers there was talk of canals

during the Meigs administration. Dewitt Clinton, of New York, highly esteemed in Ohio for his friendly attitude toward the admission of the State, had already become a leader in canal agitation in the east, and in 1809 was one of a commission to survey a canal to connect Lake Erie and the Hudson. This was, of course, a matter of great importance to Ohio, as transportation matters were then, and the legislature in 1812 heartily joined in recommending national aid for the work. Much was expected from these artificial water ways, which, so far as modern history is concerned, were a new thing. Canal construction in England does not antedate the middle of the eighteenth century, and soon after it was proposed to unite in this way the cities of Hull and Liverpool, in 1777, Gouverneur Morris suggested the Erie and Hudson canal. George Washington at the same time advised the Virginia government to make such a connection with the waters of the Ohio, and in 1784 both Washington and Thomas Jefferson suggested canals to unite the Ohio and Lake Erie, Washington continuing persistently to urge an investigation of the project. The fact that in wet weather there was complete water connection between the Cuyahoga and Muskingum for the light craft of the Indians, suggested that route as the most promising.

An interesting glimpse of Ohio in 1811 may be obtained from a book of travels published by John Melish. The main towns were Cincinnati, with about four hundred houses and 2,283 inhabitants; Marietta, with 1,500 people, and Chillicothe, with 1,360. Cincinnati had thirty dry goods stores, while Chillicothe was an active manufacturing town, with two rope walks, cotton, woolen and nail factories, a pottery and several distilleries. Taverns were an important feature of town life. Zanesville, a much talked of town, because of its situation on the mail route from Wheeling to Kentucky, had eleven taverns, though the inhabitants numbered but twelve hundred. Coshocton had 140 people, and New Philadelphia, where the Pennsylvania Germans were settling, did not exceed 250. The Western Reserve, where Warren was the main town, was noted for muddy and difficult roads. Continual malarial fevers had made the few settlers of the little hamlet of Cleveland pale and dejected, and completely checked its growth, of which there had been great expectations. There were sixteen dwellings, two taverns, two stores and one school in this place, already hopefully called a city. There were two sorts of malarial attacks prevalent here and in other parts of the State, the ague proper, in which the chills were of frightful violence, and the dumb ague, something like the malarial fever of later days. No one escaped, entire families being at times disabled, and clouds of mosquitoes kept the infection in circulation. It is indeed the truth, that mosquitoes were a more serious foe than the Indians to the early settlers of Ohio. Along the Ohio river, peaches were grown in great abundance for the manufacture of peach brandy, of which a gallon

could be bought for three or four shillings. With very few exceptions, this brandy, and whiskey, which was cheap, were freely used by all. Government land was selling at $1.64 cash, or $2 on four years' time, and of the earlier claimants one might buy good land for five or six dollars an acre. A wild turkey could be bought for twenty-five cents, but salt was $1.50 a bushel. Coal was about five cents a bushel at Zanesville, and wood one dollar a cord. Flour was $4 a barrel, meats could be bought from two to four cents a pound, and fowls at half a shilling. Wages were 75 cents to $1.50 per day at Chillicothe.

It must not be imagined that amid these conditions of rawness, intellectual culture was altogether neglected. There were many excellent schools, taught by men of whom Francis Glass, of Irish birth, is an example, a man who labored faithfully with the young ideas and in his leisure wrote in Latin a history of Washington, that he completed in 1823. In 1815 an edition of Pascal's "Of the Imitation of Christ," was printed at Wilmington, which may, for curiosity, be contrasted with that latter day Columbus edition of the "Rubaiyat," that is sought by book collectors.

At Steubenville a paper mill was established in 1812, about which and the woolen factory gathered a colony of English and Germans, among them young Thomas Cole, in later years one of the great artists of the world, and Joseph Howells, grandfather of William Dean Howells.

Though northwest Ohio remained in the hands of the Indians there were United States reservations for military purposes, such as that of twelve miles square at the foot of the Maumee rapids and of six miles square at the mouth of the river, where Fort Industry, built about 1800, marked the site of the future Toledo. These reservations became the homes of settlers, beginning the remarkable though retarded development of that part of Ohio. Maj. Amos Spafford came from Cleveland to the foot of the rapids in 1810 as collector of the port of Miami, and just before war was declared in 1812 there were sixty-seven white families living there. Among them were some remnants of the old French population, notably Pierre Navarre and his brothers, who served throughout the war as scouts for the Americans, and Pierre Manor, who saved the settlers from massacre by a timely warning at the outbreak of hostilities.

But the Toledo site at this time was in the possession of the territory of Michigan. When the Ohio constitution was framed, there was some discussion regarding the northwestern line of the state, which according to the enabling act of Congress was to be an extension of a line drawn due east from the head of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie. According to Mitchell's geography, then the authority, such a line would cut the Detroit river, but old traders and hunters doubted this, and the founders of the State of Ohio provided that if

such a line should not touch Lake Erie, or touch it east of the mouth of "the Miami river of the lake," the north boundary line should be drawn not due east, but north of east from the head of Lake Michigan to the most northerly cape of "the Miami bay." Congress accepted this constitution, and, as Ohio ever afterward contended, thereby ratified the amendment to the original plan of boundaries. But in 1805 Michigan territory was created with the southern boundary as originally specified, without any reference to the Ohio amendment.

In 1807 Governor Hull, of Michigan, acting for the United States, bought the land north of the Maumee as far west as the mouth of the Au Glaize and up beyond Detroit, from the Indians for $10,000, and this tended to confirm the establishment of the Maumee river as the northwest boundary of the Ohio country. As early as 1812 Michigan territorial officials were assuming authority in the Maumee country, exciting the jealousy of those who had settled there from Ohio. Collector Spafford, in that year, appealed to Governor Meigs to extend the laws of Ohio over them and contest the claims of Michigan. The matter was also brought before Congress, and by resolution of May, 1812, a survey was ordered as soon as the Indians should permit it, to determine the location of the due east and west line. But war came on and the doubtful region was quickly depopulated and of no importance except as a battleground.

During all this time, since the treaty of Greenville, Indians and whites had lived in peace. Though northwest Ohio was Indian country, white men traveled through it without molestation, and the red men were familiar figures in the white settlements. But occasionally there were outrages that threatened serious trouble, due to lawless elements in both races, and the race hatred entertained by many of the whites. Near Warren, for instance, some drunken Indians disturbed a white family in the absence of the husband. A party sought the Indian camp near by, hungry for vengeance. The Indian chief suggested with really chivalrous feeling that if there must be blood, he would meet one of the party to settle the matter, and was instantly shot down. Several other Indians, including women and children, were wounded. The red men fled and called a council, and a war was with difficulty averted. The Indians finally consented to let the whites punish the offenders, but when the trial was had, a mob compelled the acquittal of the murderers. West of Ohio were tribes not yet satisfied with the judgment of battle, who entertained the old hope of driving the Yengees across the Ohio if not into the sea. Those Indians also bore their wrongs with "astonishing patience," but "should the United States be at war with any European nation who are known to the Indians," Governor Harrison predicted as early as 1801, "there would probably be a combination against us, unless some means are made use of to conciliate them."

As for war with a European nation, there was always opportunity during those days. It must be remembered that the period of sixty years, beginning with the shots fired in 1754 by George Washington's men in the Pennsylvania wilderness, was practically a continous war for dominance in Europe and America, for the establishment of republican governments, or for the overthrow of ancient dynasties. After American independence was achieved, nominally at least, in 1783, the struggle was soon resumed in Europe, with France and England as the chief antagonists. Then the problem for America was to restrain her sympathies for each of these powers, keep out of the fight and strengthen her independence. Washington managed to hold down the French sympathizers, and Jefferson, though leaning toward France, adopted a policy of coquetry toward the hostile nations, using the opportunities of the situation to gain territory for the United States. But when the rival powers attacked the great shipping interests of the United States, with arbitrary edicts and confiscations, Jefferson, with all his ability, was compelled to declare an embargo on ocean trade, as retaliation. This ruined the commerce all along the coast. New York, in 1808, resembled a city hushed under the ban of some great pestilence. Jefferson went out of office, leaving conditions that made war inevitable, and his country crippled so as to make the war promise humiliation. Madison, a man of less ability, could not cope with the situation. The statesmen of his school made the country more unready for war by putting an end to the United States bank. Meanwhile a group of young men like Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun came to the front demanding war for American honor, to avenge the insults and outrages committed by the French and English upon American shipping and sailors. It was doubtful which country would be chosen as an antagonist, but the leanings of the party in power were toward France as an ally. Furthermore, the British were not only oppressive at sea, but were accused of again encouraging trouble among the Indians. When the American frigate President and the British sloop Little Belt turned their guns on each other in the Atlantic, and the Indians fell upon Harrison's camp in Indiana, the country could no longer resist the cry for war with England.

The Indians of the West were at this time under the influence of one of the greatest men who rose among them from the beginning of the white invasion—Tecumseh, a native of the old Shawanee town of Piqua on Mad river. His father had fallen in the famous battle at Point Pleasant, and before he was thirty years old, the young warrior had experience in the hostilities that were ended by the treaty of Greenville. His brother, Ellskwatiwaw, became a medicine man, or "prophet," of great renown, and brought to the aid of Tecumseh all the influences of Indian religion. It was his special effort to repress drunkenness, to save the squaws from the degrada-

tion of frontier license, and encourage a national spirit. It was Tecumseh's ambition to unite the red men, put a stop to the piecemeal bargains, by which they lost their hunting grounds, and compel the United States to treat with the whole people for the lands.

Governor Harrison continued to narrow the Indian area west of Ohio by the objectionable sort of treaties, and Tecumseh, as early as 1808, having made his home in Indiana, met the governor with frequent and angry remonstrance. The situation had almost reached the intensity of war in 1810, and Tecumseh determined to enlist all the Indians from the lakes to the gulf in a great effort to stop the wave of white settlement. Harrison justified his encroachments upon the red men by the argument that the country was destined for civilization, and could not be left in a state of nature to accommodate a "few wretched savages." When a wealthy Scotchman of Vincennes accused him of cheating the Indians out of their lands, the governor went to law and obtained a judgment of damages against his daring critic.

Tecumseh went south in 1811, among the Creeks and Cherokees, and incited an Indian war there that demanded all the energy of Andrew Jackson to control. In the south as well as in Indiana and Michigan it was declared by the warriors that the British would become their allies and furnish them guns and ammunition. In the south Pensacola, and in the north Brownstown, on the Detroit river, opposite the British post, Fort Malden (Amherstburg), became the place of resort of the war plotters. Harrison had called for assistance, and the Fourth United States regiment and a Kentucky mounted battalion were sent to Vincennes in the summer of 1811, with which he marched up the Wabash and approached the Prophet's town on Tippecanoe creek, in the absence of Tecumseh. It was expected that the Indians collected there would disperse, but instead they made a fierce attack at four o'clock in the morning of November 7th, some of them breaking through the lines and fighting among the tents. Fortunately, the troops were not seriously surprised, and managed to repel their enemy, though nearly a third of the little army were killed or wounded. Harrison was made famous by the victory, which was a very narrow escape from another St. Clair disaster. The Indians scattered and their town was destroyed.

Great excitement was caused in Ohio by this battle, and by the debate in Congress in the following month regarding the policy of invading Canada. The legislature in December discussed the situation and adopted resolutions deploring the outrages and aggressions of the belligerent powers of Europe. "A retrospective view of the sufferings, injuries and insults which have flowed to this country, from a peculiar system of maritime depredation," they said, "must elevate the mind of every American to a posture of unyielding resist-

ance." At the conclusion it was pledged for Ohio, "We will at the call of our country rally round the standard of freedom."

But there were many who opposed the war. Ohio's two senators voted against it. In New England the opposition was so strong that an element threatened secession from the United States, which a British emissary intrigued to encourage. But even with the warning of such opposition at home the administration seemed incapable of preparing to make the inevitable war a creditable one. To command the proposed invasion of Canada in the west, Governor Hull, of Michigan, was chosen, a man who had been a gallant subordinate officer in the Revolution, but had not evinced, in his Michigan administration, such strength or tenacity of purpose as is essential to success as a general. He was asked to invade Canada from Detroit, while General Dearborn should advance from Lake Champlain and Van Rensselaer from Niagara.

It seems amazing that the government should have planned an invasion of Canada without a warship on the lakes. The necessity was realized, and the first steps were taken toward the building of a navy on Lake Ontario. Near Detroit there was a small frigate in the yards that soon fell into the hands of the British. If the building of a navy had been begun earlier and vigorously, its mere presence on the lakes, threatening British dominion in Canada, might have served all the purpose of the costly and miserable war that began in 1812. Until a navy was built an invasion of Canada would be fruitless, with such a small army as was called out. Governor Hull repeatedly reminded the government of this before he accepted the responsibility of the movement from Detroit, but in vain.

There was a mystery about the first Canada campaign, that some people explained by a secret understanding that vigorous measures should be restrained, for fear Canada should be overrun and added to the Union, disturbing the balance of power between the free and slave states. It is more likely that the administration, naturally weak and politically prejudiced against a strong army and navy, but driven into war by popular clamor before it was ready to fight, vacillated between opposing impulses, sacrificing the soldiers to its own incompetence and the popular impatience.

CHAPTER IX.

WAR AND HARD TIMES.

Governors Return Jonathan Meigs, 1812–14 — Othniel Looker, 1814 — Thomas Worthington, 1814–18 — Ethan Allen Brown, 1818–22.

FOR THE occupation of Detroit the Washington authorities proposed to withdraw from Indiana the little regiment of regulars that protected the frontier from the Indians, and send them with a small body of Ohio volunteers through a wilderness that had never been penetrated by a wagon. Ohio yielded with patriotic devotion to the demand upon her resources for this amateur war. She would willingly and easily have raised an army large enough to be effective. The State had 35,000 militia enrolled and had arms of one sort or another for 10,000 or more. In the spring of 1812, with the prospect of war becoming more and more certain, the Ohio major-generals of militia ordered their men together for drill and inspection, and when Governor Meigs, in obedience to the president, called for twelve hundred volunteers, there was a prompt response. Dayton was selected as the place of rendezvous, and companies were there assembled in May from the three southern divisions and organized in three regiments, of four or five hundred men each. Of the First regiment, from the Scioto valley, Duncan McArthur was elected colonel, and James Denny of Circleville, and William Trimble of Highland, majors. The colonel of the Second regiment, from the Miami country, was James Findlay, and the majors were Thomas Moore and Thomas Van Horn, The Third regiment, mainly from the Muskingum country and eastern Ohio, with some men from the Scioto and Miami valleys, chose Lewis Cass as colonel, and Robert Morrison and Jeremiah Monson as majors. In the organization of regular troops two field officers were assigned to Ohio—Col. John Miller, an editor at Steubenville, who was made colonel of the Nineteenth United States regiment, and George Tod, lately judge of the supreme court, who was commissioned a major in the same regiment. William McMillan became lieutenant-colonel of the Seventeenth, in

which George Croghan was a major. At the same time, Gen. Elijah Wadsworth, commanding the northeastern division of militia, organized three companies and put them in the field.

Hull, commissioned a brigadier-general, arrived at Cincinnati in April, and relieved Meigs of command at Dayton, May 25th, meanwhile busying himself in finding arms, equipment and clothing for the volunteers, and organizing some sort of a system of commissary supply. He was not enthusiastic over the enterprise, but the government was confident of the capacity of the American militia to subdue the British lion, and the Ohio regiments were full of hope and enthusiasm. They marched to Urbana in May, and there welcomed the arrival of the reinforcement of the Fourth United States regiment, three hundred men, under Col. James Miller, who had been given a triumph at Cincinnati as the heroes of Tippecanoe. From Urbana the little army moved to Manary's blockhouse (now Bellefontaine), the frontier settlement of northwest Ohio. Thence to Detroit the country was an unbroken wilderness, part of the way without even a footpath, level country, slashed with swamps, marshes and rivers, and including the famous Black Swamp, for many years afterward the terror of western emigrants. The army was compelled to carry all subsistence and forage in wagons, and in order that the wagons might proceed a road must be cut through the dense forests, bridges built and corduroy laid over the rivers and swamps. Isaac Zane and other guides went ahead and blazed the way, and the soldiers, armed with axes, grubbing-hoes, spades and shovels, fell to work. McArthur's regiment, in two days, built the road from Manary's, thirty miles to the Scioto, where Fort McArthur was constructed, and the other regiments, taking their turn, performed similar feats, much of the time working in steady rain. Fort Necessity was built where they were compelled to stop and rest after a sixteen miles' struggle through rain and mud. On Blanchard's fork another stockade, Fort Findlay, was erected. Gen. Robert Lucas and William Denny, sent on to Detroit, had returned bringing news of danger from the Indians, and at Fort Findlay orders were received from Washington to hasten. Leaving all camp equipage the troops pushed on to the rapids of the Maumee, Cass' regiment cutting the way, and, arriving there, the pack-horses were so worn out that baggage, hospital stores and road-making tools were shipped on the schooner Cuyahoga, and thirty sick soldiers on a smaller boat, for Detroit. Marching ahead, Hull received at Frenchtown on the Raisin river, another message from Washington, written on the same day as the one received at Findlay, informing him that war had been declared June 18th. This important message had been forwarded by mail to Cleveland! Hull sent men down to the coast to stop his transports, but they were too late. The Cuyahoga was captured off Fort Malden, and in it was a trunk containing the rolls of the army

and Hull's papers. The British had the news from Washington before Hull.

There was no delay in the advance to Detroit, except to build a bridge over the Huron river, where the army spent a night, with the British brig, the Queen Charlotte, hovering off the mouth of the river, observing their movements. On the night of July 6th they reached the little trading town of Detroit, where stood Fort Wayne, in a dilapidated condition, and a few hundred Michigan militia were available. Hull now had about two thousand fighting men, and under the circumstances he could not be blamed for resisting the entreaties of McArthur and Cass to go ahead and storm Fort Malden without artillery. The guns of the fort were not fitted for use, and it was necessary to manufacture carriages. He waited until he had received from Washington definite orders to make the invasion, and crossed the river July 12th, under cover of a demonstration lower down by McArthur's men. Camping at Sandwich, Hull issued a proclamation, said to have been composed by Cass, which was a model of pomposity. The Canadians were exhorted to remain quiet, while the hosts of America, of which this army was only the vanguard, should rescue them from the dragon of tyranny. It was also threatened that if the British should have Indian allies, the first stroke of the tomahawk would be the signal for "an indiscriminate scene of desolation." This proclamation seems to have really had great effect. Many of the Canadian militia deserted, a considerable number of settlers sought the protection of Hull and some of the Indians refused to take up arms for the British.

Hull waited at Sandwich three weeks, building a sort of navy of floating batteries to drive the British boats from the river, and believing his work was progressing well as long as the Canadians showed increased friendliness. He was also awaiting news of the advance of the other armies of invasion in the east. Meanwhile the troops were clamorous for an attack on Fort Malden, but he would not risk it without artillery. Instead, the men were given their first experience in war in various excursions. McArthur led his men up to the river Thames through a country much more advanced in settlement than any part of Ohio, and captured a large store of British army supplies and keel boats, and Colonel Cass made a reconnoissance to the river Aux Canards or Tarontee, on the road to Malden, and gained possession of the bridge, after a skirmish which was much magnified. But Hull did not see fit to hold this advantage. Findlay, McArthur and Denny also had skirmishes at the Aux Canards river, in all of which men were sacrificed, Denny losing six killed and two wounded. The British destroyed the bridge, and supported by their navy, held the river in such force that a small attacking party had no power against them, and the effort to find another crossing place was defeated by the Indians under Tecumseh.

Finally Hull was informed that the British had taken Mackinac

and the Indians were rising throughout Michigan, that he could expect no co-operation in eastern Canada, and that General Brock was collecting troops to reinforce the Malden garrison. Hull's line of supply lay across the Detroit river, around the head of Lake Erie and across the Maumee river, exposed in several places to the enemy. Hearing that Capt. Henry Brush, of Chillicothe, and 150 men, had reached the river Raisin, thirty-six miles below Detroit, with a supply train, Major VanHorn was sent with two hundred of Findlay's regiment to bring the train through, but it was found that the Indians and British had occupied Brownstown, half way between Detroit and the Raisin, and VanHorn was defeated with considerable loss, Captains Gilchrist, Ullery and McCullough being among the killed. Under such circumstances Hull decided to retreat from Canada, in the hope of holding Detroit if he could open communications with Ohio. Governor Harrison had already written Governor Shelby that if reinforcements and supplies could not be forwarded "Detroit must fall." Major Denny, with 250 men and some artillery, was left in fort on the Canada side.

From Detroit Colonel Miller, with a battalion of regulars and some companies of Ohioans under Majors VanHorn and Morrison made a second attempt to open the way for Brush. At the Indian village of Maguaga they met a body of British, and Indians under Tecumseh, and a fierce battle was fought, in which Miller lost one-fourth of his men killed or wounded, but held the field, from which the enemy were driven. In the stormy night that followed McArthur and two hundred men went down by boat or horse to Miller's camp. Next morning a British brig, the Hunter, took position off shore, and, the use of boats being impossible, the wounded men were hauled in wagons to Detroit, on the only road there was, along the river, under the fire of the British guns. Says McDonald: "When the teams were running at full speed, and when the wagon wheels would come in contact with a stump or root or a stone, the jar would throw the wounded soldiers in heaps upon each other; in this way the bandages would come loose and the broken bones be torn from their places, and their wounds bleed afresh; and by the time the carriages had passed, the road was made slippery with the blood of the poor wretched soldiers." This expedition having failed, Miller returning to Detroit, Hull made another effort to open the door of the trap in which he was placed, sending McArthur and Cass with four hundred picked men toward the Raisin, by a roundabout way through the back country.

Meanwhile the garrison across the river had been withdrawn, and General Brock occupied the Canada side opposite Detroit, erected batteries, and demanded the surrender of Detroit. Hull refused, and sent a messenger to recall McArthur and Cass. The British ships of war took position in the river, while the Indians invested the town, and Brock opened fire with his batteries on the 15th. One of the cannon balls killed two officers outright, and tore off the legs

of Dr. James Reynolds, of Cass' regiment, who died lamenting that he would never again see Zanesville.

On August 16th Brock landed a force on the American side, and marched on the fort. In it the population of the town had taken refuge from the British artillery and the scalping knives of the Indians. Hull, burdened with the sense of many lives already lost; fearing the massacre of the settlers it was part of his duty to save from danger; with a large part of his fighting force absent; ordered his artillery not to fire, put out the white flag and surrendered, an act which he said "was dictated by a full sense of duty and a full conviction of its expediency." McArthur and Cass were meanwhile hastening back toward Detroit, but they were too late. Learning as they approached that Hull had surrendered, they attempted to retreat southward, but were so near starvation that when overtaken by two British officers and notified of their inclusion in the capitulation, they went into Detroit as prisoners of war. Hull and the regulars were sent to Quebec, but the Ohio troops were paroled and shipped to the Ohio coast. Brush's relief party was also included in the capitulation, but these Ohioans, on hearing of the surrender, fled back to the Maumee and made their escape to the settlements. But they were regarded as on parole and afterward regularly exchanged.

The story of this campaign has been given at some length, because it is one of the most notorious events of the history of the West, and because Ohio troops were prominently concerned in it. The Ohio troops did their duty honorably, suffered severely and were anxious to suffer more rather than surrender. When they returned home prisoners of war instead of conquerors, most of them joined in unrestrained censure of their general, though nothing can be more certain in the probabilities of war that either capture or death would have befallen them however the campaign was carried on. A military genius might have done something with enough men to detach forces to hold his line of communication. A military genius, with Hull's little command, might have risked his army in a dash at Fort Malden, without artillery, for the purpose of striking a blow that should keep the Indians quiet, but he could not have held the fort, as will occur to anyone who will glance at the geography, and any delay there would have been almost as dangerous as a repulse, which was as likely as success. It is denied that Hull knew that Dearborn had made an armistice of sixty days in eastern Canada, leaving the British free to overwhelm him, but he was aware that he was not supported. If he had known all, it has been suggested that his proper course was to retreat to Ohio, in which case, as McDonald says, "He would have been censured as a pusillanimous wretch; but he would have saved his army, and time, which unfolds dark things, would have retrieved his character." But to retreat would be to abandon Detroit to Indian rapine, and his army to Indian warfare from which few would have escaped. The defeats about Brownstown revealed

the dangers of retreat. He could have been cut off by the whole British and Indian force at Brownstown, Raisin river or Maumee rapids. The garrison of Fort Dearborn (Chicago), attempting to retreat on the day that Brock opened fire on Detroit, was nearly all slaughtered. Hull chose the simplest way of avoiding a massacre at Detroit and the killing of his soldiers, and surrendered to the British officers.

The Ohio soldiers, however, wanted a battle before they became prisoners of war, and thought they could have repulsed the enemy in the assault of the 16th, though what they would have done afterward no one has ever told. As Harrison said, "No military man would think of retaining Detroit, Malden being in possession of the enemy, unless his army was at least twice as strong as the enemy."

Cass, more of a politician than soldier, heartily supported the Madison administration in making Hull the scapegoat of its own heinous transgression of the first principles of war. Popular sentiment was unanimous against Hull. All over Ohio the people were singing a ballad that began with such words as these: "Old Hull, you old traitor, You outcast of Nature!" The old gentleman was court-martialed for treason and various other things, and though acquitted of treason beyond the shadow of doubt was sentenced to death, whereupon the gracious administration struck his name from the rolls and permitted him to go home and await further orders.

The news of Hull's surrender was soon followed by despatches from the commandant at Fort Wayne, Ind., and from Governor Harrison, who was at Cincinnati, asking help from Governor Meigs, as the Indians were about to wipe out the remaining military posts. The Ohio soldiers surrendered by Hull, being landed at the Huron river, were mistaken at first for a British invasion, increasing the panic that prevailed along the frontier. But the men of Ohio responded promptly to the call for troops to defend the State. Before the worst was known regarding Hull three battalions of three hundred each had been raised to reinforce McArthur, Findlay and Cass. They marched under Gen. Edward W. Tupper, at that time a resident of Gallipolis, and were at Urbana when tidings arrived of the surrender. This was the nucleus of a gathering of militia there, of which Governor Meigs took command. By the last of August General Worthington, Colonel Dunlap and Colonel Adams, with about five hundred men, arrived at the St. Marys river, sixty miles above Fort Wayne, for the relief of that post from Forts Manary and McArthur were garrisoned and the works strengthened. The Ohio Indians, yet friendly, were called together for protection and to guard against hostile influence, and eight hundred were soon in a "concentration" camp at Urbana.

The Fourth division militia were called out, under Maj.-Gen. Elijah Wadsworth, a veteran of the Connecticut line in the Revolution, with the Jefferson county brigade under Gen. John Miller, the Columbiana brigade under Gen. Rezin Beall, the Trumbull-

Cuyahoga brigade under Gen. Simon Perkins, and the brigade from the remainder of the Western Reserve under Gen. Joel Paine.* There was a general rally of the able-bodied men to the rendezvous at Cleveland, while many women and children fled to the interior settlements. All over the State men were leaving their homes and little farms to serve their country, and heavy burdens fell upon the women, generally careworn with many children and weakened by the omnipresent fever and chills. But nowhere was the war felt more severely than in the Reserve, exposed to invasion from the lake, and the danger of straggling Indians.

Early in September General Wadsworth had four hundred men at the mouth of the Huron, under General Perkins, to defend that post, while General Beall occupied the site of Mansfield with about six hundred militia. Kentucky was also contributing to the common cause, and her governor strained the law to appoint Governor Harrison major-general of militia, that he might lead three regiments of volunteers up the Miami valley. When the popular victor at Tippecanoe reached Dayton Governor Meigs called on Ohioans to join him. A battalion of mounted riflemen was organized in the Miami valley under Colonel Finley (Findlay),† to take part in the campaign for the succor of Fort Wayne. Harrison, bringing up his forces to join the Ohioans at the St. Marys post, soon advanced on Fort Wayne, and relieved that post, where a brother of Governor Meigs had fallen during the siege.

General Winchester, of Tennessee, a veteran of the Revolution, had been assigned to chief command in the West. As the Seventeenth and Nineteenth United States regiments advanced through Ohio to become the nucleus of his army, many Ohioans enlisted to fill out their ranks, and in these as well as other commands of the regular service, Ohioans fought throughout the war, in the Niagara as well as the Detroit campaigns. Winchester's effort was to establish a line for the protection of the State, by occupying posts at Cleveland, Mansfield, Urbana, Dayton, Lower Sandusky (Fremont), the Maumee Rapids and Fort Wayne. He had no opportunity to demonstrate his fitness for command, as the people of the West clamored for Harrison to lead them, and the government, yielding, commissioned him as major-general in the regular army, giving him precedence over Winchester, who retained command at Fort Wayne.

*Wadsworth, born in Connecticut in 1747, settled at Canfield in 1802; was one of the proprietors of the Reserve and a prominent man until his death in 181[illegible]. Simon Perkins, born in Connecticut in 1771, explored the Reserve for the proprietors in 1798, and settling at Warren in 1806, had charge of a large part of the country. Rezin Beall was a Pennsylvanian who had served with Wayne in 1792–94.

†The Findlay who was with Hull, say McAfee and Lossing. But Col. Samuel Finley, a veteran of the Revolution, pioneer of Chillicothe, and prominent in the organization of the State, is credited by his biographers with leading a regiment of mounted volunteers in this war, while Col. James Findlay is not.

After the first alarm, the Ohio militia for permanent service were organized in two brigades, under General Tupper at Fort McArthur, and under General Perkins on the Sandusky. The latter was ordered to build a road to the Maumee rapids.

It would be falsifying history to say that Ohio was unanimous in all respects at this time. Many were opposed to the war, and there were severe critics of those in authority. Governor Meigs did not escape, and he declared in September that "Slander, with her thousand tongues, assails me." But a meeting of Ohio militia officers, at Urbana, expressed full confidence in his administration.

The Indians of Ohio as a whole remained friendly to the whites, though sometimes under great provocation. Some of them rendered valuable service against the hostiles, notably a Shawanee known as Captain Logan, who after saving the women and children of Fort Wayne by leading them to Piqua, kept the garrison from surrender by running the blockade with news of the approach of assistance.

Harrison was expected to recapture Detroit as soon as possible, and he attempted to prepare an immediate movement, but though the difficulties and dangers were no greater than those into which Hull had been sent, the new commander could do nothing effectual for many months. His plan for a fall campaign was to converge three columns at the Maumee rapids, establish a great base of supplies, and then advance to Brownstown, cross and take Fort Malden, and thus compel the evacuation of Detroit. The left column was to be under Winchester. The central column, of 1,200 Ohio infantry and 800 mounted men, under Gen. E. W. Tupper, was to march from Fort McArthur, while General Perkins, with the right wing, would advance by the Sandusky route.

Winchester marched down the Maumee, causing the retreat of a body of British and Indians, who had occupied old Fort Defiance and were advancing on Fort Wayne. Captain Cotton and seventy-two men, of Perkins' brigade, had a skirmish with Indians September 29, 1812, the only fight in the Western Reserve, which is remembered as "the battle of the Peninsula." Young Joshua R. Giddings was one of the volunteers in the ranks. Col. Allen Trimble led a body of five hundred Ohio mounted riflemen into northeastern Indiana, and defeated the hostile Indians on the St. Joseph, and burned their villages. By this time it was apparent that a fall campaign could not be carried out, and Harrison consented to undertake a winter campaign on the ice though he warned the government that the unnecessary cost of it would build a navy on the lake that would compel the evacuation of Detroit. He made his headquarters at Franklinton and did his best to put troops in the field and supply them.

General Tupper had been ordered to drive the Indians from the foot of the Maumee rapids, and after long delay, embarrassed by the

refusal of the militia to serve under the orders of General Winchester, he moved within sight of the enemy's camp, but after a slight skirmish, retreated on the night of November 15th to Fort McArthur. In December Lieut.-Col. John B. Campbell, with six hundred mounted men, marched from Franklinton against the Mississinewa villages in Indiana, and after a severe fight defeated the hostiles and burned their huts, but lost eight killed and forty-eight wounded, besides two hundred men disabled by frost and sickness. Winchester was ordered to occupy the Maumee rapids and establish the depot, and accordingly the left wing trudged through the snow early in January, 1813, and reached the rapids on the 10th. General Paine's Ohio brigade arrived about the same time. Thus, with no fighting except what was brought on by raids against the Indians, General Harrison was able, within four months after taking command, to reach the Ohio base of his proposed campaign against Canada.

Winchester, at the rapids, received an appeal from the people of Frenchtown (Monroe, Mich.), for protection, and sent six or seven hundred men under Colonels Lewis and Allen, who crossed the Raisin river and defeated the enemy, British and Indians combined, on January 18th. Winchester determined to keep this advantage, taking up 250 men himself, and Harrison, hurrying to the Maumee rapids, advised Winchester to "told fast the position, at any rate,"* and started out Perkins' Ohio brigade as reinforcements. But the reinforcements were hardly on the way, before the startling news arrived that Winchester's command had been cut to pieces. Thereupon General Harrison fell back to the rapids, destroyed his new military depot and withdrew his eight or nine hundred men behind the Portage river. General Proctor, the British commander at Raisin river, also fearful of his enemy, beat a similar retreat, but with several hundred American prisoners.

Soon the particulars came in of the terrible disaster on the Raisin, January 22d—how General Proctor was able to land from Malden and plant a battery commanding Winchester's position in the night, unnoticed; how the sudden attack in the morning demoralized a great part of the Americans, who were either cut down by the Indians or captured, General Winchester being among the prisoners, and how the remainder bravely held out under Major Madison, though Winchester had surrendered them, until protection against massacre was promised. About two hundred Americans were killed in this frightful affair, and eight hundred captured.

This practically ended General Harrison's fall and winter campaign against Detroit. Gen. John Armstrong, secretary of war,

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*This has a curious analogy to Cass' occupation of the Aux Canard river, before Fort Malden, and desire to hold the position, which poor Hull, being "incompetent," refused to sanction.

who was unfriendly to Harrison, has pointed out that the popular western general violated eleven essential principles of war in his campaign. McAfee, in his history of the war, declares that the advanced troops subsisted for two weeks in December on bad beef and hickory roots. "Chaos and misconduct reigned in every department, and particularly in that of supplies."

Early in February General Harrison advanced again, in the hope of making his campaign on the ice, and with about two thousand men occupied the military reservation at the foot of the Maumee rapids and built a strong fortified camp, called Fort Meigs. Near the opposite or northwestern bank, a little way down the river, was the abandoned British fort that Wayne had menaced after the battle of Fallen Timbers in 1795. There was soon a rumor of hostile gatherings on the lower Maumee and several hundred men were sent down the frozen river on a fruitless raid, taking along a cannon, which gave them employment by breaking through the ice. Another scouting party of 250 men, under Captain Langham, went by way of the blockhouse at Lower Sandusky, out over the lake. They were instructed to approach Malden at night, and burn the fleet and storehouses, but after reaching Middle Bass island, March 3d, it was prudently decided that the ice was too much broken up to make the passage. Consequently the last dream of a winter campaign was abandoned. After a visit to Cincinnati, Harrison brought Mills' Ohio regiment to reinforce Fort Meigs and made ready to resist a probable attack by the British.

Proctor was not slow, as soon as there was navigation in the lake, to accept the challenge of Fort Meigs, and in the latter part of April brought up the Maumee about three thousand men, including Canadian militia and Tecumseh and his Indians and artillery for a siege, with a sufficient naval equipment. Establishing batteries across the river and later on the same side that Harrison held, the garrison was actively bombarded for four days, May 1st to 4th. Harrison, though he gave a plucky answer to a demand for surrender, might have been forced to yield had not his expected reinforcements, a large body of Kentuckians, arrived under Gen. Green Clay. When news of their near approach was brought through the Indian lines by Peter Navarre, Leslie Combs and Capt. William Oliver, a gallant scout who had been distinguished in a similar way at the siege of Fort Wayne, Harrison sent out directions for the mode of joining him. As Clay could not land his boats under the fire of the enemy's guns, Harrison devised a plan for temporarily silencing the batteries. Part of Clay's men were to land on the north side, march through the woods and take the two batteries there and spike the guns, after which they should return to their boats and cross over to the fort. At the same time the remainder of the Kentuckians should cut their way through the Indians on the south side, aided by

sorties from the fort, by which it was hoped to silence the battery on that side.

However wise the plan of battle may have been, the result was disastrous, which General Harrison ascribed to rashness and lack of discipline in the Kentuckians. But he had asked them to advance into the heart of a hostile army and then fall back under the galling fire of the Indians. General Clay and Colonel Dudley found it easy to surprise and carry the two British redoubts, but were soon attacked from all directions, and becoming confused, fell an easy prey to Proctor and Tecumseh. A heavy rain was falling that added to the gloom of the terrible day. Driven here and there or enticed into ambush, the men were shot down and tomahawked without mercy. Many were killed and more wounded, and the greater part, in despair, laid down their arms as prisoners. Dudley was among the victims of the Indians, but Clay managed to escape across the river with about one hundred and fifty out of his eight hundred men who made the attack on the north bank. There was no glory on the south side to alleviate this frightful disaster, except that the remainder of the Kentuckians succeeded in getting into the fort, and Colonel Miller and Major Trimble, with part of the garrison, made a gallant charge upon the British battery, losing many of their men, but temporarily taking the guns and capturing a few British. General Harrison was also able to secure the ammunition brought down by the Kentuckians, of which he stood in great need, but the boats containing the baggage and stores of the expedition fell into the hands of the Indians.

Both Harrison and Proctor called this battle of May 5, 1813, a victory. The investment of the fort continued unchanged, and over half the force that was to relieve it, with the supplies, was lost. More memorable even than the battle was the massacre of prisoners. As they were sent back to the old British fort for safe keeping, a body of Indians formed in line and inflicted upon the men the tortures of running the gauntlet, whipping them with ramrods, tomahawking some and shooting others, and when the prisoners reached the fort threats were made of general massacre. One Indian painted black killed three men here, causing an indescribable panic. "But the British officers and soldiers seemed to interpose," said an eye witness,* and quiet was restored by the arrival of Colonel Elliott of Revolutionary fame, and Chief Tecumseh, who rode into the fort, Elliott looking more like a savage than Tecumseh, who impressed the prisoners as "a noble, dignified personage." Elliott made evasive answer to an appeal for mercy, but Tecumseh looked over the scene with unmoved composure. Perhaps in another place occurred that romantic incident related by other witnesses, in which Tecum-

*Lieut. J. R. Underwood, whose account is printed in Howe's Collections.

seh rode up to a scene of massacre, commanded his braves to desist and tomahawked one or two who refused, at the same time reproaching Proctor for weakly permitting such horrors. At any rate the killing ceased, but afterward the prisoners were ranged in lines, and young men were picked out by the Indians to be taken to their villages. "I saw Corporal Smith, of our company, bidding farewell to his friends, and pointing to the Indian with whom he was to go," Underwood writes, and adds, "I never heard of his return." Several hundred prisoners survived, were taken to the British shipping, and after a few days were paroled.

The siege lasted four days longer, during which the bombardment of the fort continued, without serious effect, the garrison taking refuge, when not on duty, in caves and tunnels. Harrison refused to comply with a second demand for surrender. The Indians began to scatter, though Tecumseh remained constant with a few hundred braves he could control, and the British themselves became wearied and sick from exposure. Furthermore, Governor Meigs was approaching with Ohio militia. Consequently Proctor prepared to raise the siege, and left on the 9th without molestation, embarking his artillery and sailing away to Malden. He had at least effectually defeated the third campaign against western Canada. Heavy loss was inflicted upon Harrison's forces, for in addition to the casualties of May 5th on the north bank of the river, 81 were killed and 189 wounded. The brave men of the garrison, when they were able again to go outside the fort and walk about, looked like "so many scarecrows."

General Harrison now repaired to Franklinton to organize a new command to participate in a general campaign all along the Canada line, his special duty being the capture of Malden and the recovery of Detroit. McArthur and Cass, on the expiration of their paroles, had been made major-generals of the Ohio militia, and when the president ordered two regiments of United States troops organized in Ohio, Cass was commissioned as one of the colonels to raise and command them. Soon afterward Cass and McArthur were promoted to brigadier-generals in the regular army, giving the commanding general in the west able and enterprising lieutenants. A great outpouring of the Ohio and Kentucky militia was also arranged for, a proceeding which drew upon Harrison's head the complaint of extravagance from the war department. To further strengthen the hope of success General Harrison held a council with the friendly Indians at Franklinton, June 21st, in which Chief Crane (Tarhe) of the Wyandots, led that tribe and the Delawares and Shawanees in arrangements for promoting the American cause. Many of the Indians of Ohio were collected in concentration camps, and they generally behaved well. It was the whites whom Harrison

was compelled to implore to keep peace with the red men at Piqua in September.

But with all the preparations made it is not likely that the fourth campaign would have been more successful against Canada than those before, if there had not been, at last, an abandonment of the plan of invasion that had so uselessly sacrificed the young men of the west. Navies were building on Erie and Ontario and Champlain, which should give American heroism an opportunity to accomplish results. With the events on the eastern lakes we have not to do, but it was very important in affecting the history of Ohio that there was in the spring of 1813 a little fleet of war ships in construction at Presque Isle (Erie), anxiously watched by the British squadron, which was unable to cross the bar. At Cleveland also, a great many small boats were in construction.

To counteract this danger, the British fleet sailed to Presque Isle and Proctor determined to make a demonstration on the Maumee, in the hope of drawing the attention of Harrison's army in that direction, and exposing to attack the Sandusky region, Cleveland and Presque Isle. General Harrison's headquarters were by this time advanced to Fort Seneca (a few miles north of the site of Tiffin), while a well-built little fort at Lower Sandusky (Fremont), was held by Major George Croghan, of Kentucky, a son of Maj. William Croghan, and nephew of George Rogers Clark.

Proctor's army of British, Canadians and Indians, about four thousand strong, was discovered ascending the Maumee in boats July 20th, but Harrison cautiously refused to move until Clay should be seriously besieged, and being informed of this, Clay was not deceived by the sham battle that Proctor arranged in the hope of enticing him from the fort to co-operate with an imaginary relieving party. So Proctor withdrew without any serious hostilities, and with part of his force, turned toward Fort Stephenson, sending many of his Indians to annoy Harrison's camp. In anticipation of danger Harrison had instructed Croghan to hold the fort against Indians, because a retreat from them would be impossible, but if menaced by artillery and British to burn the fort and fall back to Fort Seneca. Later an order was sent to Croghan to retreat immediately, to which he replied that it was too late. "We have determined to maintain this place, and by heavens we can." Thereupon Harrison sent a letter of reprimand, relieving Croghan and putting Colonel Wells in his place, but after an interview with the general the young officer was permitted next day to resume command, with the same instructions as originally given. On the following evening the enemy appeared, with gunboats on the river, and July 1st the Indians displayed themselves all about the little fort, while the British artillery opened fire, and troops and howitzers were landed. After a demand for surrender, to which Croghan replied that they

would hold the post until death, a bombardment was kept up during the night of the 1st and through the next day, at the close of which two columns of British stormed the northwestern angle of the fort. Croghan had prepared for this, and the opportune discharge of a six-pounder, double-loaded with grape and slugs, filled the ditch with the assailants, among the killed being Colonel Short of the red-coats. Thus the assault failed and Croghan won immortal fame.*

When the British force had withdrawn, and Colonel Renick had come up with 250 mounted men, Harrison advanced to Fort Stephenson, ordering Generals McArthur and Cass, who had lately arrived, to follow with all the forces they could collect.

McArthur, as soon as Proctor had begun this invasion, called out the entire Second division of militia, and Governor Meigs took the field as commander in chief. In a few days "the Sandusky plains were covered with nearly eight thousand men, mostly from the Scioto valley,"† forming "the grand camp of Ohio militia." Among these volunteers were judges, lawyers, merchants, farmers and all sorts and conditions of men, as private soldiers or officers. "Indeed, the Scioto country was so stripped of its male population on this occasion that the women were compelled to carry the grain to mill or let their children suffer for want." Upon the retreat of Proctor and Tecumseh from Fort Meigs, the militia force was reduced to two thousand men, who were directed to remain on the Sandusky under command of the governor. General McArthur was detailed to command the garrison at Fort Meigs. There was great wrath among the Ohioans, and Harrison was bitterly criticised also for his conduct regarding Fort Stephenson. The disgust of the Ohioans at the prospect of having no part in the proposed offensive campaign was increased by the fact that a force of four thousand Kentuckians, "half horse, half alligator," as the envious called them, were approaching, under the command of Governor Shelby, who were likely to be honored with active service. But, after all, Harrison's popularity remained invincible.

Commodore Chauncey had assigned to command of the squadron, building at Erie, Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, of Rhode Island, then thirty-eight years old, who was the son of a Revolutionary soldier, and from his boyhood had been a naval officer of the United States. He had made a good record in the Mediterranean expeditions, and was in command of a flotilla of Jefferson's coast gunboats from 1807. Asking for service on the lakes in 1812, he had joined Chauncey at Sackett's Harbor, and in March, 1813, began to supervise the construction and fitting out of a fleet at Erie. After aiding in the expedition against Fort George he returned to Erie

*By the ladies of Chillicothe, the seat of fashion and social brilliancy in the west, the major was presented a sword.

†McDonald's Sketches.

with five vessels, evading the British fleet, and early in August had a squadron built and ready for service. Only two of his boats, the Lawrence and Niagara, carrying 20 guns each, could be called men-of-war, the others being small boats with one to four guns. Having only half enough sailors, he obtained a body of Pennsylvania militia and trained them as gunners.

With nine vessels, fifty-four guns, and 500 men, Perry managed to get his fleet over the bar, sailed August 5th, and on the 15th reached Put-in-bay, a beautiful harbor of South Bass island. On the 18th his signal guns called Harrison from Camp Seneca to a meeting in Sandusky harbor. Returning to Put-in-bay Perry made two reconnoissances toward Malden, where the British were hurriedly completing a new war ship, the Detroit.

The British squadron included six vessels and carried 63 guns. Four were of good size, and two of these, the new Detroit and the Queen Charlotte, apparently matched Perry's only two large craft, the Lawrence and Niagara. But in fighting power, Perry's squadron had much the advantage.* In command of the British fleet was Capt. Robert Heriot Barclay, who had been with Lord Nelson at Trafalgar. Obtaining a goodly number of seamen and riflemen from Harrison, Perry, with his station at Put-in-bay, practically blockaded the British stronghold. This the enemy could not long endure, and it became necessary for Barclay, with his men on half-allowance of food, to offer battle, though the British officer was doubtful of the result. Perry descried the approach of the enemy at sunrise September 10th and sailed out to meet him, the vessels coming into action about ten miles to the northwest, off North Bass island. It was a furious fight, in which every commissioned officer on the British side was killed or wounded. Barclay, who had lost one arm at Trafalgar, had the other shot off, and the second officer in command was killed. The decks of the Lawrence, Perry's flagship, ran with blood. Of her 103 officers and men, 83 were shot down. Perry flew a flag inscribed with Lawrence's last order, "Don't Give Up the Ship," but he was compelled, when his flagship was almost put out of action, to take down his defiant banner for a few minutes and hoist it on the Niagara. But he kept up the fight, which a favoring wind enabled him to bring to a speedy finish, compelling the surrender of the entire British force. Tearing off the back of an old letter, and using his cap as a desk, he wrote to Harrison the famous despatch: "We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop!" The British loss in this action, which is to be counted as one of the most famous of Ohio battles, was 41 killed and 94 wounded, while Perry had 27 killed and 96 wounded.

*Perry was superior three to one in long gun metal and two to one in carronades, says Roosevelt in "The Naval War of 1812."

The victory was of such great importance, that it deserves to be fully described here, in the words of the gallant Perry himself. Following is his official report:

U. S. Schooner Ariel, Put-in-Bay,
13th September, 1813.

Sir:—In my last I informed you that we had captured the enemy's fleet on this lake. I have now the honor to give you the most important particulars of the action.

On the morning of the 10th instant, at sunrise, they were discovered from Put-in-Bay, where I lay at anchor with the squadron under my command. We got under weigh, the wind light at s. w., and stood for them. At 10 a. m. the wind hauled up to s. e. and brought us to windward; formed the line and bore up. At fifteen minutes before twelve the enemy commenced firing; at five minutes before twelve the action commenced on our part. Finding their fire very destructive, owing to their long guns, and its being mostly directed to the Lawrence, I made sail, and directed the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the enemy. Every brace and bowline being shot away, she became unmanageable, notwithstanding the great exertions of the sailing master. In this situation she sustained the action upwards of two hours, within canister shot distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and a greater part of the crew either killed or wounded. Finding she could no longer annoy the enemy, I left her in charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, who, I was convinced from the bravery already displayed by him, would do what would comport with the honor of the flag. At half past two the wind springing up, Captain Elliott was enabled to bring his vessel, the Niagara, gallantly into close action. I immediately went on board of her, when he anticipated my wishes by volunteering to bring in the schooners, which had been kept astern by the lightness of the wind, into closer action. It was with unspeakable pain that I saw, soon after I got on board the Niagara, the flag of the Lawrence come down, although I was perfectly sensible that she had been defended to the last, and that to have continued to make a show of resistance would have been a wanton sacrifice of the remains of her brave crew. But the enemy was not able to take possession of her, and circumstances soon permitted her flag again to be hoisted. At forty-five minutes past two, the signal was made for "closer action." The Niagara being very little injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line; bore up, and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, giving a raking fire to them from the starboard guns, and to a large schooner and sloop from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance. The smaller vessels at this time having got within grape and canister distance, under the direction of Captain Elliott, and keeping up a well-directed fire, the two ships, a brig, and schooner,

surrendered, a schooner and sloop making a vain attempt to escape."

Perry's victory gave the United States undisputed command of Lake Erie, and the rest was easy. The army of invasion was rapidly concentrated toward the mouth of Portage river. McArthur had arrived at Fort Meigs, Cass had reached Upper Sandusky, a Pennsylvania regiment was marching from Erie, and on the 17th Governor Shelby brought four thousand mounted Kentuckians to the mouth of the Portage. There was such a superfluity of cavalry that five thousand horses were turned loose on the Port Clinton peninsula, a three-mile log fence across a narrow place serving to confine them. McArthur's brigade arrived at the mouth of the Portage three days later, marching through meadows where the grass grew above a man's head, and on the 21st and 22d Harrison's army was moved by boat to Put-in-Bay, where the soldiers gazed with vast satisfaction upon the battered British ships, whose men had been sent as prisoners to Chillicothe. Three days later the army, embarked on the fleet and a hundred small boats, reached Eastern Sister, about the last of the stretch of islands toward Canada, and after a reconnoissance of the hostile coast, the final embarkment was made on the 27th, on the evening of which day the army landed three miles below Malden.

The result was as might have been expected, and as it would have been twelve months before if Hull had been supported by a navy. There was no enemy at the famous stronghold, and a deputation of ladies came out from the village to implore protection for their homes. The buildings of the fort and navy yard had been burned, and Proctor and Tecumseh had retreated from an untenable position. General Harrison marched without opposition to Sandwich, while Col. Richard M. Johnson thundered into Detroit with his regiment of Kentucky cavalry, which had come up around the head of the lake. McArthur and his brigade were sent over to occupy Detroit, and on October 2d Harrison set out with Johnson's cavalry, part of Ball's legion and most of Governor Shelby's Kentuckians to pursue Proctor and Tecumseh. The latter had selected a battlefield eighty-four miles away, on the Thames river, where, by a continued fatality, the Moravian mission, driven from Ohio during the Revolution, had sought a retreat from the alarms of war.

The enemy held a naturally strong position, but the keen observation of Major Wood, Harrison's chief engineer, detected that the British line was drawn up in open order, and the general changed his plans accordingly, when arrayed for battle October 5th. A desperate charge was made by a battalion of cavalry, which rode through and broke the line of British troops, and the day was immediately won. Though the Indians fought with remarkable stubbornness, causing heavy loss among the Kentuckians under Colonel Johnson,

who fell among the badly wounded, a panic was created and the allies fled, leaving the great chief, Tecumseh, among the slain.*

A part of the army took possession of the Moravian town, from which the Moravian Indians fled in terror, some of the mothers throwing their babies in the river to save them from massacre. Before leaving this village, the American troops burned it, imitating the atrocity of 1781. Meanwhile, at Detroit, General McArthur received a deputation from the previously hostile tribes, asking for peace, and a little later Walk-in-the-Water, Tecumseh's chief lieutenant, came in bearing a white flag. The war was over, so far as Ohio was directly concerned, within thirty days after Perry's victory. General Cass was made provisional governor of Michigan, and Harrison sailed with his regular troops, including many Ohio soldiers, to Buffalo. Presently General Harrison resigned, on account of disagreement with the secretary of war, and General McArthur was put in command of the northwestern army, with headquarters at Detroit. Garrisons were kept on the Ohio coast and frontier posts,† Croghan made an unsuccessful attempt to recover Fort Mackinac and McArthur went on a raid through western Canada; but Ohio remained in peace while the war raged in the east and south, with such incidents as the burning of Buffalo, Toronto and Washington, and generally much humiliation for the American nation. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that when overtures for settlement were made, England demanded that the United States make peace with Britain's Indian allies, create a permanent Indian country between Canada and the United States, abandon the forts, make the south shore of the lakes the boundary and agree never to maintain a navy on the lakes. Political events in Europe, attending the first abdication of Napoleon, persuaded England to abandon these demands and the boundary in the middle of Lake Erie remained as before, but the Indians lost nothing by the war and were confirmed in the possession of the lands they held in 1811. After peace was agreed upon in Europe, the self-respect of the country was greatly helped by the splendid victory of General Jackson at New Orleans. On February 8th the legislature marched in procession to the Presbyterian meeting house at Chillicothe to give thanks.

On account of this war Ohio put into the public service in various capacities 23,951 men, more than half of the men of the State subject to military duty and nearly one-sixth of the entire force in the

*Colonel Johnson's claim that he killed Tecumseh was the subject of dispute for many years, and something of a political issue, for Johnson became vice-president. It is also told that the Kentuckians skinned the body of the fallen chief, to obtain trophies.

†As stated in the message of Governor Meigs of December, 1813, Ohio had two thousand militia on duty in the service of the United States, stationed at Forts St. Marys, Amanda, Jennings, Winchester, McArthur, Findlay and Meigs, at Lower and Upper Sandusky, and at Detroit, Mich.

military service of the United States. The State also contributed more than $300,000* in support of the war by payment of direct taxes, and the loss suffered from the bad financial system of the government was nowhere felt more acutely.

On account of the war Ohio lost as a citizen General Cass, who continued for some time as governor of Michigan and became prominent in national affairs, and regained General Harrison, who made his home at North Bend, and presently was selected to represent the State at Washington, as he had represented the territory. These two gentlemen, with Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, were appointed to make peace with the Indians before the close of the war, and a second treaty at Greenville was concluded, July 22, 1814, by which the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanees, Senecas and Maumees agreed to become allies of the United States against Great Britain.

Governor Meigs resigned in March, 1814, to become postmaster-general of the United States under President Madison. Though this was not then a cabinet office, Meigs may be said to have been the first Ohioan in high administrative position at Washington. He held the place nine years, serving also under Monroe, and then retiring, lived at his Marietta home until his death March 29, 1825. It is an interesting fact that he was succeeded as postmaster-general by John McLean, who held office six years under Monroe, Adams and Jackson. After him, the office became a political dispensatory, of cabinet rank. Edward Tiffin was also called to office at Washington by President Madison, as commissioner of the public land department, a place he filled with marked ability. His books and papers were the only ones saved at the burning of the capital. Later he exchanged places with Josiah Meigs as surveyor-general of Ohio. This position he held, being permitted to remove the office, for his convenience, to Chillicothe, until, on his deathbed, he turned the office over to Robert T. Lytle.

Upon the resignation of Meigs, Othniel Looker, of Hamilton county, speaker of the senate, became acting governor. He was a candidate for election as governor in the fall, but Senator Thomas Worthington was elected by a large majority, receiving 15,879 votes to 9,708 for his opponent.

For the senatorship which Worthington resigned there was a large number of candidates, the most prominent being Benjamin Ruggles, Joseph Kerr, William W. Irwin and David Purviance. Kerr was finally successful, but for the full term that followed Judge Ruggles was chosen, his principal competitor being General McArthur.

Governor Worthington, the most prominent man of the State after the fall of St. Clair, had hitherto been assigned to work for the

*Under the act of 1813 she contributed $104.150, and under that of January, 1815, she raised $208,300."—Ryan's History of Ohio.

State's interest at Washington. As governor now, he exercised the limited powers of the chief magistrate for four years, being honored with re-election in 1816 by an overwhelming majority over James Dunlap and Ethan Allen Brown. During his term the State made rapid progress toward the modern condition of affairs, many events of interest occurred, and in Congress Morrow and Ruggles and an able body of representatives gave the West greater political importance.

General Harrison was elected to Congress in 1816 to take the place of John McLean, who went on the supreme bench of the State. There was an animated political fight over this election, and charges were made against Harrison's record as a general that led to an investigation. Congress, in voting medals, left out his name, but two years later made amends by resolutions in his honor. Other congressmen elected in that year were John W. Campbell, of Adams; Levi Barber, of Washington; Samuel Herrick, of Zanesville; Philemon Beecher, of Lancaster, and Peter Hitchcock, of Cuyahoga county. Peter Hitchcock was contented with one term. He was a graduate of Yale, one of the ablest lawyers of the State, served twenty-eight years in the State supreme court, was twenty-one years chief-justice, was called "the father of the constitution of 1851," and was, altogether, one of the noblest characters in the annals of Ohio.

In 1816 John Kilbourn, author of geographies, began the publication of the Ohio Gazetteer at Columbus, and William Lusk, at the same place, launched his Almanac, which was a favorite in the pioneer homes for thirty-five years.

A very important result of the embargo that preceded the war of 1812, and the cutting off of English trade throughout the war, was the growth of manufacturing in Ohio. According to the Baltimore Register of May, 1814, New Lisbon had a furnace, bloomery and wire mill, and two or three wool and cotton factories in prospect, for cotton could be cheaply shipped on the river and the settlers were raising many sheep. Chillicothe already had three cotton factories, two nail factories, paper mill, furnace, etc. Merino sheep were introduced here about 1810. Cincinnati was the greatest manufacturing town of the west, except Pittsburg and Lexington. It had a steam mill, manufacturies of cotton and wool and numerous distilleries and breweries. Steubenville had a woolen mill and steam flouring mill, and a manufactory of the hand printing presses that were used by the newspapers of the west. While Ohio was thus learning to make clothing and iron, tools and machinery at home, she was also sending droves of cattle and hogs across the mountains instead of exporting at great cost the grain she grew. Thus the international troubles tended to make Ohio a financially and industrially independent state.

This prosperity was aided also by a great tide of immigration that

poured into the State as soon as peace was assured. But it was threatened from the first by the rottenness of the money system. At the beginning of the war gold, being undervalued in the ratio of coinage then existing, ceased to be currency, and was an article of merchandise and export. Silver had been superseded by the flood of notes of local banks, "and besides, would have been too cumbrous for a national currency."* The government was compelled to rely upon the local banks for support, and they soon stopped specie payments, except in New England, and the United States government issued treasury notes in great quantities. These depreciated in value as they came west, and in Ohio were worth not more than two-thirds their face in exchange for even the discredited local bank notes.

After the war the numerous banks and institutions of various sorts with the privilege of issuing printed notes, supplied an abundant circulating medium. Under its influence speculation ran riot, and improvements of various kinds were projected, beyond the prospect of speedy realization of profit. Prices were inflated, while money sank in value. "Before 1820 the country was flooded with the notes of irresponsible private banks. Traders and others issued their small notes of twenty-five cents and upwards, called shin plasters, redeemable in dry goods, groceries, or something to drink. The little silver in circulation was converted into what was called 'cut money.' A Spanish pistareen [from New Orleans], worth seventeen or eighteen cents, was cut into six pieces, representing double the value in silver of the pistareen, and so with quarters and half dollars. A meal at a tavern was to be had for twenty-five cents in this cut money, and for one dollar or more in paper."†

In 1815 the legislature began a war on unauthorized issue of currency, a contest more protracted and vigorous than in any other state, because it seemed a more difficult problem in Ohio than elsewhere. A law was also passed imposing an annual tax of four per cent on bank dividends, and if these were not reported, a tax of one per cent on nominal capital. But all the banks were not bad. The State found them useful in making large loans to pay the direct war tax. A large part of the irresponsible banking was done by agents of banks of other states, and these were absolutely barred from doing business in 1816. This was followed, in February, 1816, by an act designed to benefit the treasury of the State and prevent the further increase of banking institutions. Six banks were incorporated to last till 1843 and seven hitherto unincorporated companies were given charters under the same plan, which required them to set apart for the State one-twenty-fifth of their stock, and so handle it as to ultimately make the State a one-sixth partner. In return the

*Thomas H. Benton, 1854.

†Reminiscences of Mayor L'Hommedieu of Cincinnati.

banks that went into this scheme were exempted from State taxation. This act was the result of a recommendation by Ralph L. Osborn, who was made auditor of State in 1815, and by Governor Worthington, that the State limit the capital of the banks of Ohio to five million dollars, of which the State should hold one-fifth, so that the State might be in position to check the speculative issues of currency. Governor Worthington expected the State to derive from this arrangement an annual revenue of $120,000 within ten years, but the result of the law passed was such that in 1825 the legislature relinquished its claim to stock for the payment of a tax of two per cent on previous and four per cent upon subsequent dividends.

The notion of State partnership in banks for the purpose of raising state revenue, and the twin error of bank loans of money on real estate, held sway in the west during the first half of the century, and, "were more destructive to the happiness and prosperity of one section after another than pestilence or famine."* But at the same time the doctrine of Hamilton, who had opposed these notions, was that specie was "dead stock" except as used to back issues of paper money. It was a period of cutting and trying, to find the right way, and evil results were often traceable to the most honest intentions.

The situation was complicated by the revival of the United States bank. As soon as it was chartered in 1816 Ohio towns applied for the location of branches, and on January 28th, 1817, a branch was established at Cincinnati, and about a year later one was opened at Chillicothe. Their establishment was soon followed by a crisis in the affairs of the parent bank, due to bad management and a loss of some $3,000,000 through rascality at Baltimore, all of which was kept secret, the public only seeing that the bank stopped the issue of currency, and gathered in what was in circulation, and refused to perform those functions of public convenience in hope of which the Jeffersonian politicians had consented to establish it. At Chillicothe the branch refused to honor a draft from Governor Cass for $10,000 to pay the Indians what was due them by treaty, and this occasioned prejudice all over the United States. All these circumstances persuaded some of the states, led by Maryland, to try to tax the branch banks out of existence. The subject was agitated in Ohio before the close of Worthington's administration.

By this time the collapse had arrived. The treaty of peace had restored commercial intercourse with Great Britain, and that country obtained some revenge by excessive sales of goods in the United States, ruining the recently established factories. An instance was the failure of the Worthington manufacturing company, established by James Kilbourn at Steubenville and Worthington, which manufactured woolens and issued paper money. The flood of paper

*Journal of Commerce "History of Banking."

money and wild speculation also brought their natural sequel of loss of confidence. Men who had contracted debts found, when called upon to pay, that the means were unattainable. Banks which had made excessive issues, could not redeem their notes on demand, and their loans on land were not collectible. The inflated prices took a tumble, merchants failed and banks broke. There were desperately "hard times," in Ohio, and many people lost all they had saved in their struggles in the wilderness. Thousands of farmers found it impossible to pay for their lands, bought of the government on time.

Out of the conditions following the war of 1812 grew the submission of the Jeffersonian party to the re-establishment of the United States bank and the growth in favor of the "American policy" of internal improvements and a protective tariff, advocated by Henry Clay, who became the idol of Ohio.

Though the building of sailing vessels at Marietta soon declined, the trade down the Ohio and Mississippi continued to grow, barges being used mainly, despite the introduction of steamboats. The first steamboat to ascend the rivers from New Orleans was the Enterprise, that went down in 1814 and came back in May, 1815, commanded by Capt. Henry M. Shreve, who gave his name to Shreveport, La. The Ætna, in the following year, failed in the attempt to stem the river torrents amid the snags and driftwood. In 1815, even for coming up the rivers, barges got most of the freight at New Orleans, in preference to steamboats, at eight cents a pound. Steamboat building soon began at Cincinnati, and in 1818 another "Enterprise," built and owned entirely at Cincinnati, made the trip from New Orleans to its home city in twenty-eight days. In 1817–19, it is said, one-fourth of all the steamboats built in the West were launched at Cincinnati. By 1826, 233 steamboats had been on the Ohio, of which 90 had been lost. The steamboat revolution gradually made headway, and by 1840 the boats were going down from Louisville in four or five days and up in five or six, and carrying freight up at fifteen cents a hundredweight.

The discussion of canals was revived after the close of the war. The early idea was that the sources of rivers should be connected by artificial channels, using the navigable part of the beds of the streams, but in later years it became apparent that the better plan was to dig a canal following the river valleys, and by means of dams use the streams as feeders. In 1815 Dr. Daniel Drake,* one of the

* Daniel Drake was born in Plainfield, N. J., in 1785, and died in Cincinnati in 1852. He was reared in Kentucky, studied medicine at Cincinnati and Philadelphia, practiced his profession at Cincinnati, was one time professor in the Transylvania university and at the university of Louisville, and in 1835 organized the medical department of the Cincinnati college. He gave twenty years of travel and study to the production of his monumental work on the "Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America." He did more, says a biographer, to advance the intellectual life of Cincinnati than any other man before 1850.

greatest men of the Ohio valley, proposed such a canal from some point on the Great Miami to Cincinnati. In his "Picture of Cincinnati," published in that year, he predicted that if New York should dig the proposed Erie canal, New York city "will probably become one of our inlets for foreign goods," a remark that indicates the commercial relations of Ohio at that day. New Orleans was then the great place of export and import for all the western country, and next to New Orleans, were Baltimore and Philadelphia. The change since then has been wrought, first by the canals, next by the railroads, and by the combination of railroad interests in favor of New York. In 1817 the New York legislature provided for the construction of the Erie canal, and within a decade the great work was carried through by that State, led by Dewitt Clinton, supplying an example to the rest of the United States. In January, 1818, the Ohio legislature incorporated the Little Miami canal and banking company, but there was a growing sentiment in the State opposed to entrusting canal enterprises to corporations. Meanwhile the steam navigation of the great lakes was begun in the summer of 1818 by the trip of the "Walk-on-the-Water," named after Tecumseh's warrior, from Buffalo to Cleveland and Detroit. This pioneer steamer was a queer-looking craft, rigged for sails and needing them at times, that could make eight miles an hour with its rickety machinery.

Toward the close of Worthington's term there was a revival of the Michigan boundary trouble, simultaneous with a great increase of Ohio territory open to settlement toward the northwest. In the vicinity of the old port of Miami and Fort Meigs a new town was laid out on the military reservation in 1816, and called Perrysburg, which became the seat of Ohio influence, while the pioneer towns of Port Lawrence and Vistula (now merged in Toledo) were within the bounds claimed by Michigan. The United States government surveyors ventured out in the wilderness to run the desired true east line from the head of Lake Michigan, under the direction of Edward Tiffin, surveyor-general, and Harris, the engineer in charge, in 1817 established the northwest corner of Ohio, on a due east line from the most southern point of Lake Michigan, according to the original ordinance. But he found that if this line were continued due east to Lake Erie, it would touch the lake over seven miles south of the most northerly cape of Maumee bay. Accordingly, in conformity to the constitution of Ohio, he ran a boundary line from the northwest corner he had established, to a willow tree on the cape. The difference in latitude of his willow tree and the northwest corner of Ohio was about fifteen minutes. Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan territory, protested against such a departure from the anciently prescribed boundary, and furthermore declared, "The country on the

Maumee has no natural connection with the interior of Ohio." There was some excuse for Harris' disregard of the old ordinance line, for Congress, in 1816, in defining the bounds of the new state of Indiana, allowed it to encroach ten miles upon Michigan, and in 1818 gave Illinois a line fifty miles north of the ordinance boundary. But the government did not approve the Harris line, and in 1818 another surveyor, Fulton, was sent out. He ran a line due east from Harris' Ohio corner, eighty miles and forty chains to Lake Erie, throwing Maumee bay into Michigan. Michigan treated this as the true south line, and up to that line extended her county and township government.

It will be remembered that in 1805 the United States bought of the Indians the eastern end of the great Indian country in Ohio under the Greenville treaty, and in 1807 a large area north of the Maumee was purchased. In 1818 the Indian title to all the remainder, except some reservations for the chiefs, was extinguished by a treaty made by Generals Cass and McArthur at the Maumee rapids. The consideration was an annuity of $4,000 forever to the Wyandots, $500 forever to the Senecas, $2,000 forever to the Shawanees, $1,300 for fifteen years to the Pottawatomies, $1,000 for fifteen years to the Ottawas, $1,000 for fifteen years to the Chippewas, and $500 once to the Delawares. This was followed by the removal of the Indians to the west, which was not completed until 1842, when the Wyandots went, among whom the Rev. James B. Finley established a famous mission in 1821.

In February, 1820, the legislature defined fourteen counties in this newly acquired region—Allen, Crawford, Hancock, Hardin, Henry, Mercer, Marion, Paulding, Putnam, Sandusky, Seneca, VanWert, Williams and Wood, but for want of inhabitants, only two of these—Sandusky, including the settlements on that river and bay, and Wood, including Perrysburg, were then organized. The northern boundary of Williams, Henry, Wood and Sandusky was declared to be the Harris line, and there soon arose conflicts of local authority with the officials of Erie county, Michigan.

Other important events of Worthington's administration were, a general revision of the laws in 1815–16, the enactment of laws against duelling, and the incorporation in 1816–17 of a large number of companies for the building of turnpikes, connecting the principal towns. Out of the three per cent received from sales of United States land more than a hundred public roads were ordered opened and improved in 1817. The State library was founded by Governor Worthington in 1817, through a legislative appropriation, and Jeremy Bentham and Robert Owen contributed their works to this frontier collection. In the same year the first Sunday school in Ohio was held at Marietta.

The new State buildings at Columbus were ready for occupancy in

1816, comprising, as they were described by a traveler,* a statehouse eighty feet square, of brick with white marble trimmings, another large building for state offices, and a penitentiary for convicts, which struck the observer as quite too small.

In August, 1817, the State had its first presidential visit. President Monroe returned from Detroit through the interior by coach, and was entertained at Lancaster, Delaware, Columbus, Circleville, Zanesville and other places. "At the boundary of Ross county he was met by a deputation of the corporation of Chillicothe, and a large number of gentlemen on horseback, who escorted him to the governor's mansion on Prospect Hill, where he spent the night."

The years 1817 and 1818 are remembered for great emigration from New England to the Western reserve. The exodus was preceded by a summer season of unprecedented cold in the east, frosts destroying all the crops, and as Goodrich describes it in Peter Parley's Recollections, "a sort of stampede took place from the cold, desolate, worn-out New England, to this land of promise." Some came in covered wagons, others started in ox-carts and traveled at the rate of ten miles a day. Families came on foot, the father and boys taking turns in dragging a hand wagon, on which a few goods were hauled, and an occasional lift given the mother and baby. Many of these persons were in extreme poverty and begged on the way.

It is worthy of note that in 1818 Capt. John Cleves Symmes, nephew of Judge Symmes, published his famous theory that the earth is not solid but composed of concentric spheres, and that if the poles could be explored a passage would be found to an interior world which would be habitable if not already inhabited. Until his death in 1829 he attracted much attention by his lectures on this subject and efforts to raise money for an expedition to the north pole. Doubtless he gave a considerable impulse to those polar expeditions that have become common in later years.

Governor Worthington's last two messages were largely devoted to the subjects of public education and transportation improvement. There was yet no free public school system, nor were the colleges for which Congress had donated land, in operation, except that the institution at Athens (incorporated December 12, 1801), first known as the American Western university, and later as the Ohio university, was represented by an academy conducted by the parish minister. Nathan Guilford, of Cincinnati, began the publication of the Education Almanac about 1816, and the movement at Cincinnati was heartily seconded in the Ohio Company region and in the Western

*Dr. John Cotton, of Marietta, who said: "One thing seems truly ridiculous. Inscriptions are set up over the doors on beautiful slabs of marble, taken from Joel Barlow's Columbiad, holding forth the detestable principles of the French revolution." Cotton was evidently a Federalist.

Reserve, but the struggle for public schools was a difficult one. Governor Worthington advised the founding of a State free school at the capital. He also advocated legislation to encourage the establishment of manufactories in Ohio, and the restraint of the production and sale of intoxicating liquor, and the reform of the banking system by incorporating a State bank. He was a worthy prophet of progress.

The election for governor in 1818 resulted in the choice of Ethan Allen Brown,* of Cincinnati, a native of Connecticut, who had studied law under Alexander Hamilton, and served on the supreme court of Ohio from 1814. He was the first governor from the Miami country, except Othniel Looker, who acted in that capacity a short time as speaker of the senate. In politics he was opposed to Henry Clay. He assumed such little power as belonged to his office, thoroughly imbued with enthusiasm for the development of the resources of the State by means of canals, and he was also friendly to the movement for free schools. The State officials associated with him were Jeremiah McLene, secretary of state; Ralph Osborn, auditor, and Hiram M. Curry, who had succeeded McFarland as treasurer in 1817. When the term of Jeremiah Morrow in the United States senate expired in 1819, the legislature elected Col. William A. Trimble, of Highland, a brother of Allen Trimble, and of Virginian parentage, who had been a major of Ohio troops under Hull and a major of regulars under Harrison, receiving a severe wound in the sortie from Fort Meigs, and had afterward remained in the army. Thomas Worthington, Robert Lucas and John Hamm were the other candidates.

Governor Brown had corresponded with Dewitt Clinton on the subject of canals, and in his first communication to the legislature directed its attention to the necessity of such water ways in Ohio, but his recommendations that secured readiest hearing were regarding the branches of the United States bank, "established without authority of State law." Following the example of Kentucky the Ohio legislature proceeded early in 1819 to attempt to wipe out those institutions, by imposing upon each of them a tax of $50,000 a year if they continued to do business after September 15, 1819. At the same time the legislature tried to compel the local banks to make good their notes. Of the twenty-five in the State only six or seven were redeeming their paper. Others were classified as "seven good, four decent, four middling, four good for nothing." One of these institutions, the Owl Creek bank, was made famous by the allusions to it in Niles' Weekly Register, of Baltimore, which, like many other papers, was addicted to raving on the subject, indiscriminately denouncing banks as the source of all evil. At the Owl Creek, or "Hoo Hoo"

*Brown received 30,194 votes, and Col. James Dunlap, of Ross couty, 8,075.

bank, as Niles called it, a mysterious stranger called and, throwing down some of the concern's notes, demanded specie. There was none, and he asked for eastern funds. There were no eastern funds on hand. "Then," said the stranger, "will you be so kind as to give me some well-executed counterfeit notes on solvent banks?" When the clerks rose to put him out, he threw upon the counter the carcass of a hoot-owl, bidding them beware, for he had already killed their president.

The year 1819 was the turning point financially. The currency of the country had been contracted a half or more, and the time was near at hand at which gold would begin to return from Europe. The depression that reigned was terrible. The United States bank at Cincinnati had been made the dump of many thousands of depreciated paper dollars taken in on government land sales, which the cashier had loaned out, for want of anything else to do with them. The other banks became indebted to the United States bank heavily. When the demand was put upon them to pay, they complained that they had paid nearly a million and a half in eighteen months, at the cost of retiring nearly all their circulation, and they could not pay what remained in monthly installments of twenty per cent, with interest. The hard times that prevailed were blamed on the banks, and particularly on the United States branches.

Before the State could enforce its tax on these branches, an injunction was obtained from the United States circuit court, but this the State auditor ignored, and when the period of grace had expired, as set by the legislature, his agents entered the bank at Chillicothe and, being denied their demand for $100,000, jumped the counter and forcibly took possession of $120,425. Subsequently the excess over $100,000 was returned, but the balance, less $2,000 fees for collection, was kept for some time in the State treasury, which had no other funds of value, though the face of the notes held was over $50,000. The officers concerned were arrested and imprisoned for a time.

The United States supreme court had passed on a similar case from Maryland, sustaining the United States bank in its right to do business regardless of state interference, but the radical state sovereignty people repudiated the authority of the United States supreme court in the matter. The Ohio legislature passed resolutions explicitly recognizing and approving the principles of the famous Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1800, the original proclamation of state rights and nullification; asserting the right to tax a private corporation such as the United States bank, and protesting against "the doctrine that the political rights of the separate states that compose the American Union, and their powers as sovereign states, may be settled and determined in the supreme court of the United States, so as to conclude and bind them in cases contrived

between individuals, and where they are, no one of them, parties direct."

This manifesto of the legislature, composed by Charles Hammond, was regarded as a matchless exposition of the doctrine of State rights.* The governor is quoted as saying of the invasion of the bank: "I view the transaction in the most odious light, and from my very soul I detest it. . . . I am sorry it happened in Ohio."† But he sustained the action of the legislature.

These resolutions of the Ohio legislature were of particular importance because at that time the people of the United States were agitated over the struggle regarding the extension of slavery in the west, attending the proposed admission of the state of Missouri. The sovereignty of the states was being asserted both in regard to the bank and slavery question, and John C. Calhoun had come to the conclusion that the South might do well to secede and become an appendage of Great Britain. The Missouri problem and the fight with the United States bank both occupied the time of the legislature of 1819–20. The resolutions offered to instruct the Ohio delegation to oppose the extension of slavery provoked a long and bitter debate. General Harrison, who had lately served in Congress from the First district, and now was a member of the State senate, was for a moderate course (in Congress he had voted for "squatter sovereignty"), but the State went on record as opposed to the extension of slavery.

In 1820 occurred the first bank mob at Cincinnati, caused by the suspension of the Miami Exporting company. A procession marched down Main street, with a dray carrying a coffin marked "Miami Bank No More." The military was stationed in front of the bank to protect it, and when the crowd reached the office of Mayor Isaac G. Burnet, that official read the riot act, which had the desired effect.

The financial depression did not seem greatly to check the marvelous growth of Ohio. The census of 1820 showed an increase in population to 581,295. Ohio was now ahead of Kentucky and Tennessee, and had outstripped all the original thirteen states except New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina. In fact this young giant of the West stood next to those great states, with Kentucky and Massachusetts the nearest rivals. Yet, according to the estimates of well-informed men of that day, more than half the population of the Ohio and the northwest at that time was in debt to the government at Washington, through the system of selling public land on time. To relieve this situation Congress passed a law in 1821 permitting settlers to give up lands they felt unable to pay for, and receive credit on such tracts as they could retain for the whole amount of money they had paid. Thus twenty million dollars in debts were wiped out,

* Rufus King's "Ohio."

† Journal of Commerce "History of Banking."

and the experience led Congress to reduce the price of public lands to $1.25 an acre, payable in advance.

In 1820, the year that President Monroe was re-elected and the "era of good-feeling" was in progress among the politicians, though business was not feeling remarkably well, Monroe received the eight electoral votes of Ohio. Governor Brown was triumphantly re-elected, though General Harrison ran against him. Brown's vote was nearly 35,000, while Jeremiah Morrow received less than 10,000 and Harrison less than 5,000. Governor Brown directed attention to the canal projects in his message, December, 1820, but the mind of the legislature had first to be relieved on other subjects. General Harrison was a member of the senate, of which Allen Trimble was speaker, and the General, as chairman of the joint committee on proceedings of the United States court, made a report asserting that the sovereign state of Ohio had been insulted in being called before an inferior United States court. Being sovereign it could not be cited before any court except by previous consent. As the courts had declared the United States bank independent of the State laws, Harrison proposed to treat it as an alien and deprive it of the protection of the laws. He reported a bill, which was passed, withdrawing from the bank all the collection machinery of the Ohio courts. Under this remarkable law a burglar might rob one of these branch banks and the sheriff would be liable to a fine of $200 if he put the criminal in jail. At the same time it was provided that a compromise might be arranged upon the bank's submitting to a tax of four per cent on its dividends or withdrawing from the State. This was the law in Ohio for several years. In Cincinnati, before the bank was outlawed by the legislature, the mayor put it out of court, instructing a jury that the bank had no right to discount notes, whereupon the jury brought in a verdict annulling a debt.*

In 1821 the United States circuit court ordered the return to the Chillicothe bank of the entire $100,000 confiscated, with some $12,000 interests and costs, and granted a perpetual injunction against the collection of the tax. The legislature was discouraged in resistance by the fact that its remonstrance, sent to the legislatures of all the other states, had received no sympathetic response except from Connecticut. Governor Brown saw no course open but to submit to the court.

At the March term, 1824, the case of the State Auditor of Ohio vs. the United States Bank was decided by the United States supreme court. For the bank appeared Henry Clay, and for the auditor the ardent Federalist, Charles Hammond,† whose genius was not at all

*Journal of Commerce "History of Banking."

†Hammond had established The Ohio Federalist at St. Clairsville in 1812, and become the leader of his party. A member of the legislature from 1813 to 1822, he codified the laws and was the author of many of them. In

obscured by the brilliancy of the great Kentuckian. Hammond is said to have profoundly impressed Chief Justice John Marshall, the most majestic figure of that period, with the remarkable power of his intellect. But it was Marshall's duty and his peculiar function in the building of the American form of government, to assert the supremacy of the laws of the United States. Ohio submitted gracefully, having already returned the main part of the confiscated funds, and in 1826 repealed the laws barring the bank from State courts. The struggle was fiercer in Kentucky, which, as a result, for some years had two bodies claiming to be the legal State court of appeals.

It is not remarkable that in the midst of the financial depression and political turmoil other important matters were neglected, if not considered impracticable. In December, 1820, Governor Brown recommended a survey of canal routes before the State should blindly turn over the work to corporations. An act was passed, providing for the appointment of three canal commissioners, to have charge of the survey of a route of a canal if Congress should donate the public lands along the line. On January 3, 1822, Micajah Williams made an elaborate report on the subject of canal navigation, and moved the appointment of a commission to further investigate the subject. Seeing an opportunity to profit by the need of the new enterprise for friends, Caleb Atwater had moved for a commission on a free school system. Thus there was prospect of something tangible in the way of improvement toward the close of Brown's second term. On the same day, January 3d, the governor was elected United States senator to succeed Col. W. A. Trimble, who died at Washington, from the effects of his wounds at Fort Meigs. The governor's ambition for a senatorship was contested by Thomas Worthington, John McLean and General Harrison, but after he and Worthington had run neck and neck for several ballots, Brown succeeded by a majority of one. Col. Allen Trimble, who was speaker of the senate and had been for five years, became acting governor, and served throughout the remainder of the year 1822 with general satisfaction to the people.

Governor Trimble, who had lived in the Scioto valley from 1805, was not only a pioneer and gallant soldier himself, but the grandson of a Scotch-Irish frontiersman who was killed by Indians, and son of one of the Virginians who fought at Point Pleasant. Born in the Shenandoah valley and reared in Kentucky, he was a typical Ohioan of the middle region, and his lineage and record and personal worth made him one of the most popular men of the State.

1821 he was chosen as the first reporter of the supreme court, an office he held until his death in 1840. Living at Cincinnati from 1822, he made the Cincinnati Gazette famous by the brilliancy and weight of the editorials he contributed during the remainder of his life. He was called the Alexander Hamilton of the West. Henry Clay and he, in succession, refused a seat in the United States supreme court, tendered by President John Quincy Adams.

CHAPTER X.

FREE SCHOOLS, TURNPIKES AND CANALS.

GOVERNORS ALLEN TRIMBLE, 1822; JEREMIAH MORROW, 1822–26; ALLEN TRIMBLE, 1826–30; DUNCAN MCARTHUR, 1830–32; ROBERT LUCAS, 1832–36; JOSEPH VANCE, 1836–38.

IT WAS during the brief administration of acting-Governor Trimble that a resolution, drawn by Micajah T. Williams, of Cincinnati, was passed, providing for a public engineer and seven commissioners, to investigate and report regarding four proposed canal routes, one from Sandusky bay to the Ohio, one by way of the Maumee and Miami, one by way of the Cuyahoga and Muskingum, and one from the mouth of Grand river by way of the Mahoning. On the same day, January 31st, was passed a resolution reported by Mr. Atwater, for the appointment of a commission to report "a system of education for common schools." "The same message from the senate to the house of representatives announced the success of both measures, so closely allied were the friends of each, and so uniformly did they work together."* Governor Trimble appointed Caleb Atwater, John Collins, James Hoge, Nathan Guilford, Ephraim Cutler, Josiah Barber and James M. Bell to devise the educational system. The canal commissioners selected were Judge Benjamin Tappan, of Steubenville; Alfred Kelly, a lawyer and legislator of Cleveland, who had some time before this startled the legislature by proposing to abolish imprisonment for debt; Thomas Worthington, ex-Governor Brown, Jeremiah Morrow, Isaac Minor, and Ebenezer Buckingham.

Thus the year 1822 is a memorable one in State history for the effective beginnings of great advancement. Its political events were also of great importance. A special session of the legislature in May redistricted the State for the election of fourteen congressmen, to which Ohio was entitled under the last census, and the delegation chosen included such men as Philemon Beecher, Duncan McArthur,

*Ryan's History of Ohio.

William McLean, Joseph Vance, Samuel F. Vinton, John Sloan, and Elisha Whittlesey, giving a strong representation to the many people of the State who were disposed to break with the administration of national affairs that hindered the extension of the National road on account of constitutional scruples.

A great many of the old Republicans, like General McArthur (who named his eldest son Thomas Jefferson), rallied under the leadership of Henry Clay in support of the "American System." It was their desire to engage the general government in a system of internal improvements; that Congress should levy taxes for the purpose of making roads and constructing canals, and impose heavy duties on articles of foreign importation, in order to prevent foreign manufacturers from coming in competition with American manufacturers. This was called the high tariff.* With this branch of the old Jeffersonian party those who retained the principles of the Federalists had no difficulty in coalescing, and the result was a formidable party that enrolled about half the voters of the State, and during a great part of the time controlled the government. Allen Trimble was in the new movement, and he came near election as governor in 1822.

Jeremiah Morrow, an old friend of Worthington's, won the election, but for the first time in the history of the State, by a minority vote. He received 26,059 votes, Trimble 22,899, and William W. Irwin, of Fairfield, 11,050. Governor Morrow, a shrewd business man of Scotch-Irish descent, was by no means a constitutional theorist; in fact, was the strongest internal improvement man in the State. Born near Gettysburg, Pa., in 1771, he came to the Miami valley in 1796, bought land in what was later Warren county, and, after the manner of the day, returned to Pennsylvania to marry and brought his wife to the log cabin in the Ohio woods. As has been noted, he took part in framing the first constitution and then, for ten years, while Ohio had but one representative in Congress, held that office continuously. Promoted from the lower to the upper house, he was United States senator six years as the colleague of Worthington and Ruggles. His strength as a public man was based on his rugged honesty, remarkable good sense and unassuming modesty. It was said of him by Henry Clay: "No man in the sphere within which he acted ever commanded or deserved the implicit confidence of Congress more than Jeremiah Morrow. There existed a perfect persuasion of his entire impartiality and justice between the old states and the new. A few artless but sensible words pronounced in his plain Scotch-Irish dialect were always sufficient to insure the passage of any bill or resolution which he reported." He had done in the house, in 1806, what Worthington did in the senate, toward the building of the great National road, and, with Worthington, endeavored

*Such is the statement of McDonald (1838), in his sketch of McArthur.

to overcome his party's prejudice against this national necessity. As chairman of the senate committee in 1816 he presented the report recommending a general system of internal improvements by the federal government. When he declined re-election to the senate, and went back to his farm and mill on the Little Miami, he was called to act on the Ohio canal commission. As governor he continued to urge highway and canal improvements.

Toward the close of his administration he was visited by Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, who wrote in his "Travels in North America:" "The dwelling of the governor consists of a plain frame house, situated on a little elevation not far from the shore of the Little Miami, and is entirely surrounded by fields. The business of the State calls him once a month to Columbus, and the remainder of the time he passes at his country seat, occupied with farming, a faithful copy of an ancient Cincinnatus. He was engaged at our arrival in cutting a wagon pole, but he immediately stopt his work to give us a hearty welcome. He appeared to be about fifty years of age; is not tall, but thin and strong, and has an expressive physiognomy, with dark and animated eyes." The duke noted that the governor prefaced his breakfast with prayer, and some days later found the same custom observed by Governor Worthington, of whom he wrote that he considered the acquaintance with him and his family "one of the most interesting that I made in the United States."

As a feature of the new political order of things, it is to be noted that Jacob Burnet, who, at the organization of the State, considered himself a man proscribed, had been elected a judge of the supreme court in 1819, and at the same time there was advanced to the same high position, Charles R. Sherman, of Lancaster. Both of them served in the supreme court, with Jesup N. Couch and Peter Hitchcock, John McLean and Calvin Pease, as their associates most of the time, the court now having four members, until 1829, when Sherman died suddenly, while yet a young man, and Burnet was elected to the United States senate.

The canal commissioners, having engaged James Geddes, of New York, as engineer, made a preliminary report to the first legislature of Morrow's administration, and were continued on duty, but the years 1823-24 brought fatalities that seriously interfered with their work. Fevers of various sorts desolated the State. Pending the progress of material improvement, the laws and forms of legal procedure were revised and greatly simplified as a result of the work of a committee headed by Judge Francis Dunlavy, and the legislature declared by a large majority in favor of a system of emancipation that should put an end to slavery in the southern states. A United States battleship had been named in honor of Ohio, and the State presented it a stand of colors. An interesting event of 1823 was the meeting of Lewis Cass, representing the United States government, and Lewis

de Schweinitz, of the Moravian society, to bring to an end the occupation by Christian Indians of the lands in Tuscarawas county deeded the society in 1798. It had been found impracticable for these Indians to live without deterioration, surrounded by whites, and exposed to the evils of civilization. Consequently, the red men, including the heirs of Killbuck and White-eyes, left the State, most of them taking refuge at the Moravian town on the Thames, rebuilt since the visit of Harrison's army.

In 1824 occurred the famous elections in which the Virginia succession to the presidency was overthrown. The friends of Clay in Ohio polled 19,255 votes for their electoral ticket, headed by General Harrison, while the conservative wing of the Jeffersonian party cast 18,489 votes for General Jackson, and the remnant of the Federalists gave 12,280 for John Quincy Adams. The election of a president was thrown into the lower house of Congress, and ten of the Ohio representatives followed the will of Henry Clay in making Adams president in preference to William H. Crawford or Andrew Jackson. Governor Morrow was re-elected, but out of the total poll of nearly 77,000 votes he had a majority of less than 2,500 over Allen Trimble.

The legislature elected at the same time had a majority favoring the new party, soon called National Republican, in distinction from the Democratic Republicans who supported Jackson. This session elected General Harrison to the United States senate, to succeed Ethan Allen Brown, Wyllys Silliman being a formidable candidate. Aside from national politics, the majority of the legislature was pledged to take some action for the canals and public schools.

Full reports and estimates were laid before it for various routes of water transportation between the Ohio river and Lake Erie. The demands of both the eastern and western portions of the State were to be considered, and the canal commission at first sought to find a practicable course for a canal to unite the Scioto and Miami valleys, making Cincinnati one of the river termini of a connected system. But this was decided to be impracticable, and hence two systems resulted, one from the mouth of the Scioto, following that river, the Licking and upper Muskingum to Coshocton, and thence along the Tuscarawas and Cuyahoga to Cleveland, and another line from Cincinnati along the Great Miami to the Maumee river. Marietta was to be provided for by an improvement of the Muskingum river from its mouth to the point where the Ohio canal approached it from the west, near Dresden. Sandusky, greatly to her sorrow, was left out of the scheme.

These two systems, the first to be known as the Ohio canal and the second as the Miami and Erie canal, were adopted by the legislature, though the first order was to build the Miami canal no farther than Dayton from Cincinnati, while the Ohio canal was to be completed through. There was only $60,000 in the treasury, and the revised

estimate of the cost of the Miami line was over $2,500,000 and of the other nearer three millions. But times were better, and the success of the Erie canal in New York assured the generous support of eastern capital. Besides, the conditions permitted the canals to be constructed with great economy in the cost of labor. The money went, not to gangs of practically servile and foreign laborers, but to farmers and farmer boys of the State. The investment of capital was therefore profitable, aside from the worth of the canals themselves.

Under the famous act of February 4, 1825, "to provide for the internal improvement of the State of Ohio, by navigable canals," the great work was put under the management of seven canal commissioners, Alfred Kelly, Micajah T. Williams, Thomas Worthington, Benjamin Tappan, John Johnston, Isaac Minor, and Nathaniel Beasley, and the financial part of the enterprise was entrusted to a board of canal fund commissioners, Ethan Allen Brown, Ebenezer Buckingham and Allen Trimble. When the latter became governor his place was taken by Gen. Simon Perkins. These names include those of the men who may justly be called the fathers of the famous canal system of the State. Kelly was particularly distinguished in the actual superintendence of the eastern, and Williams of the western line.

The canal fund, created for the enterprise, embraced all lands, property and money devoted to the work, including over a million acres of government land afterward donated by Congress, which was sold, bringing two and a quarter million dollars to the fund. The first reliance was upon the proceeds of six per cent bonds, the first lot of which, $400,000, was sold in 1825 at two and a half per cent discount. In the following year bonds for $1,000,000 were taken by John Jacob Astor and others at a premium of $8,475. The next issue of $1,200,000 commanded a premium of over $70,000.

The tidings of the passage of the canal bill were received throughout the State with great rejoicing, and in the following month came the welcome news that on March 3d, the last day of Madison's administration, it had been enacted by Congress that the great National road should be extended through the capitals of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. By the original plan this road would have run through Chillicothe to Cincinnati, but during the delay caused by hostile politics, settlement had been pushed so far inland that the location was diverted northward. East of Wheeling the road had been put in good repair, and great caravans of overland traffic had that Ohio river city as their terminus. The survey through Ohio had already been made. There was an old road between Zanesville and Columbus by way of Newark and Granville, and the people of those places made a great effort to have it followed by the new highway, but in vain, as the law required the straightest possible line. The road was located by Jonathan Knight and a young army officer, Joseph E. Johnston, in later years

the formidable military antagonist of one of the sons of Judge Sherman. Hardly had the exultation subsided over the prospect of canals and roads, than preparation began for the welcoming of General Lafayette. The distinguished Frenchman was received at Cincinnati in May, 1825, by Governor Morrow and his staff, in the presence of an enormous crowd of people, estimated at fifty thousand. Lafayette was amazed by the wonderful progress of the new state which had grown in the hostile and impenetrable wilderness of the Revolutionary period, when he was fighting with Washington for the independence of the Atlantic colonies. His secretary and chronicler relates that the general was so profoundly impressed by what he saw and the attentions he received that he pronounced Ohio the eighth wonder of the world.

On July 4, 1825, ground was broken at St. Clairsville for the construction of the National road to Columbus. The same day was selected for the formal beginning of work on the Ohio canal, at the summit level in Licking county. Governor Clinton,* of New York, who had come by boat to Cleveland, and traveled thence by stage, accompanied by a distinguished party, raised the first spadeful of earth, and Thomas Ewing, the great Lancaster lawyer, not yet in politics, made a memorable speech in the woods, amid great enthusiasm, though the crowd could not have heard a less powerful orator on account of the innumerable flies and mosquitoes and the incessant tramping and tail-swishing of the horses of the cavalry company around the stand. In the following months the boys from the farms worked faithfully on the "Roaring Canal," as they called it, at eight dollars a month, rainy days excepted. Eight dollars a month, in *cash*, was not to be neglected in those days. The north end of the canal, to Cleveland, was first completed, in 1827, and wheat along the line soon rose in value from 25 to 75 cents a bushel, and potatoes became a marketable product.

It has been noted that a commission to report a system of public education had been appointed in 1822, as well as a canal commission, and the legislature of 1824–25 was elected upon the school and canal issue combined. On February 5, 1825, the day following the passage of the canal act, the legislature passed an act to support public instruction, requiring the establishment of schools in every township, for free tuition, and imposing a general tax of one-half mill on the dollar. The early legislation on this subject down to 1821 had dealt with the school lands alone. "The general assembly had first attempted to

* "Clinton was induced to visit Ohio by a few over-zealous friends who promised a presidential boom, but we are assured by the correspondence of the day that the influence of 'Harry of the West' was so manifest everywhere he went as to disturb the mind of the New York guest. He said many ugly things about Mr. Clay afterwards, and while he did not reach the presidential chair himself, he did defeat Mr. Clay in New York, and thereby broke the hearts of thousands."—W. H. Smith.

lease the lands, and that plan failing, finally offered them for sale, and in some townships they were all sold. The last of the reserve lands were sold in 1852. The portion of the whole State fund that belongs to the reserve is something more than a quarter million. These results seem small, but we must remember that the problem of handling school lands in great quantities was a new one, that Ohio was the first state to grapple with it, and that in those days wild lands were more plentiful than buyers."* All education previous to 1821 was purely voluntary, both in support and attendance. Settlers united voluntarily in building schoolhouses, and hiring teachers, and sometimes were incorporated for the purpose by the legislature. The main educational institutions of lower grade than colleges were the academies, private enterprises with more or less public assistance, a pioneer of which was Burton academy in the Western reserve, founded in 1803. In 1819 Ephraim Cutler had introduced a bill for the establishment and public support of common schools, but it failed to pass. In January, 1821, an act was passed permitting the organization of school districts in the townships, with authority to levy taxes, provide houses and pay the tuition of poor children. But this lacked the essential element of a general system and attached the stigma of pauperism.

The free school system, as it is now known, had its origin in the investigations of the Atwater commission, and the bill prepared by Nathan Guilford, who had been elected to the senate from Cincinnati and made chairman of the joint committee on school legislation. Mainly to Cutler, Atwater and Guilford, says Ryan, "Ohio owes her common school system. All subsequent legislation has been amendatory of the great idea that they developed and formulated in law." It was not, of course, fully developed. The tax levied was very small, and it was not until 1838 that the law makers ventured to impose taxation for school furniture and fuel. But the law of 1825 was all that the people would submit to at that time. As it was, there was much remonstrance and voluminous petitions to later legislatures for the suspension or repeal of the law. The friends of the system had met the strongly urged objection that taxation for the purpose of education was unconstitutional, by appeal to the words of the ordinance of 1787, declaring that "schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged," but many remained unconvinced, while there was a general objection to the expense. But the legislative committee of 1826–27, to which remonstrances were referred, reported that the new system would become popular when it was tried,

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*Some commentators are not so kind. A senator is on record as saying: "Members of the legislature got acts passed, under pretext of granting leases to themselves, relatives and political partisans, giving the lands away until there was nothing left." There was certainly grave incompetence, in comparison with the success of Connecticut in founding her school fund upon the sale of the Western reserve.

"because its features are stamped with an enlarged wisdom, a liberal and enlightened policy." In 1829 a new law increased the tax to three-fourths of a mill, and provided for school districts and a board of three school directors and a clerk and treasurer in each township, who were empowered to levy taxes. Ever since, the school system has become more deeply rooted in the fundamental structure of the commonwealth. It has been developed until Ohio leads all the states in the provision made for general education, and within her bounds are expended one-tenth of all the money spent in the United States for public schools.

Beginning its career even with the free schools, Miami university, opened in 1824, under the presidency of Robert H. Bishop, became a famous center of learning. The other institution founded on land grants, Ohio university, at Athens, had graduated Thomas Ewing and John Hunter as its first class, in 1815, but did not have a full faculty until 1822. For thirty-five years it was under the presidency of W. H. McGuffey, who published the school readers in use all over the west. Prof. Joseph Ray, of another institution at New Athens, wrote the arithmetics that were studied for many years, and Thomas W. Harvey, a leader of education in the Western Reserve, supplied an English grammar. But these belong to later years. In 1826, Bishop Philander Chase, prominent in the settlement of the town of Worthington, founded the town of Gambier and Kenyon college, names bestowed in honor of the Englishmen who mainly contributed to the endowment of the institution. The good bishop was the first president of the school. At the same time Western Reserve college* was founded at Hudson by a Presbyterian colony, and in 1830 there came to it as president Charles B. Storrs, whose son, Henry M. Storrs, was an eminent divine of later years.

At the election in 1826, Allen Trimble, on his third attempt, received as a candidate for governor, 71,475 votes out of the total of 84,600. His opponents, John Bigger, Alexander Campbell and Benjamin Tappan, obtained a little over 4,000 each. The governor thus signally honored has already been mentioned as a soldier, legislator and acting governor. During the period of public service now begun, he labored effectively for the improvement of the common school system, the encouragement of manufactures and reform of penitentiary methods. It is said of him that he was a man of strong religious feeling, strict integrity, and a shrewd and well-balanced mind. His ability was so generally recognized that he had been seven times consecutively elected speaker of the Ohio senate.†

*In 1882 it was removed to Cleveland, under an arrangement for endowment by Amasa Stone, receiving the name of his deceased son, Adelbert.

†After four years' service as governor he retired from public life, but in 1846 was made the first president of the Ohio state board of agriculture. He was born in Augusta county, Va., November 24, 1783, and died at Hillsboro, February 3, 1870.

The first great political event following the election of Governor Trimble was the choice of a United States senator. Senator Ruggles, in 1824, had been president of the congressional caucus that nominated Crawford for president, and, as a conservative Jeffersonian, opposed Jackson, nominated by resolutions of the various legislatures. Crawford received no support in Ohio, and consequently Senator Ruggles had a hard struggle for re-election. He was opposed by William W. Irwin and Wyllys Silliman, but, with the aid of some of his political enemies, obtained a majority of three on the twenty-fourth ballot. He was the first Ohioan three times successively elected to the senate, and there have been but two others. After the close of eighteen years in Congress he returned to his home at St. Clairsville, where he died in 1857.

At the presidential election of 1828 Ohio gave Andrew Jackson 67,597 votes and Adams 63,396. This indicated the final extinction of the old Republican or Jeffersonian, and Federalist or Hamiltonian parties. The majority in the election were known as "Jackson men," or Democratic–Republicans, afterward simply Democrats, while the opposition, led by Henry Clay, took the name of National Republicans and later were known as Whigs. In the same year, Governor Trimble was re-elected, but he did not receive the overwhelming majority of two years before, his margin over John W. Campbell* being a little over 2,500 votes. Upon the meeting of the legislature in December it became necessary to elect a successor to Senator Harrison, who had resigned to accept appointment by President Adams as minister to the new republic of Colombia. The legislature was Jacksonian but its choice fell upon Judge Jacob Burnet, who was at last fitly honored with political office. Though one of the most important figures of Ohio, his early devotion to the Federalists had kept him from the high positions he was eminently adapted to occupy. In the senate he was a firm supporter of Clay and Daniel Webster in the stormy times of tariff discussion and South Carolina nullification. There, as in the supreme court of Ohio, he commanded admiration by his clearness of mind, depth of understanding, and power of sound reasoning.

As will be remembered, President Jackson surpassed any of his predecessors in removing officials for political reasons. John McLean, who had held the office of postmaster-general since 1823, through Adams' administration, though avowedly a Jackson man, refused to undertake the work of removing the Clay postmasters, and consequently was offered a seat in the United States supreme court,

*John W. Campbell was an early settler of Adams county, of Virginian birth. He had served ten years in Congress, 1817-27, besides three terms in the legislature. After Jackson was inaugurated the president made him United States district judge, an office he held until his death from cholera in 1833.

which he occupied for many years with great ability and honor. Among those who suffered from the new policy, known in later years as "turning the rascals out," was General Harrison, who was promptly recalled from his post in South America. He retired to the old Symmes homestead at North Bend, and for a time was cramped by poverty, but his friends soon provided him with official employment. Ohio was compensated in the diplomatic field by the appointment of Ethan Allen Brown in 1830 as minister to Brazil.

Governor Trimble's administration may be taken as an important epoch in the great anti-slavery movement, manifested by petitions and memorials to the legislature. Ten years before, in 1820, the legislature, at the suggestion of Charles Hammond, had declared slavery a great moral and political evil, and about the same time there was organized in Ohio a branch of the American Colonization Society, which sought to solve the negro problem by exporting the colored people. Senator Morrow was president of this branch. The president-in-chief of the society, Bushrod Washington, memorialized the legislature in Governor Trimble's administration in behalf of the colony in Liberia. There was a petition from negroes regarding a proposed colony in Canada, and the Society of Friends asked the repeal of the Ohio Black Laws of 1807.

Long before this the abolition movement had started. Thomas Jefferson was deeply interested in putting an end to slavery, but when the cotton gin made negro labor more profitable, that early Southern movement died. The offensive African slave trade was stopped, but in its place appeared a domestic slave trade, a breeding of negroes in Virginia and Kentucky, for sale further south, that excited a new abolition crusade. The father of this was an Ohio man, Benjamin Lundy, born in New Jersey, of Quaker parents, in 1789. In boyhood, working as a saddler at Wheeling, he was distressed by the sight of gangs of slaves taken through there from the Virginia breeding fields to the southwest. When he married he made his home at St. Clairsville, and in 1815 formed the Union Humane society, devoted to agitation against slavery. Next, he sold all he had and joined Charles Osborne, another Quaker, in publishing The Philanthropist. During the Missouri agitation he was in that state writing on the evils of slavery for Northern journals, and in 1822, when he walked back to Ohio, he started another paper, The Genius of Universal Emancipation. Afterward he visited the Quakers in the Carolinas and Virginias, organizing anti-slavery societies, and in 1828, after he had formed a hundred societies in all parts of the country, he visited Boston and enlisted William Lloyd Garrison in the work. He was in no respect a ranter or demagogue, but treated all men as brothers. Yet, at Baltimore, he was assaulted and nearly killed by a slave-broker. The Rev. John Rankin was another Ohio man on the skirmish line of the new war against slavery, whom Garrison acknowledged as a

teacher and master. He was of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish breed, born in East Tennessee, and began preaching against slavery in Kentucky. From hatred of slavery he and nearly all his congregation moved across the Ohio, and he became the Presbyterian pastor at Ripley and founder of the Free Presbyterian church. He traveled and lectured and was often mobbed in Ohio. David Ammen, of Brown county, father of a general and an admiral, published Rankin's arguments for the abolition of slavery, in 1826.

The Black Laws, to which there was objection in Ohio, were a set of statutes partly in force from the foundation of the State, but revised and amplified in 1807. They denied the negro the right of testifying in court or bringing a suit against a white man; strictly forbid misecegenation, and no negro or mulatto was allowed to make his home in any county without giving bond for good behavior. Negroes who could not give bond were turned over to the poor-master, who sold their annual services to the highest bidder. There was also a system of registration, intended to aid in the discovery of runaway slaves from the South, and laws against harboring or concealing negroes. These laws were considered by the Friends and an increasing number of other people, as a disgrace to the State, and legislature after legislature was petitioned to repeal them. They served a good purpose, however, by holding in check the increase of negro population. The desire of the early settlers of Ohio was not to establish a refuge for runaway negroes, but to found a state in which there should be as few negroes as possible to compete with white labor.

As anti-slavery sentiment grew more pronounced, an effort was made to subdue it, in the interests of harmony in the nation, and also in the interests of business along the Ohio river. This was carried to the length of repression of free speech, more marked in the east than in Ohio, however. It became dangerous to refer to the "peculiar institution" that the South now defended as an essential part of her civilization. But many college students and college professors were irrepressible. Particularly in the Western Reserve was there a manifestation of a spirit of crusade against slavery. There, people seemed to feel more heavily than elsewhere the burden of the sins of the world. From the Western Reserve college students were in the habit of going out in vacations and lecturing the people on the evils of slavery, intemperance and violation of the seventh commandment, sometimes getting mobbed on the first count of the indictment, at least. The faculty of this college was broken up by the attempt to repress slavery agitation in 1830-33, and a little later Lane theological seminary, at Walnut Hills, near Cincinnati, opened in 1832 under the presidency of Dr. Lyman Beecher, suffered a similar misfortune.

Meanwhile a colony of Congregationalists, led by a half-blind and penniless preacher, Rev. John J. Shipherd, and Philo P. Stewart, lately a missionary to the Indians in Mississippi, settled in Lorain

county in 1833, expressly to found a religious college, and the Oberlin Collegiate Institute was introduced to the world. This new school soon profited by the trouble at Lane seminary and gained some of its faculty and many of its students, and the announcement went out that negroes might enter Oberlin as students. In fact, the attendance of the colored youth was very small (one at first), but the adoption of that policy toward the servile race made the school famous. In 1835 it was endowed by Arthur Tappan, brother of Senator Benjamin Tappan, who had remained in the east, and become president of the American Anti-Slavery society and founder of the American Tract society. Charles G. Finney was made professor of theology. The lectures of Dr. Theodore D. Weld, one of the professors coming from Lane seminary, aroused two young lawyers, Joshua R. Giddings and Benjamin F. Wade, to organize an anti-slavery society which began with four members, but if it had contained only those two, would have been the strongest in the world. Oberlin Institute became a university and was soon overrun with students, some of whom actually camped in the woods. Oberlin is to be considered as a product of the great religious revival of 1830–32, and what was called the New School of theology, which concerned itself mainly with the personal responsibility and immediate duty of the individual. Finney, the most famous man of its faculty, varied his educational labors with excursions as an evangelist, preaching in his "big tent," which was the precursor of the tent preaching of later days. The university was a religious as well as anti-slavery center, and it was the forum of the free discussion of all new theories. The new flour and Graham bread were preached there, as well as Christian perfection and sanctification. The Adventists were free to send their ablest prophets to discuss the imminent coming of Christ, and the radical abolitionists, who were beginning to withdraw from political action and denounce the United States constitution as "a covenant with death and a league with hell," had freedom of speech but not much sympathy in this famous college town. It must not be inferred that the people of the Western Reserve were all Oberlin enthusiasts. Like other prophets, those at Oberlin experienced in a considerable degree the scorn of their conservative neighbors.

The progress of the anti-slavery movement was shown in 1835 by the organization of the Ohio Anti-Slavery society, with headquarters at Cincinnati, and the strength of the opposition was manifested by the mobs of 1836, that sacked the publication office of Birney's*

*James Gillespie Birney, the head of the abolition movement for several years, was a Kentuckian, of Pennsylvania Scotch–Irish descent. He was active in politics in Kentucky and Alabama, but was occupied with philanthropic schemes from his youth, and finally declared for immediate abolition of slavery. He then found it necessary to take refuge in Ohio, where he began the publication of The Philanthropist, first in Clermont county and later in Cincinnati. This publication was continued by Pugh and Gamaliel Bailey, in spite of mobs, until 1844.

Philanthropist, printed by Achilles Pugh, strewing the streets with type and dumping portions of the press in the river. Many of the mob were minded also to attack the office of Charles Hammond's Gazette. In the same year, when a state convention of anti-slavery men was held at the town of Granville, founded by Massachusetts people, the meeting was held in a barricaded building, and after adjournment the members were followed on the streets by a mob and pelted with rotten eggs.

It may be asked why people of Ohio should concern themselves so much about the industrial system south of the river as to arouse violence and discord in their own homes? Some have said on account of a meddling disposition and excess of self-righteousness on the part of some northern people, in face of the fact that the leading agitators came to Ohio from the South. But the philosopher would be extremely shallow who could trace the great battle over slavery to such a cause. The primary irritating cause of hostility was the runaway slave.

The histories of Florida and Texas are ample to illustrate the axiom that a slave country cannot live in peace with a neighboring state where slaves can find happier conditions. Ohio was not at this time the refuge of many slaves. It was the path traveled by slaves to Canada, where, under the law as laid down by Mansfield in 1772, the negro was free as soon as he stepped upon British soil. By the Ordinance of 1787, Ohio was denied the attributes of a sovereign state possessed by Canada. But many of her citizens aided the slaves to escape. Nothing else could be expected. In a community accustomed to personal freedom there will be men who cannot endure the sight of man hunters.

Furthermore, out of the proposition that slaves did not become free when they entered Ohio grew the fear that slavery might actually be established in the State, under the protection of the courts and the power of the United States. There was already an actual invasion of the State by slave labor through the renting of farm hands, in the river counties, from Virginia and Kentucky. The introduction of slave labor meant the destruction of the civilization of Ohio. The result would be practically the same as would follow the introduction of Chinese coolie labor today.

What the labor system of Ohio was, may be inferred from the observation of an English traveler.* He wrote: "It is a common saying among the farmers of the Western Reserve, 'If a man is good enough to work for me, he is good enough to eat with me.' And actually every hired person, male or female, native or foreigner, whom they employ is treated 'as one of the family,' not in the sense that

*D. Griffith, "Two Years' Residence in the New Settlement of Ohio," London, 1835.

promise is sometimes fulfilled to apprentices in England, but bona fide: for they eat at the same table and at the same time; all fare alike and all fare well." Such a condition, that made possible and encouraged the rise of hired men to high station in society, has been destroyed in latter years, to a large extent, by the introduction of foreign white labor. It would have yielded rapidly to the employment of negro labor.

The provision of the great charter of 1787, that fugitive slaves may be "lawfully reclaimed," showed that that early the peril of a free boundary was realized by slaveholders. In 1793 the first United States fugitive slave law was enacted, because of the escape of slaves into Pennsylvania. Later, as the industry of breeding negroes was developed in Virginia and Kentucky, where successful competition with the Georgia and Mississippi cotton fields was impossible, the flight of slaves was greatly increased. Escaping across the Ohio river, they pursued their way into Canada. One of the oldest routes of the runaways was from the Ohio river near North Bend, up the streams to the upper Anglaize, passing near the Shawanee village (Wapakoneta) and the Indian village on Blanchard's Fork (Ottawa) to the Maumee rapids at the Ottawa village of Chief Kinjeiro, and thence by a plain trail to Malden. Along this route many fugitive slaves traveled from about 1816 to 1835 or 1840, aided by the Indians and some white citizens, conspicuous among them in later years Col. D. W. H. Howard, of Wauseon.* There were men along the line who made their living by intercepting the fugitives, and others, without compensation, put their wits against the kidnappers in piloting bands of negroes to safe retreats.

It is said that a negro crossing the river in 1831 to take the Ripley and Sandusky route for Canada, was closely pursued by his owner, who had him in sight until the Ohio bank was reached, when the fugitive mysteriously disappeared without a trace. "The nigger must have gone off on an underground road," the disgusted proprietor is said to have remarked. However true this may be, the "underground road" suggested itself as a good name for a fugitive slave route, and as soon as the new mode of transportation was talked about, it was the "underground railroad." Gradually other well defined routes, like that of the Maumee valley, were established, along which sympathizers with the slaves, from the river to the lake, sent the fugitives on from station to station. Upon the efficiency of this secret organization the Ironclad fugitive slave law of Ohio, passed in 1823, had little impression. Most active in the work were communities, frequently isolated, of Quakers, Covenanters, Wesleyan Methodists and Free Presbyterians. John Brown, of Connecticut, who had come

*"The Underground Railroad in Ohio," W. H. Siebert; Archaeological and Historical Publications, Vol. IV.

to Hudson, in the Western reserve, at the age of five years, in 1825, and after studying for the ministry supported himself and family as a tanner, was one of those who gave shelter to runaway slaves before 1825. There were communities of free negroes in Ohio, notably one established by John Randolph, of Virginia, in Clark county, and wherever there was a negro settlement the fugitives found a hearty welcome. In Ohio there were "certainly not less than twenty-three ports of entry for runaways along the river front. Thirteen of these admitted the slaves from the two hundred and seventy-five miles of Kentucky shore on our southwest, while the other ten received those from the one hundred and fifty miles of Virginia soil on our southeast. From these initial depots the Ohio lines ran in zigzag, trending generally in a northeastern direction, linking station with station in mysterious bond till a place of deportation was reached on Lake Erie. There were five such outlets along Ohio's lake frontage. These were Toledo, Sandusky, Cleveland, Fairport harbor (near Painesville) and Ashtabula harbor. Toledo and, fifty miles beyond it, Detroit, were the shipping points for perhaps the oldest section of the road in Ohio, though by no means the longest lived,"* the Miami valley route already mentioned.

The most active counties in the underground railroad system were Trumbull, Richland, Huron and Belmont, Ashtabula and Jefferson, Lorain and Mahoning. But little is known of the actual work of the people who maintained these routes, and of the number of slaves whom they helped to freedom. Their work was outlawed, and though they had the moral support of thousands, their deeds were kept secret. Levi Coffin, a Quaker who lived just across the Ohio line, at Richmond, Ind., and made his home at Cincinnati in 1847, to superintend the system in the Ohio valley, is said to have forwarded three thousand slaves over the Ohio and Indiana lines. It is told that William Lambert, at Detroit, aided thirty thousand to reach Canada. The estimates of all that passed through Ohio run from forty to eighty thousand.

The efforts of the slave owners to recover their slaves gave rise to a class of individuals in Ohio who were as thoroughly despised as slave auctioneers were by the high class planters of the South. These northern tools of the system not only made themselves spies upon the underground railroad, but were on the lookout to kidnap negroes entitled to freedom.

The doctrine that the sovereignty of the State of Ohio involved the freedom of the slave that was brought to the State by his master, was also a subject of discussion and litigation. Such a case arose in Cincinnati in 1837, and young Salmon P. Chase, who had come from the east to the Worthington settlement with his uncle, Bishop Philander

* "The Underground Railroad in Ohio."

Chase, and afterward had graduated at Dartmouth college and read law under William Wirt, beginning his professional career at Cincinnati in 1830, volunteered to risk ostracism by defending the liberty of a black servant girl.

The census of 1830 showed that the State had well-nigh doubled in population in ten years, which had been prosperous as compared with the previous decade, though commerce and trade were still burdened with an inefficient and dangerous system of banking and currency. The total population was now 937,903. Of these less than 10,000 were colored, a much smaller proportion than in New York and Pennsylvania. The marvelous fact was now apparent that Ohio, in a third of a century, the average period of a generation, had taken place as the third State in the Union in white population. New York and Pennsylvania were the only states that outranked her, and Ohio was worthy to be considered a prominent member of that great trio, the real Keystone of America, covering the territory from the Hudson to the Maumee. Virginia was still ahead of Ohio in total population, but far behind in free men. Cincinnati now had a population of 25,000, and was unrivalled in the West. People called it the "Tyre of the West." Cleveland had not begun its great development, and was the home of not more than a thousand people. Toledo was not on the map, and Columbus had less than four thousand inhabitants.

One of the famous attractions of Cincinnati in 1828-30 was the Bazar, a picturesque business and amusement building erected by Mrs. Frances Trollope, who came from England with her sons, including the afterward famous novelist, Anthony Trollope. She lost thousands in the store that she conducted, and the building otherwise did not prove profitable, though it contained a magnificent ballroom that was the center of social life and gayety. Abandoning her contribution to the architecture of the city, which became known as "Trollope's Folly," she returned to England; wrote a book on the "Domestic Life of the Americans," and became an author of considerable note. In her Bazar was held in 1838 the first annual fair of the Ohio Mechanics' institute, organized ten years before for the encouragement of popular education.

Beef and pork were shipped from Cincinnati to New Orleans as early as 1803, the earliest packing houses in the west being flat boats in the river. In 1818 Elisha Mills founded at Cincinnati the first establishment representative of the modern packing business in the west, and in 1833, 85,000 hogs were packed at Cincinnati. The city was naturally the center of the great corn region of Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky. Later, when the corn land of the western prairies were opened, Cincinnati could not maintain the supremacy it had in early days.

There was yet room in Ohio for vast development. As late as 1834, an Englishman, traveling through the Ohio forests, described

them as "tall, magnificent, boundless." He had been told that there was nothing in America to give the sense of antiquity, because there were no ancient works of architecture, sculpture or painting, but he declared that compared with these forests, he had "met with nothing among the most venerable forms of art that impress you so thoroughly with the idea of indefinite distance and endless continuity of antiquity, shrouded in all its mystery of solitude, illimitable and eternal."

The election of governor in 1830 was very hotly contested between the Clay party, whom we may now call Whigs, and the Jackson party, which was the Democrat party up to 1861. The Whigs put forward Gen. Duncan McArthur, who had been conspicuous in public affairs from the beginning of the State, and the Democrats nominated Robert Lucas, a descendant of William Penn and a native of the Shenandoah valley, who had settled at the mouth of the Scioto in 1802, served efficiently in the war of 1812 as a commander of volunteers, gaining the militia rank of brigadier-general, and later, making his home at Piketon, had been a member of the State senate and speaker of the house.* McArthur, says McDonald in his sketches, "was a supporter of the internal improvement system, was also in favor of what was called the high tariff, and, what was more odious to the Jackson party, he was in favor of rechartering the United States bank. The Jackson party assailed his character with all the animosity and virulence that party strife engenders. The affair of permitting the deserters to be shot† was again brought forward in a new, extended and frightful edition. The party, in their zeal, depicted General McArthur as a monster whose delight was in blood; they had forgotten that their own chief [General Jackson] was at least equally, if not more obnoxious to censure in this respect. McArthur's land speculations were depicted in the most horrid colors. From the publications it would appear that he had dispossessed of their homes almost every widow and orphan in his reach. So far from this being a true representation of his land law suits, he generally contended with none but other land speculators, and this was a war of Greek to Greek."

The result of this fiercely contested election was that McArthur received 49,668 votes and Lucas 49,186. Consequently General McArthur became governor. He was aged and crippled by a serious accident. After he had served one term he retired to private life, and McDonald wrote of him in 1838: "He appears to be almost forgotten by all, but more especially by the gay and fashionable who, in the

*Two years later he was president of the national convention that nominated President Jackson for a second term. This was the first year national conventions were held in the United States.

†In 1814 McArthur, while commander-in-chief in the west, had called a general courtmartial at Chillicothe to try deserters, and twenty-six were condemned, of whom all were pardoned but four, who had deserted repeatedly, but theretofore escaped punishment through the kindness of General Harrison. These four were shot.

days of health and prosperity, fluttered around him like satellites around a brilliant planet. He is now almost a stranger, where, a short time since, his word was law." He was the last of the governors of Ohio who had been prominent at the founding of the State. With him ended the predominance of the Chillicothe party which had for so long ruled the young commonwealth. McArthur is a heroic figure, like St. Clair, standing at the parting of the ways, and typifying an order of things that was passing away. But, more adaptable than St. Clair, he led in the establishment of a new political party before he retired from public life. After him, with a transition through Lucas and Vance, came the prevalence of the second generation of Ohioans.

The term of Jacob Burnet in the United States senate expiring, Thomas Ewing, Micajah T. Williams and Edward King were contestants for the place, and Ewing, the Whig candidate, won by one vote on the seventh ballot, though Williams was in the lead at the outset. This was the beginning of the public career of Ewing, one of the greatest of Ohioans, described in later years by James G. Blaine as "a grand and massive man, almost without peers." He was a product of pioneer conditions, reared from infancy in the settlements of the Muskingum and Hocking valleys, and had become famous as a lawyer, under the training at Lancaster of Philemon Beecher and Charles Sherman. In Congress he took a high place, though there was some ridicule of his famous description of the hard times that were said to be due to President Jackson's fight on the United States bank. "Our canals have become a solitude," the senator said, "and the lake a desert of waters."

One of the congressmen elected in 1830 was William Stanbery, of Licking county, a brother of Henry Stanbery. He had the temerity to question the motives of some legislation urged by Sam Houston, of Tennessee, and was assaulted by that worthy on the streets of Washington.

The last of the Indian wars that considerably agitated Ohio occurred in 1832. The Sac and Fox tribes conveyed their lands in Illinois to the United States in 1804, but, repenting of the act, a large part of the tribes joined in the hostilities of 1812–15. After that the treaty was renewed, except by a small party of irreconcilables, led by Black Hawk, a noted warrior, who continued to negotiate with the British at Malden. In 1830, when an effort was made to move the Indians west of the Mississippi, Black Hawk began organizing a war party for resistance, and trouble began in 1831, when troops were sent into the Rock river country. In the spring of 1832 a party of volunteers attacked a body of Black Hawk's warriors and were badly defeated. There was a general rising of militia in the western states and, with the aid of the regulars on the Mississippi, the Indians were defeated in three considerable engagements in June and July, and

the trouble was practically over. Meanwhile Gen. Winfield Scott, with a regiment of regulars, was hastening to the scene of fighting by way of the great lakes. On the way his men were overtaken by a worse foe than red men, the Asiatic cholera, which had obtained a foothold in Canada. The Detroit camp became a hospital and more soldiers died of disease seven times over than fell under the rifles of the red men. The disease spread through the whole west in the fall of 1832.

In Ohio the cholera was preceded by another calamity. There was excessive snow-fall in the winter of 1831–32, and early in February of 1832 a sudden thaw caused an immense inundation of the valleys of all the rivers. It was the first great flood in the history of the State, though the Indians had known one like it sixty years before. Many farms were swept clean of houses, barns and livestock. At Marietta, February 11th and 12th, the river was filled with the floating ruins of homes and farms. At Cincinnati five hundred families were driven from their homes and property destroyed to the amount of half a million dollars. The Cincinnati American of the 17th said: "A church passed the city with the steeple standing, bound for New Orleans, we presume. A poor market." A considerable number of villages along the Ohio were entirely depopulated, and every town from Steubenville to Cincinnati, except Gallipolis, had its business life and prosperity seriously interrupted. It was undoubtedly the greatest flood disaster in the annals of Ohio.

Upon the heels of this came a great fire at Cincinnati, and on September 30, 1832, the first case of cholera. The epidemic lasted thirteen months, the extreme severity being in October, 1832, when forty-one died on one day. Cincinnati was then the chief city of the west, but it was largely depopulated for the time, and presented a woeful spectacle. Other river and lake towns suffered, and gradually the disease penetrated the State along the routes of travel. At Columbus two hundred died, and out of the population of three thousand, a third fled from their homes. Cincinnati was the greatest sufferer, not only from pestilence, but from flood and fire, and financial stringency. By bank operations the city had been forced to a cash basis by this time, and nearly all the leading business men were driven to the wall. But the city was not killed. James H. Perkins, who came to the Queen City that year, wrote home that he was amazed by the rapidity of building, and told that the masons set to work, in midwinter, laying a new foundation for a burned block while the smoke was yet rising.

The pestilence did, indeed, serve to prevent the proposed reunion of the old Indian fighters who occupied the site of Cincinnati November 4, 1782, so that only Gen. Simon Kenton and a handful gathered, but on December 26, 1833, the anniversary of the settlement of Cincinnati, resolutions were adopted that led to a celebration of the

first settlement of Ohio, April 7, 1835, by native Ohioans at Cincinnati. It was a glorious meeting, at which Thomas Worthington read a poem, the eloquent William M. Corry delivered an oration, and Dennis McHenry sang a song of which this is a sample:

> Then send round the mantling wine,
> Fill up the friendly glasses—
> Be this our toast: "The Buckeye Tree,
> And Buckeye lads and lasses."*

Here, rather than in the campaign of 1840, might be put the beginning of popular recognition of the Buckeye as the emblem of the State. The title "Buckeye State" needs no other explanation than the abundance of that tree in the forests that the pioneers entered, and the unique beauty of foliage, blossom and fruit that made the tree conspicuous. Ohio was known as the Buckeye State long before the campaign of 1840.

While Cincinnati suffered, the State as a whole began in 1830 a period of financial expansion and speculation that continued for seven years. Scores of new towns and cities were projected, canals were dug, turnpike roads opened, railroads begun, and in every channel there was enterprise and confidence. This was the time when the mulberry was introduced and silk culture begun, and even the culture of sugar beets was tried, by Lucas Sullivant.

In 1828, the Miami canal, with the exception of the part from Main street in Cincinnati to the Ohio river, was completed to Dayton, at a cost of less than $900,000. The inlet of the Ohio canal from Columbus, called the feeder, was opened in September, 1831, and the Ohio canal was complete in 1833, except the lower lock to connect it with the Ohio river, at a cost of $4,244,539. In 1828 the first coal was shipped by canal to Cleveland by Henry Newberry, father of the eminent Ohio geologist, John S. Newberry. The Hocking valley branch canal opened up that famous coal region, where one of the pioneer mine operators was Thomas Ewing. Ewing and Vinton were partners in the mining of salt in that region, sinking the first well in 1831.

In 1830 arrangements were made with Indiana by which Ohio changed the plan of the Miami canal, so as to have a channel down the Maumee valley from the Indiana line to Maumee bay, continuous with the Wabash canal in the sister state, and forming a channel of commerce which was expected to be as important under the new conditions as the old river and portage route was in the days of the French traders. With this east and west canal the canal from Cincinnati to Dayton was subsequently extended to connect near Defiance.

"Ohio has at the present time," wrote Judge Chase in 1833, "four

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*Dr. Drake, in his remarks, referred to an eastern poet sending for "a drawing of the leaf and flower of our emblem, the Buckeye tree."

hundred miles of navigable canals, constructed at an expense of rather more than five millions of dollars [for which the State went in debt]. The gross amount of tolls on both canals for the year 1832 was $123,791. Measures have been taken to extend the canal northward from Dayton, and efforts are made at the present moment to construct a railroad between that place and the lake. The effect of these improvements upon the prosperity of the State cannot be developed in a few sentences. They have afforded to the farmer of the interior an easy access to market, and have enhanced the value of his farm and his productions. They have facilitated intercourse between different sections of the State and have thus tended to make the people more united as well as more prosperous. They have furnished to the people a common object of generous interest and satisfaction. They have attracted a large accession of population and capital, and they have made the name and character of Ohio well known throughout the civilized world, as a name and character of which her sons may be justly proud."

When completed, the Ohio canal system included the main canal from Portsmouth to Cleveland, 309 miles, with 25 miles of feeders; the Hocking canal, 56 miles long, and the Walhonding, 25 miles, as well as the Muskingum improvement, Dresden to Marietta, 91 miles, which went under the control and management of the general government. The Miami & Erie system included the main canal, Cincinnati to Defiance and Toledo, 250 miles, the canal from the vicinity of Defiance to the State line, 18 miles, forming a link in the Wabash & Erie canal, and the Sidney feeder, 14 miles. Exclusive of the Marietta improvement, these aggregate 697 miles of canal. The maintenance of the canals involved the creation of great reservoirs also, of which the largest was established in Mercer county, submerging seventeen thousand acres. The Lewistown reservoir in Logan county covered over seven thousand acres, the Licking county reservoir thirty-six hundred, and smaller ones were established in other localities, making a total area devoted to reservoirs of 32,100 acres, or fifty square miles. Including these reservoirs, the cost of the canals was as follows: Miami & Erie canal, $8,062,880; Ohio canal, $4,695,203; Walhonding canal, $607,268; Hocking canal, $975,481; Muskingum improvement, $1,627,018. "For thirty years these waterways were the great controlling factors of increasing commerce, manufactures and population. Through their influence villages became cities, towns were built where forests grew, farming developed into a profitable enterprise, and the trade and resources of the world were opened to Ohio."* The selling prices of farm products were immediately increased, and wealth and prosperity smiled upon the struggling western State. As the canal period drew toward a close, and the railroad

*Daniel J. Ryan, "A History of Ohio."

age began, the water ways continued to benefit the people by the influence of their cheaper rates upon the tariffs of the new mode of transportation. The canals also earned substantial revenues for the State. During the first thirty-five years the receipts exceeded expenditures on account of canals by over seven million dollars. This revenue was merged in the general fund of the State and consequently spent without the people appreciating it, but if it had been set aside in a special fund, as was done in New York, Mr. Ryan estimated in 1888 that there would have been $6,000,000 to the credit of the Ohio canals. He further estimated that taking the figures of 1885, the people of Ohio were saving ten millions a year in railroad freight charges on account of the existence of the canals. "Every bushel of wheat and corn that moves northward from the Scioto and Miami valleys pays a freight that is regulated by the canals that flow through those valleys; the rail rate on iron ore from every point on Lake Erie to the Ohio river is a common rate, and it is due entirely to canal influences."

This general summary of the canal systems of Ohio, and glance into the conditions of later times than the period of this chapter, is necessary to show what a tremendous work was assumed by the people of 1820–40, and how earnestly they set about building the foundation of the greatness of the State.

But even before the canals were completed, as appears from Judge Chase's reference in 1833, railroads were being discussed. Railroads, without steam power, had been in use for some time in the older parts of the country, and the Baltimore & Ohio railroad had its beginning as a tramway of this character. But in 1828–30 the South Carolina railroad was built for steam power, Stephenson having demonstrated the applicability of the steam engine to land transportation. In 1830 citizens of Huron, Seneca, Crawford, Delaware, Logan, Clark and Champaign counties, petitioned the legislature for the incorporation of a company to build a railroad from Sandusky to Dayton with a branch to Columbus. This was to be a railroad with strap iron for rails and horses as the motive power.

Following this there was a rush for the incorporation of railroad companies and the legislature of 1831–32 granted charters to eleven. These were the Richmond, Eaton & Miami railroad company, to connect Richmond, Ind., with some point on the Miami canal; the Mad River & Lake Erie, from Dayton by way of Springfield to Lower Sandusky; the Franklin, Springboro and Wilmington, a feeder for the Miami canal; the Erie & Ohio, to connect the northeastern inland counties with the Ohio river; the Pennsylvania & Ohio, from Pittsburg to Massillon; the Milan & Newark, a feeder for the Ohio canal; the Columbus, Delaware, Marion & Sandusky, to connect the State capital and lake coast; the Cincinnati & St. Louis, an ambitious trunk line; the Milan & Columbus, the Chillicothe & Lebanon and the Port Clinton & Sandusky. Most of these projects, it will be observed, were

intended to be auxiliary to the canal system. But the actual railroads, with sufficient mileage to work a considerable change in transportation methods, came much later in the history of Ohio.

Meanwhile there was great activity in the building of turnpike roads, by companies that were chartered to establish these lines between important points and obtain their remuneration by tolls. The first of these was the Columbus and Sandusky turnpike, incorporated by John Kilbourne in 1823, and aided by a donation of over 30,000 acres of public land by Congress. It was finished in 1834, at a cost of about $75,000. The great highway was, of course, the National road, to complete which to Zanesville, Congress made an appropriation of $170,000 in 1827, and to continue it through the State made another appropriation in 1829, the land sales fund proving inadequate. This road, eighty feet wide, with stone foundation and macadam surface, with massive stone masonry where necessary and quaint covered bridges over the larger streams, is worthy to rank with the great highways that commemorate the Caesars and Napoleon. "There is nothing like it in the United States. Leaping the Ohio at Wheeling, the National road throws itself across Ohio and Indiana, straight as an arrow, like an ancient elevated pathway of the gods, chopping hills in twain at a blow, traversing the lowlands on high grades, vaulting over streams on massive bridges of unparalleled size."* Over it passed the pioneers who built states west of Ohio. All along its course today are sleeping villages, once the subjects of fond expectation and ambition, that died long ago and remain only to preserve the memory of the past, as well as thriving, bustling towns and a score of cities that represent the flower of American civilization. If one would study America at her heart, and understand her marvelous growth, there is no way so easy as to follow the path of the pioneer over the Alleghanies and the Ohio, and across hill and valley on the National road. The crossing of the Ohio was made by ferry at first, and later by a great bridge that was the marvel of the west. The management was in the hands of the State, and after 1836 under the supervision of the board of public works. On the average there was a toll gate every ten miles on the National road, and the tolls were varied for the different sorts of business. A "chariot, coach, or coachee and horses," must pay 18¾ cents, a horse and rider paid six cents, every passenger in a mail coach was taxed four cents, and a score of cattle could be driven through for 20 cents. School children, clergymen, the United States mail and United States troops and State militia were passed free. At these rates the road did not pay, as the annual expense averaged $100,000, and the greatest annual receipts (in 1839) were about $62,500.

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*From "The Old National Road," by Archie Butler Hulbert, a work to which we are indebted for the facts on this subject.

Upon this road and the other turnpikes that were opened to travel, coach lines were established, and at the little towns were many famous taverns. The pioneers of these ancient hostelries were those at St. Clairsville and Zanesville as early as 1799, on the Zane road, that from a bridle path for mail carriers and boatmen returning from Louisiana developed into the first wagon road northwest of the Ohio. At one of these famous taverns, the Sign of the Orange Tree, at Zanesville, the legislature met in 1810-12. The Sign of the Green Tree at the same town boasted of entertaining President Monroe and Lewis Cass. The first at Columbus was the Lion and Eagle, opened in 1813 under another name. Griffith Foos had a pioneer tavern at Springfield before the National road arrived, and afterward Billy Worden's became famous at that place, where the traveler from the east changed coaches for Cincinnati and the South. Some of the landlords were really owners of land and prominent men.* For the freight men there were many wagon houses. Wherever the traveler stopped he could find in the winter season a great fire-place with a roaring log fire and in all seasons a bar that dispensed the favorite beverage, whiskey, at two drinks for a "fip" (six and a quarter cents). The coach lines were frequently associated with the taverns, and at first there was brisk competition, often reducing the fare materially, as, from Richmond to Cincinnati, from five dollars to fifty cents. There were races, too, swift and furious, by rival coaches. The great coach line on the National road was the National Road Stage company, and its main rival was the Good Intent line, both with headquarters at Uniontown, Pa. The Ohio National Stage company, with headquarters at Columbus, operated westward from the capital. There were smaller lines, such as the Landlord's, Pilot, Pioneer, Defiance, and June Bug. As years passed, combinations or "mergers" were formed. The Neil, Moore & Co. line, of Columbus, was forced to sell to the National, "William Neil becoming one of the magnates of the latter company, which was in its day a greater trust than anything known in Ohio history." In 1835 the daily lines running from Columbus were the Mail Pilot line to Wheeling, a twenty-four hour trip, including five hours' rest at St. Clairsville; the Good Intent coach for Wheeling, in twenty hours, to connect with the Baltimore and Philadelphia stages; and the Mail Pilot line to Cincinnati, making the journey in thirty-six hours, including six hours at Springfield. There was also a daily line for Chillicothe, and coaches every other day to Cleveland, Sandusky City and Huron, two-day trips. There was a stage line from Buffalo to Cleveland and Detroit, going through the terrible Black Swamp, in which horses would occasionally drown, and six

*Senator Kerr, in 1821, kept hotel at the "Sign of the Scioto Ox," at Chillicothe, where, according to his advertisement, one might get a meal for twenty cents, and "lodging, in clean sheets, for ten cents."

horses could sometimes do no more than five miles a day. When lake navigation closed, communication with the northwest was almost entirely cut off.

Over these roads the United States mail was carried under the same system as prevails today. There were express mails corresponding to the present fast mail trains, and they made remarkable speed. The contract time in 1837 between Washington and Wheeling was thirty hours, to Columbus 15½ hours more, and from Columbus to Indianapolis twenty hours. This was accomplished, of course, by relays of good horses. By this means it was possible to carry mail and a few passengers from Washington to New Orleans in 183 hours. Ordinary mail coaches made the trip from Washington to Columbus, over the mountains, in three days and sixteen hours. The coaches were handsome affairs, lined with plush, generally with three seats inside, and room for one more with the driver. The first Troy coach, the finest of them all, costing about $500, came over the road in 1829. All the coaches bore names, suggested by the fancy of the owners, and their comparative comfort and speediness were discussed far and wide. Sometimes, on the National road, as many as twenty coaches might be seen following in line; one might find at the wagon houses a hundred horses, stamping and feeding and resting from the burden of the caravan; while droves of cattle were plodding eastward, thrown in tumult now and then by the blast of a horn announcing the approach of a hurrying stage. Such were the roads of Ohio in the days of the stage coach, particularly in 1830 to 1850. It is a story of the past, that the youth of today finds difficult to picture in imagination. He can hardly understand that apostrophe of Thackeray's to the old stage coaches: "Where are you, charioteers? Where are you, O rattling Quicksilver, O swift Defiance? You are passed by racers stronger and swifter than you. Your lamps are out, and the music of your horns have died away."

Very prominent features of Ohio life in those days were the prevalence of drunkenness and gambling, and, as was said by Mrs. Frances Trollope, who spent some years in Cincinnati, "the most vile and universal habit of chewing tobacco." There must have been considerable truth in the pictures presented by Charles Dickens in "Martin Chuzzlewit" and "American Notes," though America bitterly disclaimed the likeness. No less striking than these and some other disagreeable features was the intense religious spirit that animated a great part of the people. This had a powerful influence for good, and at the same time afforded a lodgment for graceless adventurers. In 1828 the people of Guernsey county were agitated by the appearance of an individual named Joseph C. Dylkes, a handsome well-dressed man, who made his advent mysteriously at the Leatherwood creek camp-meeting, with a peculiar snort and

shout, "Salvation." He announced himself as the Messiah and obtained a considerable following until some muscular unbelievers ran him out of the county. He is remembered as "the Leatherwood God."

In 1830 a new religion appeared at Palmyra, N. Y., with the publication of "the Book of Mormon," which was immediately followed by the organization of "the Church of Latter Day Saints," which was to play a considerable part in the history of America, and form an incident of the annals of Ohio. In the beginning of the new religion there was Joseph Smith, who as a boy had the reputation of being one of the most careless and good-natured of a family devoted to hunting and fishing and poverty. Strange to say, he was noted both for extreme taciturnity and the telling of marvelous stories. He had thoroughly read the Bible and discarded its authority and that of the modern churches, when a peculiarly shaped stone, resembling quartz, was dug up in the vicinity and became a neighborhood wonder. Young Smith's reading had probably been more extensive than his neighbors suspected, for he put this stone to the uses of the crystal sphere of the Rosicrucians. Through its use he began to see hidden treasures, but had no success in finding them. From that he advanced to special revelations in trance, and finally announced that he was about to discover a buried book of golden tablets, on which were inscribed the records of the lost tribes of Israel, who had been the original inhabitants of America, and had left this golden book as the foundation of the true religion. The book was duly found, or said to have been, and with it a pair of miraculous spectacles, by the use of which the dead and forgotten language might be read by Joseph Smith. When he had made the "translation," it was printed as the basis of a new and true religion. There was no difficulty in obtaining believers; indeed, converts are easily found at the present day.

It is claimed that an Ohio man was innocently implicated in the foundation of this new church. Solomon Spaulding, a graduate of Dartmouth, who had failed in business in the east and in Ohio ran an iron foundry, living at Conneaut from 1809, wrote a romance as early as 1812, in which he ascribed the origin of the Indians to the lost tribes of Israel, and gave an imaginary account of their migration and habits of life. This was never published, and Spaulding died in 1816, but as soon as the Book of Mormon became famous, old neighbors who had heard him read portions of his story declared that Smith's book was founded upon Spaulding's romance. In later years Spaulding's manuscript, or, at least, one of his romance manuscripts, was recovered in the Sandwich islands, and a critical comparison with the Mormon book made by President James H. Fairchild, of Oberlin college. His verdict was that this theory of the origin of the "golden book" was purely imaginary. "The

manuscript has no resemblance to the Book of Mormon, except in some very general features. There is not a name or an incident common to the two." The discussion is hardly material, however, as bearing upon the claim of supernatural origin for the Book of Mormon. The theory that the Indians were the lost tribes of Israel is very much older than either Spaulding or Smith, and the notion of finding ancient tablets or manuscript in mystical rocky vaults is as ancient as the Arabian Nights.

But from the first, it was evident that the gospel of Mormon was sufficiently authentic for a large portion of humanity, and the practical part of the scheme, which was migration and colonization, was very attractive to many. Soon after the formation of the church the prophet received a revelation that "Zion" should be located at Kirtland, Ohio. There, in a beautiful farming country, on the east branch of Chagrin river, the rapidly increasing community established itself in January, 1831, laid off a town and bought farms, and in 1834 spent about forty thousand dollars in the building of a temple. Sidney Rigdon, a printer to whom has been ascribed the authorship of the book of Mormon and familiarity with the romance of Solomon Spaulding, became the leading financial genius of the town, and a bank was organized, without incorporation, of which he was president. This issued paper money in profusion. Some of it, reaching Pittsburg, was returned for redemption, but Rigdon calmly replied that the notes were not intended for redemption, but for circulation. In this sentiment he was in full accord with many of the Gentile "bankers" of his day.

Polygamy was not yet practiced, but the Mormons were the objects of considerable persecution, nevertheless, and the failure of their bank in 1837 left them at the financial mercy of their enemies. Brigham Young, a native of Vermont, joined the Kirtland community in 1832, and in May, 1835, the twelve apostles, of whom he was one, set out to gather proselytes. Another colony, planted in Missouri, was driven out by state authority, winning the Mormons some sympathy as victims of slave-state persecution. But the main body remained at Kirtland until 1838, when they were forced to join their western brethren at Nauvoo, Ill. Of their subsequent history it is not the province of this work to treat, except to note that in a much later period (1883) a branch calling themselves the "reorganized church" returned to Kirtland, swept out the long abandoned temple, and re-established the organization in Ohio, after a lapse of half a century.

The elections of 1832 showed that the Jackson party was gaining strength in Ohio. The Jackson electoral ticket, headed by Benjamin Tappan, received 81,246 votes, and Henry Clay, the idol of the west, was given but 76,539. Clay suffered from the enmity of the Anti-Masonic party, one of the curiosities of American politics, that

grew up after the disappearance of William Morgan in 1826, and in 1832 had a presidential ticket in the field. Two years later the Ohio legislature was asked to investigate freemasonry, but the select committee on the subject reported that "Masonry is the same everywhere that it is here, and here as it is everywhere else," and the question should be left "to the salutary action of enlightened political opinion."

At the State election in the same year, Robert Lucas, the unsuccessful Jackson candidate for governor of two years before, was successful by over eight thousand majority over Darius Lyman. The State being redistricted under the new apportionment, with nineteen congressional districts, a notable delegation was elected, including Robert T. Lytle, of Cincinnati, father of Gen. William H. Lytle; Thomas L. Hamer, of Brown county; Joseph H. Crane, of Dayton, judge for twelve years and eight years in Congress; Samuel F. Vinton, of Gallipolis; William Allen, of whom something will be said later; Jeremiah McLene, the veteran secretary of state; Joseph Vance, who had been in Congress since 1821; Humphrey Howe Leavitt, afterward United States district judge for Ohio, Elisha Whittlesey, a member of Congress since 1822; and Thomas Corwin, for whom this was the second election. Thomas Corwin, son of Judge Matthias Corwin, was a native of Kentucky but had been reared in the Little Miami valley. He was a wagon boy in the war of 1812, became a lawyer and was twice elected to the legislature before he was first sent to Congress in 1830. Until 1840 he was regularly re-elected. During these ten years he acquired national fame as an orator and humorist. Corwin was a fleshy man, of kindly face and manner, with most expressive gray eyes, lighting a clean-shaved but very dark face. His perfect and mobile mouth aided his shaggy eyebrows in producing those inimitable expressions of countenance that heralded some humorous remark. His genius was real, and he could have been great without the weapons of sarcasm and ridicule which no one else could handle as effectively.*

The last term of Benjamin Ruggles as United States senator expiring in 1833, Thomas Morris was elected by a small majority over John W. Campbell. Morris, son of a Pennsylvania preacher and the daughter of a Virginia planter who refused her inheritance of slaves, was reared amid the religious and anti-slavery influences of Clermont county, and afterward became conspicuous as an opponent of slavery, but his party had not yet divided on that question, and he was an ardent follower of Andrew Jackson. In 1809 he had been elected to the supreme court over Thomas Worthington, Lewis Cass and Ethan Allen Brown, and for ten years from 1813 he had

*A young orator he is said to have thus admonished: "If you would succeed in life you must be solemn, solemn as an ass. All the great monuments of the earth have been built over solemn asses."

been a prominent member of the state senate. His services in reorganizing the judiciary of Ohio and promoting public education and internal improvements were of great value.

In 1834 Governor Lucas was re-elected, receiving a majority of 3,294 over the Whig candidate, Gen. James Findlay, of Cincinnati, who, since the war of 1812, had been four times elected to Congress (1824-30). During the Jackson administration he was one of the conspicuous figures of Washington as he long had been in the Miami country. A bluff, hearty man, of corpulent person, he dressed in the aristocratic blue and buff and carried a gold headed cane, recalling Washington Irving's picture of the master of Bracebridge Hall. It was told of him that at the time when government lands were being forfeited and resold in the Miami valley, he, as receiver of the land office, mounted a stump one day to offer a poor man's land and improvements. "I trust there is no gentleman—no, I will not say that, no rascal—here so mean as to buy his neighbor's home over his head," was the encouraging remark of the auctioneer. "Gentlemen, I offer the lot for sale. Who bids?" Needless to say, there was no sale.*

Beginning his second term Governor Lucas was soon confronted with a crisis in the boundary controversy with Michigan, that had been dragging along without any serious outbreak since the war of 1812. The northwest corner of Ohio, as established by Harris, remained undisputed, but from that point eastward two lines diverged so that Maumee bay lay between them on the lake. Michigan claimed to the southern line, and Ohio to the northern, and the sanction of Congress could be cited in approval of both lines as the true boundary.

Maumee City, laid out by Maj. William Oliver and others in 1817, was the main settlement north of the Maumee river, for some years. In 1832 Vistula, a little settlement at the mouth of the river, was "boomed" by Capt. Samuel Allen, of Lockport, N. Y., and Major Stickney, the famous Maumee valley pioneer, and Major Oliver, Micajah Williams and the Comstock brothers began the revival of the neighboring village of Port Lawrence. This activity was due to the near approach of the time when the lower Maumee would be connected by canal with the Wabash river and the Ohio at Cincinnati. The promoters were nearly all Ohio people, the future of their enterprises depended on the public works of Ohio, and they naturally appealed to the legislature of Ohio to hasten the boundary dispute to a settlement, so that their future city might grow up in the nurture and admonition of Buckeye legislation. It was a matter of no little importance that the Maumee canal should not find itself terminating in another state and feeding with the wealth of Ohio a city of

*Ben. Perley Poore's Reminiscences.

Michigan. There was also much anxiety about the control of the lake terminus of the Wabash & Erie canal, for which Congress had voted aid in Ohio land in 1822-23. New observations of latitude, made under act of Congress in 1832, by Engineer Talcott, showed that the originally proposed line, if extended as required by the enabling act of 1802, would not touch the international boundary in the middle of Lake Michigan, and coming to land again in the east would throw into the territory of Michigan a considerable part of the Connecticut reserve. It was confidently expected that Congress, to avoid such an absurdity, would confirm the alternative line proposed by the constitution of Ohio, which Congress had constructively approved.

The outbreak began after the legislature of Michigan, in preparation for admission as a state, instructed Secretary Mason, acting governor of that territory, to appoint commissioners to treat with Ohio, Indiana and Illinois regarding disputed boundaries. When Governor Lucas received a communication from Mason he referred it to the Ohio legislature, which passed an act February 23, 1835, affirming the jurisdiction of Wood, Henry and Williams county to the Harris line, and gave notice to Congress that it "ill becomes a million of freemen to humbly petition, year after year, for what justly belongs to them and is completely within their control."

Mason, as soon as he perceived from Governor Lucas' message that Ohio would maintain her claim to the disputed country, sent a belligerent message to his council, which by enactment prohibited the exercise of official functions by citizens of Ohio in the territory, under pain of a fine of $1,000 and imprisonment for five years. Undaunted by this, Governor Lucas appointed Uri Seely, of Geauga, Jonathan Taylor, of Licking, and John Patterson, of Adams, to retrace and establish monuments on the Harris line. Mason called out his militia under Gen. Joseph W. Brown, about a thousand strong, who encamped at Toledo, and Governor Lucas ordered Gen. John Bell, with about six hundred men, to Perrysburg. By the last of March Governor Lucas and his staff and the boundary commissioners were at Perrysburg, and matters were ripe for war between Ohio and Michigan when two embassadors sent by President Jackson, Richard Rush, of Philadelphia, and Benjamin C. Howard, of Baltimore, appeared on the scene, and persuaded the belligerent governors to dismiss their armed forces. Benjamin F. Butler, attorney-general of the United States, gave his opinion that until Congress acted otherwise, Michigan had the right to Maumee bay, but no harm could come from the resurvey of the Harris line. Accordingly the Ohio commissioners and a posse for protection started to retrace the line from the northwest corner, but after working east about forty miles General Brown swooped down upon them and dispersed the party, putting several Ohioans under arrest and in jail. There was also a close watch kept for "treason" within the

country claimed by Michigan. Two citizens were arrested by the sheriff and taken to jail at Monroe for advising disobedience to the laws of Michigan, and two others who raised the Ohio flag at the little settlement near the bay, now beginning to be known as Toledo, were promptly apprehended. This created great excitement throughout Ohio and a special session of the legislature was called in June, which appropriated $300,000 to enable the governor to enforce the survey and protect citizens of Ohio from "abduction."

To emphasize the claims of Ohio the county of Lucas was created in the disputed region, with Toledo as the county seat. The state troops were put in readiness for action, and ten thousand were reported in condition to take the field. But the Michigan officers continued to make arrests, and in the summer of 1835 Major Stickney, Judge Wilson (an Ohio officer), and others were arrested and lodged in the Monroe jail. The major's son, Two Stickney, stabbed the Michigan sheriff and escaped. The affair has its myths also. A justice of the peace, under Ohio commission, fled to a sugar camp in the woods, and was fed by the robins! Finally an Ohio embassy was sent to Washington to see General Jackson, and these gentlemen, Noah H. Swayne,* William Allen and David T. Disney, wrought a change. The president removed Secretary Mason from office, but before retiring from the field he and General Brown had another famous campaign. Governor Lucas, in September, assembled militia at Miami, and Colonel Vanfleet was detailed to escort a set of Ohio judicial and county officers to Toledo to put Lucas county in running order. Brown at once occupied Toledo with his militia, and the Ohio officials and soldiers beat a hasty retreat. This was the end of hostilities. An amicable arrangement was made with the new acting governor of Michigan, and Governor Lucas finished his state line survey in peace, suspending all other operations until Congress should act.

When the matter went before Congress John Quincy Adams declared that never before in his life had he known "a controversy in which all the right was so clearly on one side and all the power so overwhelming on the other." But there was more right on the Ohio side than he saw. Furthermore, it has been suggested, Mr. Van Buren, the politician of the Jackson administration, looking forward to 1836, would not offend Indiana and Illinois, and as those states had both encroached on the original south boundary of Michigan, why should not Ohio?† Swayne, Allen and Disney found favor in their labors at Washington, able arguments were made by Senator

*Swayne was a Virginian of Pennsylvania descent, who had removed to Coshocton in 1815, and was appointed United States district attorney for Ohio by President Jackson in 1831, at the age of twenty-six years.

†But VanBuren failed to carry either of those states, and did carry Michigan.

Ewing and Representative Vinton, and in June, 1836, Congress held that the Ohio constitution, having been solemnly accepted, authorized Ohio to annex the disputed territory. Michigan was compelled to abandon the contest and accept the upper peninsula in compensation before she could be admitted as a state. It is not surprising therefore that the Ohio legislature passed resolutions requesting Senators Ewing and Morris to vote in favor of expunging the resolutions censuring President Jackson for his conduct in relation to the United States bank.

This victory created enthusiasm in the Maumee country, and served to attract general attention to the prospects of the region. The Wabash & Erie canal was located in 1836, and fifteen cities were projected between the mouth of the river and the rapids. The Erie & Kalamazoo railroad, the pioneer railroad of the west, projected by Dr. Samuel O. Comstock, of Toledo, in the winter of 1832-33, and chartered in Michigan, was completed to Adrian in 1836, with oak rails covered with strap iron, and business was begun with horse power. In 1837 the first locomotive was put on this road. But it was ten years before this new country was fairly launched in the channels of prosperity.

The State was now in another period of speculation and expansion, due in great part to the expenditure of five millions of borrowed money on the canals, and the promise of railroad building. Many railroad companies were incorporated, and many banks. A notable instance was the incorporation of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust company, in 1834, with a capital of two million dollars to be subscribed, with banking privileges and the right to issue notes to the amount of twice the deposits. In 1836 the legislature required the banks to stop issuing notes smaller than $5, with the alternative of paying twenty per cent of their dividends as a tax. But the inflation had gone too far to check.

The Mad River & Lake Erie railroad, incorporated in 1832, was partly under contract in 1834, and promised to connect Sandusky and Springfield with the terminus of the Miami canal at Dayton. Work was begun in 1835 and a small portion was opened in 1838 for horse power, but the line was not completed until 1851. The first Ohio railroad completed was the Painesville & Fairport, three miles long, in operation with horse power in 1837. Meanwhile the South was leading in railroad enterprise, and at Cincinnati it was proposed to build a railroad to Springfield, to connect with the Sandusky line, and another to Lexington, Ky., to connect with the great southern system. As a result the Little Miami railroad was chartered in 1836 and work begun in 1837, laying a strap iron track, but this was not completed until nearly ten years later. The Cincinnati & Charleston railroad was incorporated in South Carolina, and the Cincinnati leaders in enterprise were in correspondence with John C. Calhoun

and Robert Y. Hayne over the prospects of uniting these two cities. At Cincinnati, O. Fairchild, E. D. Mansfield and Dr. Daniel Drake were leaders in railroad promotion and the city had a board of internal improvements, appointed in 1835, composed of John S. Williams, George W. Neff, Alexander McGrew and others.

Along the south shore of Lake Erie, "sparsely settled as it was, were platted city lots at every indentation of the coast, and one speculator, wilder than the others, predicted one solid city from Buffalo to Cleveland."* In various places on the lake shore, in 1836, land sold for a higher price than it commands now, after the growth of population in seventy years.

Through these years of pioneer effort in Ohio, children were born in rude cabins, or brought from the east to be reared in the forests or little straggling towns, who were to be the leaders of the nation in their manhood. Such men as Leonard Bacon, Matthew Simpson, Edwin M. Stanton, and Allen G. Thurman, among the elder men of Ohio birth or rearing; a little later, Ulysses S. Grant, the two Shermans, George H. Pendleton, and still later, Benjamin Harrison, Phil Sheridan, Hayes, Garfield, McKinley, Foraker, Edison, Howells, MacGahan, Thomas Buchanan Reid and Whitelaw Reid, may be named among those who had their boyhood lives in Ohio between 1810 and 1850. Bacon, in after years, gave in luminous phrase his memories of early influences:

"Our home life, the snowy winter, the blossoming spring, the earth never plowed before and yielding the first crop to human labor, the giant trees, the wild birds, the wild flowers, the blithesome squirrels, the wolves that we heard howling through the woods at night but never saw, the redskin savage sometimes coming to the door—by these things God was making impressions on my soul that must remain forever, and without which I should not have been what I am."

Michel Chevalier, a French visitor at Cincinnati in 1834, wrote that he observed at his hotel table "a man about medium height, stout and muscular, and of about the age of fifty years, yet with the active step and lively air of youth. I had been struck with his open and cheerful expression, the amenity of his manners, and a certain air of command which appeared through his common dress. 'That is,' a friend explained, 'General Harrison, clerk of the Cincinnati court of common pleas.' " When the Frenchmen expressed his wonder at this transformation in the general's fortunes it was explained that he was living thus, in quiet, awaiting an opportunity to become president of the United States. "But," said the friend, "at this wretched table you may see another candidate for the presidency, who seems to have a better chance than General Harrison. It is Mr. McLean, now one of the judges of the supreme court of the United States."

*Historical address by C. P. Leland.

But it was Harrison who had the best chance, and in 1836 he was named as the first candidate of the Whig party for the presidency of the United States. He carried Ohio by a vote of over 105,000 to 97,000 for VanBuren, and he also carried Indiana and Illinois in the west, but as there were three other candidates, including Daniel Webster, in the field against VanBuren, the latter was easily elected. This is the first year in which an Ohio man was before the people for the presidency.

For governor, the Whig candidate was Joseph Vance, one of the Ohio pioneers of Scotch-Irish strain, born at Washington, Pa., in 1786, who came to Urbana with his father in 1805, and served as a militia general, and as one of the guides of Hull's army. In political life he had been prominent as a legislator, but was principally distinguished as a member of Congress for fourteen years (1821-35). In that body he had been a sturdy fighter for the National road, and protective tariff, to the extent of arousing the ire of the "strict constructionists." Vance was a stout man, of average height, had the peculiarity of keeping his right eye nearly closed; on duty observed the conventionalities of black broadcloth, but in relaxation fancied a blouse and jeans trousers of pioneer cut; socially was most agreeable, and as a public speaker was strong and earnest. He received 92,204 votes, his opponent, Eli Baldwin, 86,158.

The legislature elected at the same time had a Democratic majority of one on joint ballot, but a few scattering votes kept the election of a United States senator in January, 1837, to succeed Thomas Ewing, in doubt until the eleventh ballot, when Senator Ewing was defeated by William Allen. This gentleman, who enjoyed the distinction of being the first Ohio senator of the new Democratic party, was a tall young man, with a voice of remarkable power, and an eloquence that aroused much enthusiasm. In the late campaign he had aroused a tremendous outcry by a story that the women of Chillicothe, when they presented a sword to Major Croghan, had voted a petticoat to General Harrison. Born in North Carolina, Allen had come to Chillicothe in boyhood, January, 1819, from Virginia, to make his home with his sister, the mother of Allen G. Thurman. When a young law student he was a suitor for the hand of Effie McArthur, and being refused by her father, he entered the political field spurred by the hope of a prominence that should warrant the favor of even a governor and general. Running for congress in 1832, he defeated General McArthur, the opposing candidate, by one vote, and gained such popularity that, as has been noted, he became the successor of Thomas Ewing in the United States senate at the age of twenty-seven. He held the position for twelve years. Miss McArthur meanwhile was married to an Alabamian, but after his death the union that was the dearest of Allen's ambitions took place in 1845. Two years later she died, and Senator Allen withdrew from

public affairs, living at the old McArthur homestead, Fruit Hill, almost in solitude for many years, devoting his time to the study of literature and science, even refusing the office of minister to Great Britain when tendered by President Buchanan.

The most important thing in the administration of Governor Vance was the school law of March, 1838. The free schools were yet poorly supported, but there was continual agitation for better things, sustained largely by the "Western College of Teachers," organized as a result of the efforts of the Academic Institute of Cincinnati, which called a convention of the friends of education in the Mississippi valley at Cincinnati in 1831. An educational convention was held at Columbus in January, 1838, presided over by Prof. Calvin E. Stowe, who had been sent to Europe by the State to study the Prussian educational system. A committee of this convention, headed by Edward D. Mansfield, of Cincinnati, prepared a memorial to the legislature, embodying the principles of the new school law of 1838, which fairly established the modern system of education in Ohio. Furthermore, there had been apportioned the State, in 1836, a share of the surplus in the United States treasury amounting to two million dollars, and in accordance with the recommendations of Governors Lucas and Vance, this was set apart as an irrevocable school fund.

Other interesting happenings were, the appointment of the first geological corps of the State, composed of W. W. Mather, Dr. S. P. Hildreth, Dr. J. P. Kirtland, Dr. John Locke, C. Briggs, C. Whittlesey, and J. W. Foster; provision for the erection of a new statehouse, the appointment of a new canal commission, and a legislative protest against the annexation of Texas.

The geological survey of 1838–39, though soon abandoned, brought into notice Dr. Jared Potter Kirtland, a native of Connecticut, who became an authority in zoology, and founded the Cleveland academy of natural sciences in 1845; Charles Whittlesey, also of Connecticut birth, one of the Tallmadge colony of 1813, a graduate of West Point and in the army during the Black Hawk war, who kept up antiquarian researches after the survey ceased, made a geological survey of the Lake Superior copper mines in 1845 and was afterward in the geological service of the United States. He was a colonel in the war of 1861–65, founded the Western Reserve historical society in 1867, and published many books and pamphlets. Samuel Preston Hildreth, another doctor of the survey corps, of Massachusetts birth, came to Belpre in 1806, was a natural history collector, the pioneer weather recorder, and the pioneer historian of the Muskingum valley, publishing several books. Dr. Caleb Briggs, a citizen of Ironton, surveyed the coal and iron regions, and did work of great value. Foster, in later years, was a noted antiquarian and author. Dr.

William W. Mather, a descendant of Cotton Mather, came to Ohio from the New York survey, and was qualified by education at West Point and a professorship there. He afterward was a citizen of Jackson county, and taught chemistry in several Ohio colleges.

Texas, of which the American colonization had been begun by a Connecticut man in 1821, had gained a considerable population of slaveholders while yet a state of the United States of Mexico. But Mexico was opposed to slavery, and in 1829 the government decreed emancipation. Trouble resulted, but the government gave way to the Texas settlers. The South demanded expansion, and the United States made propositions for purchase. These were not entertained, and American immigration was prohibited. Sam Houston, having a domestic falling-out, resigned the office of governor of Tennessee to live among the Indians, and went to Texas as a filibuster, it might be said, but success made him a "patriot." In 1835 war began and Texas declared independence in 1836. Adventurous spirits flocked to the banner of the new republic, even from Ohio. On June 14, 1836, a company under Capt. James Allen, editor of the Cincinnati Republican, left that city to join General Houston. On March 6th, twelve days before President Jackson visited the city of Cincinnati, David Crockett and his band at the Alamo were besieged and massacred. But the Texas colonists and filibusters were soon victorious at San Jacinto, and, the independence of Texas being established, talk of annexation was begun. A great many people of the north could see nothing in it but an "unholy slavery crusade."

The war in Texas was immediately followed by a war in Canada, and another series of filibustering attempts enlisted other adventurous Ohioans. This, however, was not considered very reprehensible in the north. The rebellion in Canada, led by Mackenzie, occurred in 1837, and upon its practical suppression a considerable number of fugitives took refuge in the United States and enlisted sympathy. It was imagined that with some assistance the people of Canada would rise and drive out the "British tyrants," as the Texans had driven out the Mexicans. Van Rensselaer led the operations against Canada in the east, and "General" Handy, of Illinois, was the commander of the Patriot army of the Northwest. In Ohio the leader was Lucius V. Bierce, a native of Connecticut and a graduate of Ohio university, who had begun the practice of law at Akron in 1825. He devoted his time and money to the cause of Canadian liberation, and had many assistants. Some Ohioans were with Sutherland in the attempt to capture Fort Malden from Bois Blanc island in January, 1838, which resulted in the capture of the filibustering schooner, and the loss of one killed and eight wounded. General Handy collected seven hundred men on Sugar island, but was compelled by the governor of Michigan to disband his troops. In March, Sutherland made another attempt, occupying Pelee island,

with four hundred men, but the British descended upon them, and, according to a Canadian account, killed about sixty and took nine prisoners.* The Canadian Refugee Relief association was formed in the United States, with Handy as the head, and Hunters' lodges were organized along the border, and a convention held at Cleveland in September, 1838. The members were pledged to "expel the British tyrant from North America." Bierce was made commander-in-chief in August, and troops were recruited in Michigan, under General Putnam of Canada, under Colonel Harnell in Ohio, and under General Birge in the east. A concerted invasion was to be made, but Birge was precipitous and sent Colonel Von Schoultz, a Pole who had enlisted a body of his banished countrymen in the enterprise, from Sackett's Harbor to capture Prescott. The expedition was disastrous, and after a battle the invaders were captured, and Schoultz and ten of his men were executed. Notwithstanding this disaster General Bierce and 180 men made an invasion of Canada from Detroit, December 3d, cheered by the populace, and attacked Windsor, burning the militia barracks and a steamer, but his men were soon compelled to take flight. Colonel Prince, the British commander, reported: "Of the brigands and pirates twenty-one were killed, besides four who were brought in just at the close and immediately after the engagement, all of whom I ordered shot upon the spot, and it was done accordingly." This was as tragic and essentially as barbarous as the Alamo affair, but there were no more raids, and Canada was not annexed. General Bierce returned to Akron, and was called before the United States court in January, 1839, on the charge of violating the neutrality laws, but the grand jury refused to indict him. There was bitter feeling against England arising out of disputes regarding the Oregon and Maine boundaries, and the Ohio legislature, by resolution about this time, indicated the same sentiment that William Allen expressed in the memorable phrase, "Fifty-four forty or fight."

Another war of this period was carried on by the United States from 1835 to 1842, against the Seminole Indians in Florida, by Gen. Winfield Scott, and later by General Jesup, Harrison's brigade major in 1812, and Gen. Zachary Taylor. Ohio contributed some soldiers and officers, notably young Lieut. William Tecumseh Sherman, son of Judge Charles Sherman, and adopted son of Thomas Ewing, who left West Point in 1840, and had his first experience of war on the St. Johns river.

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*"The Canadian Rebellion of 1837," by D. P. Read.

CHAPTER XI.

"BEFORE THE WAR."

Governors Wilson Shannon, 1838–40; Thomas Corwin, 1840–42; Wilson Shannon, 1842–44; Thomas W. Bartley, 1844; Mordecai Bartley, 1844–46; William Bebb, 1846–49; Seabury Ford, 1849–50; Reuben Wood, 1850–53; William Medill, 1853–56; Salmon P. Chase, 1856–60.

THE political unrest in Ohio at this time made it impossible for a governor to retain office more than one term. In 1838 Governor Vance was defeated by Wilson Shannon, the first native governor of Ohio. He was born in Belmont county February 24, 1803, of Pennsylvania–Irish stock, pursued college studies at Ohio university and Transylvania university (Kentucky), read law under Charles Hammond and David Jennings, and became successful in that profession at St. Clairsville, and a leader in the Jackson party. Though defeated for Congress in 1832, he was victorious over Vance by a vote of 107,884 to 102,146. Vance's defeat was probably due to his permitting, just before election, the arrest of John B. Mahan, for assisting in the escape of a runaway slave. The abolition movement of that period was then at its height, with three hundred anti-slavery societies in the State, and the State society under the leadership of Leicester King, an able Whig lawyer of the Western reserve.

Another important element in the campaign was the anxiety of the anti-slavery people to return a legislature favorable to the re-election of Senator Morris, who had become famous as the channel for the presentation to Congress of petitions for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia. When John C. Calhoun attempted to exact a pledge from Congress that slavery should not be disturbed, Morris was the foremost of those who met him in debate. Consequently, in the election, many Whig votes went to Democratic anti-slavery candidates for the legislature, or were withheld. When the legislature met, Morris was asked to give an account of his Democratic faith, and while he was sound on the banks and the tariff, he

boldly admitted that he was for abolition. Consequently he was dropped by his party.

The Whig legislators voted for Ewing. But the Jackson men easily elected, on the first ballot, Benjamin Tappan, of Steubenville, a native of Connecticut, who had come to Ohio in 1799 to found the town of Ravenna, on the land of his father, who bore the same name. He had served seven years on the circuit bench (1816-23), as a lawyer in active practice stood at the head of his profession, and in politics was one of the Jacksonian leaders, heading the electoral ticket in 1832. Since 1833 he had been United States district judge. He is described as a man of perfect self-poise, and never found without resource in emergency. Something is learned of him from the memory that he was called "Old Ben Tappan," and more from the fact that under his tutelage Edwin McMasters Stanton* was prepared for public life.

Morris, after the legislature of his state had refused to re-elect him, replied, in February, 1839, to the famous speech of Henry Clay, intended to discourage agitation of a dangerous question, and boldly declared that the negro would yet be free. Though he had lost the favor of the majority in his State, he had the verdict of John G. Whittier, that "Thomas Morris stands confessed the lion of his day."

Not only did the Ohio legislature rebuke Senator Morris for stirring up the slavery question, but it passed a fugitive slave law, imposing heavy fines or imprisonment upon any who should encourage the running away of Southern property. A resolution was passed, also, declaring that blacks and mulattoes in the State had no constitutional right to petition the legislature on any subject. The revulsion against agitation was so strong that the abolition movement was seriously checked for some years after 1840.

The same legislature that elected Tappan refused to grant the prayer of John B. Mahan, of Brown county, for compensation for sufferings he had endured through arrest under a requisition from the governor of Kentucky, charged with assisting the escape of slaves, an accusation it was found impossible to prove. Only one senator voted in favor of Mahan, and that was Benjamin F. Wade, of about the same age as Salmon P. Chase, and like him, a tall, imposing man, but who, unlike Chase, had been reared in poverty in Massachusetts, had shoveled dirt on the Erie canal, and coming to Ohio in 1821, read Euclid and the Bible by the light of a pine torch in nights when he was weary with wood chopping. He had been admitted to the bar in 1828, and afterward became a partner of Joshua Reed Giddings, of

*Stanton was born at Steubenville in 1814, was educated at Kenyon college, served Ohio as reporter of the supreme court in 1842-45, and began his association with the government at Washington as attorney-general under Buchanan in December, 1860.

Ashtabula county, who was this year elected to Congress. Giddings, a native of Pennsylvania, came to Ashtabula county in 1806, eleven years old, and became a lawyer of such success that he retired, well to do, in 1836, Rufus P. Ranney taking his place in the partnership; and, after losing all his property in the panic Giddings entered the field of politics, in which he had national importance during the next twenty years.

This legislature of 1838–39 elected as auditor of state John Brough, born at Marietta in 1811, son of an Englishman who had come to America with Blennerhassett. The young man had been reared as a printer and had already made a reputation as a leader of the Jackson party in editing the Marietta Gazette and Lancaster Eagle. On the "stump," a phrase more literal than metaphorical in those days, he was establishing his fame as "the Boanerges of the Democratic party," in Ohio. "In mental vigor, in acuteness and skill in debate, he greatly resembled Stephen Douglas. So formidable was he in debate that very few Whigs were bold enough to meet him upon the stump."* Brough served as auditor of state until 1846, and rendered services of great value in reforming the financial and banking systems. In 1841 he and his brother Charles founded the Cincinnati Enquirer, which they made famous, and which has ever since had an unique place among the foremost American newspapers.

John Brough, the printer-orator, was an example of the genius that was abundant in that day. The State seemed to be full of great men. Charles Hammond, the intimate advisor of Henry Clay, and called by Daniel Webster "the greatest genius that ever wielded the political pen;" William D. Gallagher (son of a refugee from Robert Emmet's Irish rebellion), the first of Ohio poets, founder of the Western Literary Magazine at Cincinnati in 1836, and a brilliant Whig journalist; James H. Perkins, essayist, poet and historian, and E. D. Mansfield, who started in 1836 the Cincinnati Chronicle, to which Harriet Beecher Stowe contributed her first story, may be named in the literary field. But in the profession of the law the profusion of genius in the second generation of Ohioans was most apparent. It can be said of the bar of the State as a distinguished Ohio historian† has said of the bar of the Western Reserve: "They had but few law books and those they mastered; their literature was the Bible and Shakespeare, and their forensic contests were apt displays of logic, invective and wit. In that community influence went for nothing; if a man rose to the top it was through ability and industry. In those days the best lawyers went to the legislature and sat upon the bench. It was an honor to be a member of the legisla-

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*Hugh McCulloch, "Men and Measures of Half a Century."

†James Ford Rhodes, author of "A History of the United States from 1850."

ture and an honor to be a judge." Chase and Wade and Giddings, reared among such lawyers, became not only great jurists, but leaders of the dominant sentiment of the North.

Among the Ohio lawyers of that day, says a competent authority,* the greatest were Ewing, Stanbery and Corwin. "Whether their distinction rests wholly upon their distinction at the bar, or not, it is certain they fill the largest horizon and occupy the greatest place in history of any lawyers which our State has produced." Each rose from humble birth to a place in the national councils. "Ewing would have been a great natural lawyer had he never seen a lawbook, a great logician had he never seen a work on logic." Henry Stanbery, more learned in books, was the most elegant and courtly man of his day, as well as one of the most eloquent. He delighted in explanations of the intricacies of the law and the exposition of general principles. It was not in his nature to be as much of a politician as Ewing. Greater than either of them in his influence on the public and in his wonderful power of invective, dazzling wit, and brilliant flights of rhetoric, and consequently more famous in the political field, was Tom Corwin. Group with these Peter Hitchcock, Philemon Beecher, Benjamin Tappan, Rufus P. Ranney, and note the younger men, like Charles Anthony, Samson Mason, Thurman, Stanton, Chase, Wade, Allen, Schenck, Pugh, as examples of a class, and it can be understood how Ohio within a few years became a leading power among the states.

Yet the historian Atwater, writing during VanBuren's administration, complained that Ohio was not recognized in national affairs. Said he, "We are oppressed in all the ways in which littleness, seated on high, can reach us." But he took courage to predict, "This state of things cannot last long, before Ohio has a voice and an influence at Washington. No president or attorney-general will dare then to treat with contempt our citizens and our members of congress."

As a result of the crash of the banks and the general prostration of business in 1837, ascribed by the Whigs to President Jackson's successful war on the United States bank and the sacrifice of Clay's American system of protection to the nullification threats of South Carolina, Ohio was in a bad way financially in 1838–40.

Everywhere, manufactories shut down, merchants failed, and banks went to the wall. Farmers could not obtain remunerative prices for their products, and labor was deprived of employment. When the Ohio treasury did not have enough money to pay the interest on her bonds, which there was some talk of repudiating, Alfred Kelly, fund commissioner of the State, guaranteed Ohio by giving his individual notes for twice what he was worth. People, in their discouragement turned to any employment that promised returns, and the craze of

* David K. Watson, writing in 1890.

mulberry culture and silkworm breeding spread over the country, leading many to invest all they had and lose it, in 1839-40.

The legislature renewed its efforts to shut out irresponsible institutions that printed money. The Washington Social Library company was one of these concerns that embarked in the money industry, and endeavored to inveigle Auditor Brough into recognizing its authority. The story was told that eastern adventurers bought the charter of a moribund library association in Hamilton county, and issued bank notes, with no assets except a remnant of dogeared books. Half the bank capital in the State was owned by non-residents, and a third of the bank loans were to officers and directors. The banks distrusted each other, and the people distrusted all of them. Nine concerns had out illegal circulation, among them one chartered as an Orphans' institute. The depreciated money and public scrip bore peculiar and derisive names—such as yellow dog, red cat, smooth monkey, blue pup and sick Indian.

As the whole country was affected by the same conditions of depression, the progress of railroad and canal construction was endangered in Ohio. But the legislature attempted, in March, 1837, to help these enterprises by "an act to authorize a loan of credit by the State of Ohio to railroad companies, also to turnpike, canal and slackwater navigation companies," a measure that had such unfortunate results that it was popularly known as "the Plunder law." The trouble arose from the fact that while the law provided for a loan of credit, that is, the issue of State bonds to the corporation to the amount of half the money expended in actual construction or in the purchase of lands for the use of the corporation, it was construed to apply to "the purchase of lands for the purpose of speculation or even fraud."* Under this manipulation of the law the Ohio railroad company, originally organized at Painesville in 1830, to build through northern Ohio, from the Pennsylvania line to Toledo, bought lands at mythical prices by the issue of stock, obtained State bonds for $249,000, established a bank on this capital, and issued $300,000 or $400,000 in paper money with which to build a road. The plan of construction was as airy as the finances. A line of plank rails was to be laid on posts or piles. Work was actually begun on this plan in 1839, from Fremont to a future city, called Manhattan, somewhere in the high grass below Toledo. There was to be another city called Richmond, near Painesville. Upon the original subscriptions to two millions of stock, less than $14,000 was paid in cash. That was of course lost, for presently the company collapsed, leaving no assets but some land, fully covered by liabilities, and sixty-three miles of rotting posts and timbers. Under the provisions of the same law, aid was extended to the Mad River and Lake Erie, the Little Miami,

*Report of Auditor John Brough, 1843.

the Vermilion & Ashland, the Mansfield & Sandusky City, and the Fairport & Zanesville railroads, the Cincinnati & Whitewater canal, and the Pennsylvania & Ohio canal, which was completed in 1841, opening communication between Cleveland and Pittsburg. Before the law was repealed in March, 1840, the State had issued bonds to the railroads named, to the extent of over $750,000, to the canals for $600,000, and to twenty-five turnpike companies for the enormous sum of $1,853,365. The grand total of the investment was nearly three and a quarter millions. The Little Miami and Mad River roads paid dividends, but otherwise the bonds represented an almost total loss.

From the contemplation of the financial conditions in 1838 and 1839, people turned with delight to the diversions and excitement of politics, and, ascribing the evils that existed to the Jackson dynasty that was continued under VanBuren, joined in a vast cry for "a change." This brought under one banner the followers of Clay in Ohio and the Crawford state-sovereignty men of the South. The Whig national convention at Harrisburg, Pa., in December, 1839, nominated General Harrison the second time for the presidency. No other man could have united the discordant elements of the new party. He was able to assure the South that slavery should be undisturbed,* and in the North the people had confidence in his belonging to the school of Henry Clay. In fact, his party stood for the repeal of all that the Jackson Democrats had accomplished in the direction of what would now be called "sound money," and Harrison had the support of the "wildcat" banks. But the great issue was, a change, and the election of an honest, patriotic old soldier, in place of VanBuren, a cold-blooded politician of the school of Aaron Burr. The cry was for "The iron-armed soldier, the true-hearted soldier, The gallant old soldier of Tippecanoe."

A Baltimore paper foolishly said that if Harrison were given a small pension he would be content to remain in his log cabin and drink hard cider the rest of his days. This sneer at the character of a noble gentleman and at the peculiarities of pioneer life settled the fate of VanBuren, whom the Democrats put up for re-election. On Washington's birthday the Ohio Whig convention was held at Columbus, and before the day set the people began to arrive by canal boat and wagon from all parts of the State. Through day and night they poured into the city, with bands playing the Marseillaise and the Star Spangled Banner. With them they hauled through the winter mud, log cabins on wheels, decorated with coon skins, and abundantly supplied with hard cider, ginger bread, hoe-cake and bacon. When

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* He was markedly unfriendly to Giddings after the inauguration, at a time when the Southern congressmen were inviting the Ohioan to come South and be hanged on account of his denunciation of the Florida war as a crime committed in behalf of slavery.

the hotels were full, private houses were opened to those pilgrims who did not find sufficient food and shelter in the caravans. At the convention General Beall presided and Thomas Ewing led in the speech making. But the main interest was in the procession, that wound for hours through the streets, its main features being a long line of canoes on wheels; a warship, "Western Empire State," bearing a Buckeye tree and a great banner with Harrison's portrait; a representation of Fort Meigs with cannon firing salutes from the embrasures, a company with brooms to signify a "clean sweep," and a horse bearing the war-saddle of George Washington, which had been sent up from Marietta. Everywhere there were banners, with inscriptions that kept the watching thousands in an uproar of cheers and laughter, and there were songs by glee clubs, with rousing choruses, such as "His latch string hangs outside his door, So here's three cheers for honest Tip."

A spirit of unrestrained jollity possessed all the Whigs. On top of the log cabin from Springfield, built of Buckeye logs, rode the portly and dignified Charles Anthony, eating ginger bread and drinking hard cider. Governor Vance was at the helm of the gunboat, and when it stuck in the mud "Bill" Neil, the king of the coach lines, ran to the rescue. In the midst of all this tremendous outburst, the convention nominated for governor the "Wagon Boy of 1812," Tom Corwin. He resigned his seat in Congress, and the convention to nominate his successor, held at Wilmington, and attended by ten thousand people, unanimously named the veteran Jeremiah Morrow, who was elected. This was Morrow's last public service. The remainder of his days he spent at his home on the Little Miami, until his death March 22, 1852.

Corwin, already famous through ten years' service in congress, was the typical man for such a campaign as followed. He was hailed in song: "Tom Corwin, our true hearts love you; Ohio has no nobler son, In worth there's none above you." Sustained by his marvelous eloquence and humor he swept along for seven months at the crest of a wave of enthusiasm. His political enemies were compelled to admire him, and he had always had a story or a witty thrust to turn the point of any question that would embarrass a statesman merely philosophic. The most effective campaign document was his speech in Congress provoked by an attack upon Harrison's military record by Crary, of Michigan. Corwin had overwhelmed the critic (who had been a militia general) in a flood of brilliant sarcasm. When spoken, the speech transformed the House from a body of some dignity into a group of laughter-shaken humanity, crowding about the speaker that they might miss none of his intonations or facial expressions, and when he had finished with joking he held them spellbound with an argument of profound dignity that vindicated the character and ability of his friend. Poor Crary's political career

was finished, and to the end of his days he was known as "the late general."

As the campaign opened so it continued, and the Ohio spirit spread over the United States. The buckeye was popularized as a symbol of the State and the candidate, and there was a great trade along the National road in buckeye canes. Horace Greeley, in New York, began the publication of The Log Cabin, out of which grew the Tribune. For the first time political song books were published, and the Whigs were soon all chanting the praises of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," and vehemently shouting that "Van—Van—is a used up man." For the first time in a national campaign business was practically suspended. For the first time a presidential candidate made a tour of speech making. This was provoked by the cruel report that General Harrison was of feeble mind. Consequently he made a few speeches in Ohio, at which there were immense audiences and processions, regiments of brass bands and avenues of log cabins. At Dayton he spoken to ten acres of closely packed humanity, and was heard by most of his audience. The number at this meeting was a subject of discussion all over the United States, and was variously estimated at from seventy-five to one hundred thousand. What this meant in the way of travel may be judged from the fact that the town of Dayton had about five thousand residents. At Chillicothe the General rode in a procession six miles long and spoke to fifty thousand people, and there were similar demonstrations at Lebanon, Urbana, Sidney, Somerset and Columbus.

Against this whirlwind of political enthusiasm a gallant fight was made by Wilson Shannon, who was renominated for governor, aided by Allen, Brough, Tod, and the other Democratic leaders, but without avail. Early in the fall came the news that Maine had "gone hell-bent for Governor Kent." Delaware, Maryland and Georgia followed suit by electing Whig governors, and in October Ohio gave Corwin sixteen thousand majority. At the presidential election the Harrison electors in Ohio received 148,157 votes and the VanBuren electors 124,782. In the United States Harrison obtained 234 electoral votes, VanBuren 60. The most devoted abolitionists, among whom Senator Morris was now a leader, organized the Liberty party, and voted for James G. Birney for president, but the total vote was very slight.

In the spring of 1841 General Harrison left Cincinnati by boat, cheered by thousands, to go to Washington, and at his inauguration he had a glorious triumph. Unfortunately he did not have an opportunity to prove his ability as chief magistrate of the nation. After a few weeks of worriment by a flood of office-seekers, embittered by disputes with Clay and Webster, who assumed to dictate appointments, his weakened nerves yielded under an exposure to weather that he had been accustomed to enjoy, and he passed away, April 4th,

the first president of the United States to die in office, and the first of three Ohio presidents who have lost their lives in that exalted station.

To his cabinet, as secretary of the treasury, President Harrison had called Thomas Ewing, who held the office under Tyler until the latter vetoed the second national bank bill, when he resigned. Another of Harrison's appointments was of Elisha Whittlesey, who had served in Congress sixteen years, as fourth auditor of the treasury. Whittlesey resigned from Congress to take the place, and Ben Wade made his first effort in politics as the Whig candidate to succeed him.

The census of 1840 showed a population in Ohio of 1,519,467, an increase of 580,000 in ten years, the greatest in all the history of the State, from 1803 to 1903. The day of doubling the population in ten years had passed, for Ohio was already sending thousands of settlers to the younger states, mainly to Indiana and Illinois. From the Miami valley, for instance, after the opening of the Indian lands in northern Indiana in 1832, young men, sons of Ohio pioneers, set out for the new country with their wives, experienced hardships like those of their fathers as they made their way through the Black Swamp, and in the forests renewed those experiences of toil, privation and happiness that their parents had gone through in Ohio thirty years before. But with a million and a half of people, Ohio had gained the third place in population, and, what was just as remarkable, the fourth place in manufacturing. Old Virginia had fallen far behind in total population and had less than half the number of freemen. This place among the states, next to New York and Pennsylvania, which Ohio had attained in forty years, she held for another forty years, finally yielding a slight advantage to her younger sister of the West, where Ohioans were helping to build up a city that should eclipse even that "eighth wonder of the world," Cincinnati.

Cincinnati was not at that time wholly a "Porkopolis," although one-fourth of the pork packing in the United States was done there. Thirty-three steamboats were built there in 1840, at a cost of $600,000. It was the intellectual, educational, book-publishing center of the West. There were eight bell foundries as well as many breweries, and four concerns were manufacturing mathematical and philosophical instruments. The foundries and machine shops of the city were famous for the production of steam engines, and hundreds of cotton gins, sugar mills and cotton-spinning machines were being shipped to the South every year. Cleveland, though far inferior in population, was beginning to gain importance in ship building. The first little schooner built there, the Zephyr, was launched in 1808, and in 1827 the first steamboat was completed. The building of the steamers for the lake traffic rapidly increased at the city on the Cuyahoga, and, in 1844, it boasted of the first steamboat in the United

States of more than a thousand tons, the Empire, which from keel to masts, engines and all, was of Cleveland manufacture.

Steamboat travel was attended by some frightful disasters. One long remembered in Ohio was the explosion of the Moselle, April 26, 1838. Going out from Cincinnati, on its first trip, with over two hundred people on board, the steamer turned up stream a little ways to take on some passengers before running to Louisville, and as another steamer happened to be near at hand, of course there must be a race at full speed. The boilers burst with a terrible roar, so near the city that the body of the captain and fragments of other human remains were thrown into the streets. The pilot was blown a hundred feet in the air and fell in the river. Many people who survived instant death drowned before help could reach them.

Under the census of 1840 Ohio was given twenty-one congressmen. A special session of the legislature was held in the summer of 1842 to make the apportionment, but action was prevented by the desertion of the minority of the house, who declared that the proposed apportionment was unjust and in disregard of constitutional provisions.

In 1841 the Miami canal had been completed north from Dayton to Piqua. About thirty miles of the Little Miami railroad had been built out from Cincinnati, with straprails, for horse power; the Whitewater canal was nearly finished, the Pennsylvania & Ohio canal was completed, connecting Cleveland, by way of Akron, with the Ohio river at the mouth of Beaver and river navigation to Pittsburg, and the Mad River and Lake Erie was in course of construction from Sandusky to Springfield and Dayton, and partly in operation. An interesting story might be told of the building of the pioneer railroads. On the Little Miami road the laborers were often fed upon the cattle contributed by the farmers on the hoof in payment of their subscriptions. Funds were frequently exhausted. "The men surrounded the house of honest William Lewis, the treasurer, demanding money from an empty treasury, calling him every kind of a hard name, until he was forced to seek the president and declare: "These men, when I tell them I have no money, call me liar and scoundrel so often and so earnestly, that I begin to think I am what they call me, and I *must* resign!" "*

In 1842 Charles Dickens visited Cincinnati, and was entertained with the sight of a procession of the Washington Auxiliary temperance societies. This was a manifestation of the great temperance movement that began in Ohio in 1841, which John Sherman, looking back after a lapse of half a century, judged to be the most beneficial reform in his time. If Dickens had come a year earlier he might have witnessed the famous battle between the negro residents and a

*Reminiscences of S. S. L'Hommedieu.

riotous white element, reinforced from Kentucky, which kept the city in a turmoil for two days. On his return from St. Louis the novelist traveled by coach over the good macadam highway from Cincinnati to Columbus and thence to Sandusky. Of all of which one may read in his much-abused "American Notes."

On November 1, 1842, there was another serious riot at Cincinnati, caused by a run on the banks, not for specie, but for paper better than their own. Two or three banks were gutted, and when the militia was called out the mob was fired upon and several wounded.

Among the twenty-one congressmen elected in 1842, was a young man of Springfield, who had attracted attention by daring a debate with John Brough and acquitting himself with honor. This was Robert C. Schenck, son of Gen. William C. Schenck, one of the famous pioneers of Ohio, and ward of Gen. James Findlay. For many years Schenck was one of the most brilliant men of Congress. Joseph Vance returned to Congress with this delegation, and Samuel F. Vinton, and Joshua R. Giddings, of Ashtabula county, a man standing six feet two, with muscles hardened by clearing away the forest, who had entered Congress at the age of forty-three years, in 1839, and for twenty years afterward led the forces of free soil and free labor in the face of the most bitter opposition and contumely. During a period of violence he was singularly immune to challenge or assault, though he was unrelenting and often bitter in his political denunciations.

During the two years' administration of Governor Thomas Corwin the financial condition of the state showed some improvement, and there were continued efforts to legislate sound principles into banking. The Mad River & Lake Erie railroad company was called to account for issuing paper money, a number of bank charters were repealed or suspended and the resumption of specie payments was pledged. In 1842 a law was passed to regulate banking, requiring all capital to be paid in in specie before beginning operations, and regulating the limits of liabilities and circulation. But the banks would not organize under it, and a number of the most reliable concerns organized for mutual support. At this time the currency in circulation had been reduced about one-third from what it was in 1837, and there was some light ahead. In 1843 the charters of thirteen banks expired, and two more came to an end a year later. The remaining eight had a capital of about three million and a half, half of the total banking capital of the state. The charters of some were extended in 1844, with provisions for individual liability of stockholders, and the circulation restricted to three times the specie in reserve. Forty-seven banks had failed since they had been chartered, but those that remained were in better condition than ever before. The State started in 1842-46 upon a new career of prosperity and speculation.

The Whig legislature elected with Corwin was bombarded with petitions to repeal the Black Laws, but with no more success than had attended previous efforts. This disappointment may have been one of the reasons for a sudden growth in numbers of the "Liberty party," aided by Salmon P. Chase, Giddings and their followers in 1841, which materially contributed to the defeat of Governor Corwin for re-election in 1842. Wilson Shannon, again a candidate, received a plurality over Corwin of 3,120, while Leicester King, the nominee of the Liberty men, polled five thousand votes. A notable feature of the campaign was a debate at Chillicothe between Corwin and Thomas Lyon Hamer, who took the place of Shannon for that event. Hamer, born in Pennsylvania in 1800, and reared in poverty in Clermont county, with the valuable friendship of Thomas Morris, was a homely man, with a great shock of red hair, but of most winning countenance when he talked, and a powerful orator and excellent lawyer. He had served in Congress from 1835 to 1841, and within that time, in 1839, he had appointed to a cadetship at West Point, Ulysses Simpson Grant, who was born in Clermont seventeen years before.*

The second administration of Governor Shannon was uneventful. The main features of the legislation were financial, as already noted; there was a revival of railroad enterprise, as indicated by the extension of old charters and the granting of new ones, and in January, 1844, a national convention met at Cincinnati to affirm the Monroe doctrine as applied to Oregon and protest against yielding to the British claims. Among the prominent participants were Thomas Worthington, E. D. Mansfield, and Samuel Medary, of Ohio, and William Parry and Rufus King were secretaries. The convention was tributary to the Democratic platform of 1844, which demanded the "reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas," without serious result except as to Texas.

Governor Shannon resigned in April, 1844, and became minister to Mexico, the nation with which trouble was brewing, and Thomas W. Bartley, speaker of the senate, became acting governor.

At the elections of 1844 the Whigs carried Ohio and entertained hopes of making Henry Clay president, but though the great and beloved Kentuckian carried Ohio by a plurality of six thousand, and

* A Revolutionary soldier, who had fought at the battle of Lexington, a descendant of Matthew Grant, of Scotland, who came to Massachusetts in 1630, and of a family that had given soldiers to the French and Indian wars, came from Massachusetts after the war to western Pennsylvania, from there to Columbiana county, and thence to Portage county, where he apprenticed his son Jesse R., to a tanner. Jesse was in business on his own account at Benjamin Tappan's town, Ravenna, in early manhood, but soon moved to Point Pleasant, Clermont county, and married Hannah Simpson, though very poor. Ulysses was born to them, April 27, 1822, and next year they moved to Georgetown, Brown county, where the boy was reared.

received a strong support throughout the Union, the Liberty party voted for an Ohio ticket, Birney and Morris,* and their defection from the Whigs in New York state defeated Clay, to the intense sorrow of the majority of the people of Ohio. The Whig candidate for governor of Ohio was Mordecai Bartley, of Mansfield, father of the acting governor, who was a Democrat and came within one vote of being nominated for governor on the Democratic ticket. The senior Bartley was born in Fayette county, Pa., in 1783, settled in Jefferson county in 1809, commanded a company in the war of 1812, and afterward cleared a farm in Richland county and became a merchant at Mansfield. Beginning in 1822 he had been four times elected to Congress. He was the first Ohio governor from the "New Purchase" country, and it was his fortune to be the second war governor, counting Governor Meigs as the first. His opponent in the campaign was David Tod, to whom the future was to bring honor as governor during another war. He was the son of Judge George Tod, conspicuous in the earlier history of the State; was born at Youngstown in 1805, became a lawyer there, and had made himself a name as a campaign orator in 1840, supporting the Democratic ticket. The election was very close, as Leicester King, the Liberty party candidate, increased his vote to nearly nine thousand, and Bartley had to be satisfied with a plurality over Tod of 1,271. The financial issue was prominent, the Democrats standing for hard money, and the Whigs for bank paper. Tod, having declared that rather than adopt paper money it would be better to go back to the Spartan custom and coin money from pot metal, was dubbed "Potmetal Tod," and medals of iron were struck, bearing his likeness, and distributed as "Tod money."†

Failing to become governor, Tod opened the first coal mine in the Mahoning valley in 1845, at Briar Hill, and began the shipping of coal to Cleveland, taking into his employment for the canal boating, among others, James A. Garfield, of Cuyahoga county, then a boy of fifteen years. Since 1806, when the first blast furnace in Ohio (built by David Heaton) was started in Mahoning county, a few miles from Youngstown, charcoal had been exclusively used in the manufacture of iron, to the rapid destruction of the forests in the vicinity of the thirty furnaces that were put in operation in the State up to 1846. The new era in the manufacture of iron, linking together for the benefit of man the natural deposits of iron ore and coal, began with experiments in Pennsylvania in the summer of 1845,‡ and in August, 1846, bituminous coal was first successfully used in iron smelting in Ohio, in the Mahoning furnace, at Lowell-

*Senator Thomas Morris was the candidate of the Liberty party for vice president. In the following month, December 7, 1844, he died suddenly at his Clermont county home.

†Taylor's "Ohio Statesmen."

‡Ryan's History of Ohio.

ville. At a later date the coal was converted into coke before it was used in the furnaces.

There followed, in 1849, the founding of Ironton on the Ohio, by John Campbell, a native of Ripley. This was near the place known to the early explorers as Hanging Rock, where John Means, a South Carolina slaveholder converted to abolition, began the burning of charcoal and manufacture of iron as early as 1826, and whence pig iron had been shipped to New York by way of New Orleans, and a little to Europe, in 1832. This Lawrence county district, in 1840, manufactured 20,000 tons of iron, and all the rest of the State, including the furnaces in the Cleveland region, 15,000 tons.

In the congressional delegation elected in 1844, some new names appeared, among them that of Allen G. Thurman, who was to surpass his uncle, William Allen, in reviving the political fame of Chillicothe and the Virginia military reserve. Born at Lynchburg, Va., in 1813, the son of a Baptist clergyman who came to Chillicothe six years afterward, he studied law in his youth under his uncle and Noah H. Swayne, and succeeded to Allen's law practice when the latter became senator. For a long time after his one term in Congress he kept out of politics, but was upon the supreme bench for four years, 1851–55. Another of the new congressmen was Columbus Delano, elected as a Whig, a man then thirty-five years old, residing at Lexington, where he worked his way up from employment in a woolen mill to an honorable position at the bar.

The legislature following, in December, 1844, having a Whig majority, elected Thomas Corwin to the United States senate to succeed Benjamin Tappan, by a vote of sixty to forty-six for David T. Disney. Disney was a prominent lawyer of Cincinnati, of Maryland birth, one of the foremost men of his party from 1830 to 1860, twice speaker of the senate, and three times elected to Congress. He died suddenly in 1857, while preparing to go to Spain as United States minister.

In 1845 the Wabash & Erie canal, long delayed by the fevers that seemed to be let loose as the earth was excavated, making the work as dangerous as a war, was completed far enough to influence the volume of business at the port of Toledo, and in the same year the Miami & Erie canal was opened through to give water communication between Cincinnati and Maumee bay. Toledo then expected to speedily become the great distributing point of the West. The Wabash canal, to be four hundred and sixty miles long when complete, was to be the channel of most of the export and import trade of Indiana and eastern Illinois, and the Miami canal would certainly be one of the most important transportation channels in the world. The change that was to be effected by the railroads, it appears, was not yet comprehended.

The most important legislative accomplishment of Bartley's admin-

istration was the incorporation of the Bank of the State of Ohio, by act of February, 1845, a measure largely due to the energy and wisdom of Alfred Kelly, who has been called both the father of internal improvements and the founder of the State banking system. Under this law existing banks were to be merged in a State bank, with a capital of over six million dollars, and branches equably distributed over the State, under the management of a central board of control, and a board of bank commissioners. Independent banks, if they desired to issue notes, were required, as the State bank was, to deposit bonds of the State or of the United States to secure circulation. There resulted a reasonably safe and adequate banking system in Ohio. Three years later there were thirty-seven branches of the State bank, with a total circulation of $5,400,000 in bank notes, deposits of $2,200,000 and $1,900,000 gold and silver on hand. Besides the State bank, several independent houses were in operation under the law, including the Life and Trust company, which had been permitted to continue.

Other important events were the appointment of commissioners to complete the new State house at Columbus, which had been begun July 4, 1839, and abandoned on account of a sectional dispute which nearly caused removal; the creation of the office of attorney-general of Ohio, to which Henry Stanbery was elected as the first incumbent in 1846; and the founding of the Ohio system of taxation, devised by Senator Alfred Kelly and pushed by him to adoption in 1846.

Toward the close of Governor Bartley's administration the State was again called upon to furnish troops for a war, under circumstances that inspired very general distrust of the motives of the conflict and indifference as to the result. Yet Ohio responded as generously as any state to the call of the president, and her soldiers did honorable duty. In 1845 Texas had been annexed with provisions that insured the extension of slavery over its territory. A small army of occupation, under Gen. Zachary Taylor, was advanced to the Rio Grande, a boundary which Mexico had not admitted for Texas, and in May, 1846, the Mexican forces crossed the river and attempted to drive away the American troops, bringing on the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma.

A bill for the support of war with Mexico was immediately introduced in Congress. Representatives Delano, Vance, Giddings, Root and Tilden, of Ohio, voted against it, and in the senate a memorable speech was made by Senator Corwin, who boldly declared that the prosecution of a war that excited hostility between the North and South was treason, a "crime of such infernal hue that every other in the catalogue of iniquity, when compared with it, whitens into virtue." He declared that "if hell itself could yawn and vomit up the fiends that inhabit its penal abodes to disturb the harmony of the world . . the first step in the consummation of this diabol-

ical purpose would be to light the fires of internal war and plunge the sister states of this Union into the bottomless gulf of civil strife." This was strong enough, but the most famous utterance of the great invective was in reply to the cry of Mr. Cass that the people of the United States wanted more room. "If I were a Mexican," Corwin declared, "I would tell you, 'Have you not room in your own country to bury your dead men? If you come into mine, we will greet you with bloody hands and welcome you to hospitable graves.'" By this utterance, more dramatic but in essence the same as that regarding the war of the Revolution for which William Pitt is praised by Americans, Corwin incurred general disapproval. The popular sentiment was, "Our country, right or wrong," and effigies of Corwin were burned to demonstrate the patriotism of the citizens of various regions.

When Ohio was called upon for troops, Samuel Ryan Curtis, of Newark, a native of New York, but reared from infancy in Ohio, a graduate of West Point and from 1837 to 1840 engineer of the Muskingum river improvements, was made adjutant-general of the State to organize the quota of volunteers. The offers for enlistment were abundant, and there was no delay in enrolling the quota of the State. The volunteers were collected at Camp Washington, near Cincinnati, in May, and organized in three regiments.

The First, mustered in June 23, 1846, was commanded by Col. Alexander M. Mitchell. John B. Weller and Thomas L. Hamer were made lieutenant-colonel and major, and the successive adjutants during the service were Andrew W. Armstrong, James Findlay Harrison and Jonathan Richmond. The surgeon was E. K. Chamberlain. The companies, in their alphabetical order, were commanded at first by Robert M. Moore, Luther Giddings, Lewis Hornell, Edward Hamilton, John B. Armstrong, Edwin D. Bradley, Sanders W. Johnson, Philip Muller, James George, William H. Ramsey.*

The Second regiment, mustered in June 23d, was commanded by Col. George W. Morgan, then a young man of twenty-six years, who had left school in Pennsylvania in 1836 to join the Texas army of independence, became a cadet at West Point in 1841, and later entered the practice of law at Mount Vernon. His staff officers were William Irvine of Fairfield county, a West Point graduate, lieutenant-colonel; William Wall, major; Thomas Worthington, of Hocking Falls, a graduate of West Point (1827) and afterward general of Ohio militia, adjutant; William Trevitt, surgeon. The original company commanders were Hobby Reynolds, George W. Morgan, David Irick, Evan Julian, Simeon M. Tucker, Robert G. McLean, John F. Mickum, William Irvine, Richard Stadden, Daniel Brunner, William Latham.

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*Official Roster of Ohio Troops.

Samuel R. Curtis, leaving his work as adjutant-general, was commissioned colonel of the Third regiment, and his staff officers were George Wythe McCook (a law student and partner of Edwin M. Stanton, at Steubenville), lieutenant-colonel; John S. Love, major; Oliver C. Gray, adjutant; Benjamin Stone, surgeon. The captains were James Allen, William McLaughlin, Jesse Meredith, Thomas H. Ford, John Patterson, David Moore, James F. Chapman, Chauncey Woodruff, Asbury F. Noles, John Kell, Jr., James Allen.

These regiments were enlisted for twelve months, and in July left for the Rio Grande, taking boat at Cincinnati for New Orleans. But before they started Maj. Thomas L. Hamer was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers, an honor at the same time conferred upon Caleb Cushing, Franklin Pierce, Sterling Price and other men of historic prominence. Though Hamer lacked military experience and military education, and was put, for political reasons, in command over men who had such qualifications, his remarkable ability enabled him to creditably act the part of a general. He was succeeded as major by Luther Giddings, of Dayton.

On reaching the Rio Grande the army was organized, and the Ohio brigade was assigned to the division of General William O. Butler, with Gen. Tom. Marshall's Kentuckians, and Gen. Joe Lane's Indianians. Among the officers of the regulars the volunteers found some Ohio acquaintances, such as Lieut. Irvin McDowell, son of a Worthington pioneer, who was aide-de-camp to General Wool; Lieut. Don Carlos Buell, adjutant of the Fourth United States, who attracted admiration by his soldierly air,* and another lieutenant, acting as quartermaster of the Third, a quiet, unobtrusive young fellow, with no pretensions to glory, but much esteemed for common-sense, Ulysses S. Grant.

The Third regiment went on garrison duty at Matamoras and Fort Brown, the Second was detailed for the garrison at Camargo, where they began building Fort Ohio, and the First took an active part in the advance from Camargo on Monterey. In the battle of Monterey, August 21, 1846, the First led one of the columns that penetrated the suburbs of the town. Coming under a destructive fire, General Butler ordered a charge upon the enemy's works. Colonel Mitchell and Adjutant Armstrong and Capt. James George were wounded, and the men were falling rapidly under a concentric fire, when Butler, receiving a severe wound, turned over the command to General Hamer with orders to withdraw. But Hamer's brigade continued to hold the suburbs of the town, which was surrendered three days later. Among the killed of the First Ohio on this occasion was Lieut. Matthew Hett.

*Buell was born near Marietta, in 1818, son of Capt. Timothy Buell, of Blennerhassett's time. McDowell was born in the same year, of Scotch-Irish-Kentucky family.

No more battles were fought by Taylor's army during 1846. General Hamer continued in command of the Volunteer division of the army until December 30th, when he died after a short illness. In his order announcing the fact, General Taylor said, "In council I found him clear and judicious, and in the administration of his command, though kind, yet always impartial and just. . . I had looked forward with confidence to the benefit of his abilities and judgment in the service which lies before us, and feel most sensibly the privation."

At the time of the Buena Vista campaign, in March, 1847, the First and Second regiments had some brisk engagements with the enemy, while guarding Taylor's line of communication and bringing up supplies. Major Giddings and three companies were particularly distinguished at Ceralvo, March 7th. The Third, after this, garrisoned Camargo, while the others were advanced to Buena Vista. At the expiration of the enlistment the three regiments were sent home, with an honorable record. The First lost 24 killed and 42 from disease; the Second 6 killed and 62 from disease; the Third 64 in all.

In 1847 two other Ohio regiments were organized. One of these was the Fourth Ohio, mustered in May 19, 1847, of which Charles H. Brough was colonel; Melchior Werner (and later, Augustus Moor), lieutenant-colonel; William P. Young, major; Herman Kessler (and later, Warren Spencer), adjutant; O. M. Langdon, surgeon; and the captains, W. C. Appler, Augustus Moor (succeeded by Herman Kessler, who was killed), Otto Zorckel, Samuel Thompson, George Weaver, Mitchell C. Lilly, George E. Pugh, Tresher L. Hart, William P. Young, Charles H. Brough (succeeded by Josiah M. Robinson), Melchior Werner (succeeded by John Fries). This regiment left Cincinnati July 1, 1847, and after garrisoning Matamoras went to Vera Cruz and joined Scott's army. They raised the siege of Pueblo and fought at Atlexco October 19, 1847, and in a year's service lost 4 killed and 72 died. The Fifth regiment, in fact the Second reorganized, and generally known by that number, was enlisted at Cincinnati, in August, 1847, with William Irvine as colonel; William A. Latham, lieutenant-colonel; William H. Link, major; Robert McNeil, surgeon; and the following captains: Nathaniel H. Miles (died), Richard Stadden, John W. Lowe, William A. Latham, Joseph W. Filler, William T. Ferguson, James E. Harle, William H. Link, John G. Hughes, George F. McGinnis, Edwin Williams. The Fifth reached Vera Cruz in September, 1847, formed part of the brigade that guarded the great wagon train sent to Scott's army at the City of Mexico, and had considerable guerrilla warfare. The loss was 74 killed and died.

George W. Morgan was commissioned colonel of the Fifteenth United States infantry, to which Ohio also contributed five companies commanded by Capts. Daniel Chase, James A. Jones, Edward

A. King, John S. Perry and Moses Hoagland. These companies were distinguished for gallantry during the advance of Scott's army to the Mexican capital, in the fall of 1847, at the battles of Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec, losing a large number of men killed and wounded. Colonel Morgan, receiving a wound at Contreras, was honored with the brevet of brigadier-general in the regular army. Chase, Jones and Hoagland won the brevets of major.

Ohio also contributed the following independent companies, in service during 1846: Companies of Capt. John R. Duncan (mounted), John H. Dauble, Frederick A. Churchill, Hermann Kessler, George Durr, John Caldwell, H. O. Donnell, Thomas W. Ward, Augustus Moor, Joseph S. Hawkins, Atlas L. Stout, Francis Link, John S. Love; and two that served in 1847–48, under Capts. William Kenneally and Robert Riddle. There was an Ohio company in the regiment of Riflemen, under Capt. Winslow F. Sanderson, who won promotion to major in Scott's campaign, and some Ohio companies in the Third Dragoons and Voltiguers. Captain Kenneally died in Mexico, in December, 1847, and was succeeded by Capt. William H. Lytle, a native of Cincinnati, then twenty-one years old, who made himself as famous, a few years later, with his poem, "I am dying, Egypt, dying," as that other Mexican war soldier, O'Hara, who wrote "The Bivouac of the Dead," in memory of Buena Vista.

While Ohio soldiers fought the battles of the country in the field, Samuel F. Vinton, in the lower house of Congress, though a Whig, supported the administration as chairman of the ways and means committee. He was at this time a veteran in Congress, having served continuously from 1823 to 1837, and again from 1843, and he continued until 1851. Notable among his achievements was the establishment of the national department of the interior.

One important result of this war was the training of a large number of men for military command in that greater conflict that Corwin had prophesied as the sequel of the aggression upon Mexico. Among the field and line officers of the Ohio volunteer regiments there were the following generals of 1861–65: Samuel Beatty, George F. McGinnis, Robert B. Mitchell, William H. Lytle, George W. Morgan, Samuel R. Curtis; and the following colonels: James Findlay Harrison, Edwin D. Bradley, Ferdinand Van DerVeer, Carr B. White, James P. Fyffe, Thomas Worthington, George W. McCook, Thomas H. Ford, John Kell, David Moore, B. J. Crossthwaite, Jacob G. Frick, Arthur Higgins, Augustus Moor, James Irvine, John C. Groom, John G. Marshall, John W. Lowe, William Howard.

In the midst of the war period, at the Ohio election of 1846, the Whigs continued in ascendancy. David Tod, again a candidate for governor, was defeated by a small plurality by William Bebb. The vote stood, Bebb 118,869, Tod 116,489, and Samuel Lewis, Liberty party, 10,797. William Bebb was a native of Butler county (1804),

in early manhood had taught school at North Bend, the home of General Harrison, and since 1831 had been practicing law at Hamilton. After the close of his term he visited England, in 1855, and organized a colony which settled in East Tennessee. This enterprise was broken up by the rebellion, and he spent the remainder of his days in Illinois.

In his second message to the legislature Governor Bebb renewed the attack on the Black Laws, saying: "I cannot forget that the Black Laws still disgrace our statute books. All I can do is earnestly to reiterate the recommendation for their unqualified repeal." Through all the preceding years the Underground railroad had been doing its work, assisting the passage of runaway slaves through Ohio. In 1843 the State legislature had repealed the law intended to aid in the capture of these fugitives. The attempts to reclaim negroes were the cause of much litigation. In 1845 three citizens of Ohio, Garner, Thomas and Loraine, helped some slaves up the Ohio bank of the river, and were arrested, taken to Virginia and indicted. This was the basis of the celebrated case in which Samuel F. Vinton made his great argument before the bench of twelve judges at Richmond, Va., on the extent of the ancient boundary of Virginia. In March, 1846, Columbus was excited by the abduction of Jerry Finney, a colored waiter there for many years, who was carried back to a former owner in Kentucky. The men implicated in his seizure were arrested for kidnapping.

The administration of Mr. Bebb was marked by the close of the war with Mexico, and some important steps toward the building of railroads. The Little Miami, which had been equipped in 1843 with one locomotive, two passenger coaches and eight freight cars, all built at Cincinnati, was relaid with heavier rails, and having been completed to Springfield in 1846, within the next two years became a link in the first through railroad line across Ohio, from Sandusky to Cleveland. In 1847 Richard Hilliard and Henry B. Payne, of Cleveland, began the taking of subscriptions for the building of the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati railroad, to Columbus; Alfred Kelly was made president, and Frederick Harbach, Amasa Stone and Stillman Witt undertook the construction, and work was begun in 1848 and completed in 1851. The Cleveland, Warren & Pittsburg was begun in 1847 and completed in 1852. It is also worthy of note that in 1847 the first press telegram was received at Cincinnati, beginning that system of newspaper telegraphic news that is now such a familiar feature of everyday life. In the following year Prof. O. M. Mitchel mounted at his observatory, on one of the Cincinnati hills, a great telescope, carrying a lens manufactured at Munich. The land had been donated by Nicholas Longworth, John Quincy Adams had laid the corner stone of the pier, and many laboring men had donated their work to the cause of science.

When Congress was discussing "expansion," and legislating in anticipation of settlement with Mexico in 1846, and it was sought to appropriate $3,000,000 for the purchase of territory on the Pacific coast, there was proposed what is known in history as the Wilmot proviso, written by Judge Jacob Brinkerhoff, of Mansfield, then a member of Congress, which provided that negro slavery should be excluded from the new territory. Upon this proposition a new party was formed in 1848, at the Buffalo convention, in which Joshua R. Giddings and Salmon P. Chase were conspicuous figures. Thomas Corwin was talked of by many as the presidential candidate of the new party, but having gone too far in opposition to the Mexican war, he was now suspected of shrinking from full allegiance to the Wilmot proviso. John McLean was also the favorite of some delegates, but his son-in-law, Chase, did not formally present his name. Martin VanBuren was nominated for president, upon the platform, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men." General Taylor, under whom many Ohioans had fought in Mexico, was nominated by the Philadelphia convention of the Whigs, of which John Sherman was secretary, and the regular Democratic candidate was the former Ohio colonel and general, Lewis Cass. For governor of Ohio the Whigs put up Seabury Ford, who gained the nomination by a majority of two over Columbus Delano. The Democrats named John B. Weller, of Hamilton, a brilliant young man, then thirty-four years old, who had served in Congress three terms and as lieutenant-colonel in the Mexican war.

The electoral vote of the state was given to Cass, who received 154,773 votes, Taylor, 138,359, and Van Buren, 35,357. But Taylor was elected, and at his inauguration called to his cabinet Thomas Ewing as secretary of the interior.* Among the congressmen elected in 1848 were David T. Disney, a man who narrowly missed the highest political honors of the State; Lewis D. Campbell, of Butler county, who now began a career of great prominence as a statesman, being five times re-elected, and Moses B. Corwin, a Whig lawyer of Champaign, who had been in Congress in 1839–41, and at this election had a small majority over his son, John A., who ran against him as a Democrat.

The organization of the legislature developed one of the most remarkable political struggles in the history of the State. The previous legislature had attempted to divide Hamilton county into two districts for the election of representatives, and the legality of this was in dispute. Two sets of representatives appeared, and neither party in the legislature was strong enough to organize, until a plan of compromise was forced upon them by the eight Free Soil members.

*Elisha Whittlesey, born in Connecticut in 1783, a pioneer lawyer at Canfield in 1806, was appointed comptroller of the treasury by Taylor, and held the place until Buchanan's administration. He was restored to the office by Lincoln, and retained it until near his death in 1863.

In the senate two members of the Free Soil party held the balance of power and much time was consumed in organization. After both houses were organized they did little but meet and adjourn until January 8, 1849, when they met to canvass the vote for governor. The first committee appointed to count the returns threw out two counties and reported the election of Weller. But finally, on January 22d, a return was agreed to which showed a majority for Ford of 311 votes in a total of about three hundred thousand. The next struggle was over the election of a United States senator to succeed William Allen. The Democrats voted for Allen, and the Whigs for Thomas Ewing. But two Free Soilers, Norton S. Townshend, of Lorain, and John F. Morse, of Lake county, controlled the situation. Morse desired the election of Joshua R. Giddings, and Townshend that of Salmon P. Chase. They demanded the repeal of the Black Laws and the election of one of their candidates for United States senator, and in return they were willing to help either of the old parties elect two members of the State supreme court. Giddings, the veteran abolitionist, had too strong a record for some of the Whigs; but Townshend succeeded in his coalition with the Democrats, and Chase was elected to the United States senate.* Rufus P. Spalding and William B. Caldwell were elected to the supreme court, and the Black Laws were modified, so as to remove the most offensive restrictions upon the negroes, and provision was made for separate schools for negro children. But further than this Ohio was not disposed to go in making the negroes citizens. Two years later a proposition to give colored men a right to vote was defeated in the legislature, 108 to 13, and it is probable that less than one-tenth of the voters of the State would have voted to strike the word white out of the qualifications for franchise.†

Seabury Ford is to be remembered as the first governor from the Western Reserve. Born at Cheshire, Conn., in 1801, in the same town that was the birthplace of his uncle, Peter Hitchcock, he was brought to Ohio a few years later by his parents, and reared at Burton. He walked back to Connecticut to enter Yale college, where he was the only Ohio student. After studying under Judge Hitchcock he became prominent as a lawyer and efficient as a legislator, representing Geauga county and his senatorial district for a number of years. In politics he was an ardent supporter of Henry Clay. After

*This deal was called bad names by the Whigs of Ohio, who fiercely denounced the Free Soil party movement, for partisan reasons. Of its effect upon sentiment something may be judged from the following extract from an historical paper by A. G. Riddle, in 1875: "Whatever may be said of the morality or the expediency of the course pursued, no doubt can exist of its effect upon Mr. Chase and his career. It lost to him at once and forever the confidence of every Whig of middle age in Ohio. Its shadow, never wholly dispelled, always fell upon him and hovered near and darkened his pathway at the critical places in his political after life."

†Message of Gov. R. B. Hayes, 1868.

a term of two years as governor he returned to his home, where he died in 1855.

The year 1849 was marked by another attack of cholera. There were 162 deaths at Columbus, and many other places suffered, but none so severely as Cincinnati, where there were 4,114 deaths that summer. In 1850 Cincinnati was almost depopulated by the panic caused by the epidemic, and the deaths numbered nearly five thousand. The disease returned in various parts of the state, during the following summers, the last visitation occurring in 1854.

A feature of internal improvements at this time was a sudden notion for plank roads, a scheme not badly adapted to some parts of the undrained country. A hundred companies for such work were incorporated by the legislature in 1850. A good many roads were laid, which have long since disappeared.

The census of 1850 showed a population in the State of practically two million (1,980,329), of which only 25,000 were colored people. Beyond the Ohio were two states, perfectly adapted to white labor, but denied it by the unfortunate policy of the South; states that fifty years before had seven times the population of Ohio; but Ohio now had as many people as Kentucky and Tennessee together, and among her people she did not have, as they did, 450,000 ignorant slaves, a degradation of labor and a menace to civilization. Virginia, one hundred and fifty years older than Ohio, with a third more area, abundant mines of coal and iron and magnificent ocean ways, had fallen far behind in population, and, even counting one-third of her people as personal property, her assessed valuation was a hundred millions less than that of Ohio. Cincinnati, the metropolis of Ohio, with a population of 115,000, had already equalled the ancient city of New Orleans, and far surpassed Charleston and Louisville. There was a lesson in this that the South would not see. The South insisted on settling more of the territory of the United States with a comparatively small number of white people who should monopolize the land and work it with slaves, to the exclusion of foreign immigration, and against such a policy the opposition daily grew stronger in the North. California, acquired through the war with Mexico, in 1848 became the subject of contention on account of the discovery of gold and the great rush to the gold fields in 1849. The pioneers framed a constitution prohibiting slavery and asked admission as a state.* The radical Southern leaders thereupon threatened secession from the Union if slaves were barred from that part of the Pacific coast. They asserted what Benton called, in derision, "the transmigratory function of the constitution and the instantaneous transportation of itself in its slavery attributes into all acquired territory."

*John McDougall, son of a pioneer trader at Chillicothe and a captain in the Mexican war, was elected the first lieutenant-governor of the new state, and governor in 1851.

The northern men fighting for free soil demanded the admission of California and New Mexico without slavery, the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, and the prohibition of the slave trade between the states. Clay proposed a compromise, and Daniel Webster made his famous speech of March, 1850, by which, said Giddings, "a blow was struck at freedom and the constitutional rights of the states which no southern arm could have given."*

It was Webster's purpose, by pointing out the excesses and misunderstandings of both sides, to calm the fears of the South and end the anti-slavery agitation in the North. For the moment, Clay and Webster succeeded. The compromise prevailed, California was admitted free, Utah and New Mexico were left as territories without the Wilmot proviso, and a new fugitive slave law was enacted, so severe that Seward considered it part of a conspiracy to justify secession. In this great political battle, during which threats of dismembering the Union were freely made in Congress and in the legislatures of the South, Ohio's free soil leaders, Salmon P. Chase and Joshua R. Giddings, made a stand with Seward, Hale, and Thaddeus Stevens, "on the principle of permitting no more slavery in the national domain, and, while the Southern leaders were dreaming and talking of the conquest of Mexico and Cuba, they determined it should be known that there was a band of men totally opposed to the conquest of more territory unless it were expressly understood that it should be dedicated to freedom." The impartial years, says Mr. Rhodes, have vindicated their course as right.

The compromise of 1850 was approved, however, by the greater part of the people of Ohio, because it promised sectional peace. An enthusiastic meeting at Dayton resolved that the settlement was the best attainable, and that "the Union, the constitution and the laws must and shall be maintained." This meeting was addressed by Clement L. Vallandigham, born in 1820 at New Lisbon, where his father had been a Presbyterian clergyman and teacher since 1807. The young man had become a lawyer and newspaper writer at Dayton, led his party in the legislature of 1848-49, and opposed the repeal of the Black Laws. He succeeded L. D. Campbell in Congress in 1857, and was one of the ablest of those men in the North who from this time became particularly noted for advocating sectional peace, at any price.

But far more important in permanent influence than the speech of Vallandigham or the Dayton resolutions was a little family letter written about the same time by Mrs. Edward Beecher to her sister-in-law, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. In it were these words, inspired by the compromise and the fugitive slave law: "Hattie, if I could use a pen as you can, I would write something that would make this whole

*Rhodes' History of the United States.

nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is." Harriet Beecher had come to Cincinnati in 1832, with her father, Dr. Lyman Beecher, the president of Lane Theological seminary, had married Prof. Calvin E. Stowe of the same institution, in 1836, and afterward had busied herself in writing for the newspapers and magazines of that day. For a time she assisted her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, in editing the Daily Journal. She was familiar with the doings of Levi Coffin, and had seen her father and brother arm themselves to take to an interior station of the Underground railroad a servant, considered free, that a former master proposed to recall to slavery. Her mind had been filled with pictures of border state slavery—the prices set on negro women for their qualifications as breeders, slave auctions with their disregard of modesty and humanity, the parting of families—happenings quite real and unquestionable, and defended only on the ground that the negroes were not unhappy in such conditions, and that the anguish of separated families and the pangs of desecrated modesty existed only in the minds of people north of the Ohio. To some extent the defense was reasonable. But that class of negroes keen-witted enough to escape into Ohio did not lack in descriptive powers nor manifestation of human attributes. Being also of a restive and uncontrollable nature, the fugitives were likely to bear the marks of cruel scourgings, brandings like cattle and cropped ears. When she left Cincinnati for Bowdoin college, whither her husband was transferred in 1850, Mrs. Stowe had in hand the elements of a thrilling story of border life, and in 1851–52, in response to the suggestion already mentioned, she gave it to the world in the National Era, published at Washington by Gamaliel Bailey and John G. Whittier. Such was the source of Uncle Tom's Cabin, the greatest American novel up to that time, and, very likely, yet the greatest. Within a few months Mrs. Stowe was the most famous woman in the world. Eighteen publishing houses in London were kept busy supplying the demand for the book in Great Britain, and before long, it was translated into all modern languages. In August, 1852, the story was dramatized, and the hoodlum of the galleries who had delighted in pelting abolitionists with rotten eggs was persuaded to weep over the sorrows of Uncle Tom and meditate vengeance against slave hunters.

The exciting national issues were much discussed in Ohio during the State campaign of 1850, but there was a general disposition to accept the compromise. Reuben Wood, of Cuyahoga county, was elected on the Democrat ticket by a plurality of 12,000 over William Johnston, Whig, while Edward Smith, the candidate of the Free Soil party, had about 13,500 votes. Wood, an eminent lawyer and popular politician, was a native of Vermont (1792), had been a state senator in 1825–27, and afterward a judge of the common pleas and supreme courts. Being "a giant in stature, erect as an Indian, with the presence of a chief and the bearing of a soldier," he was known as

the "Tall Chief of the Cuyahogas," when he was a candidate before the Democratic national convention in 1852, for the nomination for president of the United States.

Senator Corwin had been called to the cabinet of President Fillmore as secretary of the treasury after the death of President Taylor, and Thomas Ewing, who retired from the cabinet after the death of Taylor, was appointed in Corwin's place as senator. The legislature of 1850–51 had the duty of electing a successor, and the task proved to be an arduous one. The candidate of the Democrats was Henry B. Payne, a lawyer at Cleveland since 1833 and already conspicuous in the railroad and manufacturing enterprises of the State. His main opponent at first was Hiram Griswold, with Joshua R. Giddings receiving enough votes to prevent an election. Griswold finally dropped out and Thomas Ewing, Thomas Corwin, Benjamin F. Wade and Ebenezer Lane were successively voted for against Payne, until the opposition mainly concentrated on Wade, and he was elected by a majority of one on the thirty-seventh ballot. This was one of the most important events in the history of the State, as it gave Ohio a double leadership in the United States senate in favor of that policy that presently gained ascendency in the North and sustained the war for the Union.

During this exciting struggle a convention was framing a new constitution for the State. The convention was called by act of February, 1850, and convened at Columbus, May 6th, with one hundred and eight members. William Medill, of Fairfield county, a Delaware man who had become one of the lawyers of the famous Lancaster bar in 1832, and as a Democrat had presided as speaker of the Ohio house, served in congress and held office at Washington as assistant-postmaster-general and commissioner of Indian affairs, was made president of the convention. Among the members were Rufus P. Ranney, Josiah Scott, Peter Hitchcock and Joseph R. Swan, justices of the supreme court; Charles Reemelin, a noted writer on politics and economics; William S. Groesbeck and Henry Stanbery, eminent jurists; William P. Cutler, son of Ephraim Cutler, who sat in the first convention; Simeon Nash, the law writer, and Otway Curry, a brilliant editor.* Governor Vance, while a delegate to the convention, was stricken with paralysis, from which he died in the following year.

The convention sat at Columbus until July 9th, and at Cincinnati from December 2, 1850, to March 10, 1851, when the fruit of its labor was adopted as the constitution of Ohio. It was a much more elaborate instrument than that of 1802; and like its predecessor has served the State for half a century without much amendment. A marked change was that the legislature was deprived of the election of state officers and judges, which was referred to popular vote,

*Ryan's History of Ohio.

showing a progress of confidence in the ability of the people to govern themselves, since the days of Jefferson. At the same time, the experience in canal and railroad building persuaded the constitution framers to deny the people of any city, town or county the right of voting aid and incurring debt in behalf of any corporation, and it was provided that the State should never again contract any debt for the purpose of internal improvement, or be a shareholder in any corporation. In the attempt to regulate taxation the constitution went so far as to specify exactly what should be taxed, and consequently the taxing of franchises, a matter of great importance fifty years later, is not allowable in Ohio.

The meetings of the legislature were changed to the first Monday of January, every other year, and both representatives and senators were to be elected biennially. The membership of the house was fixed at one hundred, of the senate at thirty-three. There was to be a new state officer, the lieutenant-governor, and all state officials were to be elected biennially, except the auditor, who should hold office four years. A supreme court of five members was created, the justices to hold five years, and since then the number has been increased to six, with six-year terms. The first supreme court, under the new constitution, was composed of Thomas W. Bartley, John A. Corwin, Allen G. Thurman, Rufus P. Ranney and William B. Caldwell. In place of the nineteen judicial districts previously existing, nine were created, with three common pleas judges in each, and these three with a judge of the supreme court presiding, constituted a district court. Special incorporations by the legislature were forbidden. The faith of the State was pledged for the payment of its public debt, incurred in public improvements, and a sinking fund was created. The powers of the governor were not increased and the veto power was withheld.

This new constitution was submitted to the people at a special election in June, 1851, and adopted by a vote of 125,264 to 109,276. At the same time a separate vote was cast on this section: "No license to traffic in intoxicating liquors shall hereafter be granted in this State; but the general assembly may, by law, provide against evils resulting therefrom," and the clause was adopted by a majority of about nine thousand.

The first elections under the new constitution were in October, 1851, beginning the odd year elections in Ohio, and as congressmen and part of the State officers were to be chosen in even years, Ohio has since had annual elections. At this election of 1851 the Democrat party was successful. Governor Reuben Wood was re-elected by a majority of 26,000 over Samuel F. Vinton, the Whig candidate, and Samuel Lewis, who was put up by the Liberty party, received about 17,000 votes. The remainder of the ticket elected was William Medill, lieutenant-governor; William Trevitt, secretary of

state; William D. Morgan, auditor of state; John G. Breslin, treasurer of state; George E. Pugh,* attorney-general; and members of the board of public works, James B. Steedman, George W. Manypenny and Alexander P. Miller. The terms of office of all these officials began in January, 1852.

It should be noted that in this period the first state fairs were attracting much attention. They were begun at Cincinnati in 1850, and held annually with much success at various cities. Nor should it be forgotten that it was a time of great decline in the sheep growing industry. There were about four million sheep in the State in 1848, but many wool factories went out of business after the tariff change of 1846, and wool growing became unprofitable. This had a marked political influence.

The year 1852 was a memorable one. On February 1, 1852, the old statehouse, built by the founders of Columbus, burned down. A new statehouse had already been begun in 1839, and was completed in 1861, at a cost of $1,644,677. In February Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, visited Columbus and Cincinnati, by the invitation and at the expense of the State and citizens, but failed to arouse sufficient enthusiasm to involve the country in war with Austria. In June the Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott for president and the Democrats, on the forty-ninth ballot, named Franklin Pierce; one of Ohio's sons, Lewis Cass, failing in his great ambition. In July the great political hero of the West, Henry Clay, died, and thousands wept as his body was borne through Ohio. In October Daniel Webster passed away, and with the loss of these two leaders, the fate of the Whig party was certain. In the fall, while the Whigs received a crushing defeat, the valiant Giddings made a successful fight in a congressional district that had been arranged to secure his overthrow, and there was a famous jollification dinner at Painesville.

The period of Governor Wood's administration was notable in the railroad history of Ohio. In February, 1851, the first through train was run from Columbus to Cleveland, and the governor and his staff and the legislature were treated to an excursion. In September, 1851, the Great Miami railroad (Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton), was opened, having been constructed by the sale of stock in Cincinnati mainly, and bonds in New York, without such dependence on municipal and county subscription as was common. It soon became the great thoroughfare of Cincinnati. This and the Little Miami were the only railroads at Cincinnati until 1857, when the Ohio & Mississippi was completed westward to Vincennes. The Marietta & Cincinnati, begun in 1851, was not completed to Cincinnati till

*George Ellis Pugh, one of the great lawyers of the State, was born at Cincinnati, November 28, 1822. He was educated at Miami university, and served as a captain in the Mexican war.

1866. The Bellefontaine to Union railroad was opened in 1853, and a portion of the Cincinnati, Richmond and Chicago. The Cincinnati & Zanesville was begun in 1851, and the Columbus, Piqua & Indiana was in construction. In 1852–54 the Ohio & Pennsylvania was built to Crestline from the east, and the Ohio & Indiana from Crestline to Fort Wayne, but it was not until 1858 that trains were run over these lines from Pittsburg to Chicago. The Cleveland, Warren & Pittsburg was completed, making connection with Pittsburg and the east. The Cleveland & Mahoning Valley road was begun, but dragged along for several years, its principal promoter, Jacob Perkins, declaring on his deathbed in Cuba, "You may inscribe on my tombstone, Died of the Mahoning Valley railroad." The Sandusky, Mansfield & Newark, a combination of railroads laid with iron-plated plank rails, was reconstructed; construction was in progress on the Central Ohio (Columbus to Bellaire), afterward merged in the Baltimore & Ohio system. It is interesting to trace the origin, in this period, of the Lake Shore system. The Junction railroad company, chartered in 1846 to link the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati and the Mad River & Lake Erie, took the old Ohio railroad right of way and pulled up its piles and timbers to make room for ties and iron rails; the Toledo, Norwalk & Cleveland company, to connect Toledo with the Cleveland and Columbus road, was incorporated in 1850, and the Port Clinton railroad company in 1852. In 1853 these companies were consolidated in the Cleveland & Toledo railroad company, which built the roads. Meanwhile, in 1852, the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula road had been built, to connect with the Pennsylvania lines to Erie and eastward, and the original Toledo & Adrian road was being extended under various names to Chicago. The lines remained separate until after the great National war.

The total mileage of railroads in 1852 is given as 890. During the next ten years over two thousand more miles of iron track were laid in the State and equipped with locomotives and cars. This largely monopolized the energy and capital of the State and the progress of building in all the states enlisted most of the capital of the east, for it meant an expenditure of over $100,000,000, in Ohio alone.

Of great importance in the financial history of the State was the Free Banking law enacted in 1851. Its principal author was William Lawrence, born at Mt. Pleasant in 1819, who was on the threshold of a distinguished career. Under this law the State supplied the banks with paper money, somewhat as the United States does national banks now under the financial system of Salmon P. Chase. The Ohio law authorized the auditor of state to issue notes to banks, not to exceed three times their paid-up capital, when they should have made a deposit of the same amount of State or United

States bonds. This made four banking systems in Ohio: those banks chartered before 1845, which had $1,500,000 capital; the State bank and branches, with a capital of $4,000,000; the independent banks, with $720,000 capital, and the Free banks, which in 1845 had about $700,000 capital. The issues of these banks formed the currency that circulated in business. The numerous systems aided the natural tendency to inflation, which continued until 1854, where there was a crisis in the stock market in New York and a responsive run on the Ohio stock banks for coin. Though the notes of these banks were secured by bonds, they suffered depreciation in value, and the notes of the old fashioned banks, without such securities on deposit, became almost worthless.*

Under the provisions of the new constitution the legislature (March 14, 1853), passed an act for the reorganization of the common school system, for which Ohio is mainly indebted to Harvey Rice, of Cuyahoga county. Radical changes were introduced, amounting to the founding of the modern system of public education in Ohio.

A famous event of 1853 was the law suit growing out of the loss of the steamer Martha Washington by fire on the Mississippi river, with a cargo heavily insured. Conspiracy was charged and the most famous lawyers of the State, including Thomas Ewing, Noah Swayne, Judge Walker, Durbin Ward, George Pendleton, Henry Stanbery and George Pugh took part in the trial in the United States court at Columbus.

Governor Wood, becoming financially embarrassed, resigned July 15, 1853, to become United States consul at Valparaiso, and Lieut.-Gov. William Medill succeeded him. In October Medill was elected governor as the candidate of the Democratic party, receiving nearly 150,000 votes. Nelson Barrere, nominated by the Whigs, polled only 85,857, while the Free Soil people rolled up 50,000 for Samuel Lewis. The legislature was so strongly Democratic (three to one) that George E. Pugh was elected United States senator in March, 1854, by a large majority on the first ballot, to succeed Salmon P. Chase. But this remarkable political triumph was short lived. At the time of Pugh's election Congress was struggling over a new extension of slavery in the territories, that permanently divided the party of Jackson and VanBuren. Stephen A. Douglas, desiring to give a territorial organization to the great western region then known as Nebraska, embraced in a bill for that purpose what he called "popular sovereignty," which, in brief, was allowing the settlers to decide whether they would have slavery or not. This he did to gain the votes of the Southern congressmen, who otherwise would leave Nebraska in the hands of the Indians.

*Journal of Commerce History of Banking.

At the opening of the debate on this question early in 1853, Senator Chase was the leader of the opposition in the United States senate. "He was, with perhaps the exception of Sumner, the handsomest man in the senate, and as he rose to make his plea for the maintenance of plighted faith, all felt the force of his commanding presence. More than six feet tall, he had a frame and figure proportioned to his height. With his large head, massive brow and smoothly shaven face, he looked like a Roman senator."* Ben Wade, Seward and Sumner, following him, were the other great opponents of Douglas. During the discussion a Carolina senator drew a pathetic picture of the cruelty of compelling him to leave behind the "old mammy," his negro nurse in childhood, if he should seek a new home in the West, and Wade provoked the laughter of the North by the quick retort that no one could find fault with the senator's migration to Kansas, nor his taking his mammy with him, but there was serious objection to his selling her after he got there.

Modified so as to provide for two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, the bill permitting the introduction of slavery into them and annulling the compromise boundary line of 1820, passed Congress despite the desperate struggle of Chase and Wade and Giddings and their allies. Thousands of people in the North were now convinced that the aggressions of slavery would never cease until the whole country was overspread with it. As an extremist, William Lloyd Garrison publicly burned a copy of the United States constitution, declaring, "The Union must be dissolved," and extremists of the South were of the same mind when they waxed angry at the notion of forbidding them to emigrate to the west with their laborers as slaves. At the same time the North was alarmed by the efforts of the administration to annex Cuba, apparently as slave territory, to balance new western states, which resulted a few months later in the "Ostend manifesto," by the United States ministers in Europe, declaring that the United States could not enjoy peace until Cuba "was embraced within its boundaries."

The situation gave birth to a new political party. On July 13, 1854, the anniversary of the ordinance of 1787, a convention met at Columbus, with representatives from every town in the State, to organize all the political elements opposed to the extension of slavery into Kansas and Nebraska. This brought together Democrat, Whig, Free Soil and Liberty men; the friends of Birney and those of VanBuren, and those who elected Chase to the senate in 1849. Already a convention of similar sentiment had adopted the party name of Republican in Michigan, but this Columbus convention did not go so far. The resolutions of the convention contained this

*McCulloch's "Men and Measures."

pledge: "We will labor assiduously to render inoperative and void that portion of the Kansas and Nebraska bill" permitting the invasion by slavery of the territory pledged to free labor by the Missouri compromise, and we will oppose by every lawful and constitutional means every increase of slave territory or slave states "in this republican confederacy." A State ticket was nominated: Joseph R. Swan, a Democrat, for judge of the supreme court and J. Blickensderfer for member of the board of public works, and in every congressional district a candidate was nominated or approved by this new party opposed to slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, and known as the Anti-Nebraska party. The old party lines were abandoned and the people were arrayed definitely on this issue, with the result that the new party swept the State, electing Swan by a majority of 75,000 and carrying every congressional district. Congressmen David T. Disney, Alfred P. Edgerton, Andrew Ellison, Moses B. Corwin, Wilson Shannon and others were defeated; John Scott Harrison (son of the General), Lewis D. Campbell, Matthias H. Nichols, Aaron Harlan, William R. Sapp, Edward Ball, Edward Wade and Joshua R. Giddings were re-elected, and among the new names appeared those of Benjamin Stanton, a Quaker native of Belmont county; Samuel Galloway, of Columbus, a man of great eloquence and humor, to be known later as the intimate friend of Tod and Lincoln; John Sherman, then thirty-one years old, a lawyer of ten years' practice; and John A. Bingham, of Cadiz, a Pennsylvanian who had come to Ohio in 1840, practiced law, and occasionally met in political debate that staunch Democrat, Edwin M. Stanton. Bingham began at this election a career of sixteen years in Congress, Sherman one of forty.

These men were Ohio's contribution to that memorable Congressional battle of the winter of 1855-56. While the Anti-Nebraska men had been very successful in Northern states, their victory was in some degree involved in the sudden spread of another new party, started in 1852, founded upon a secret society for the promotion of native-American rule—the American or "Know Nothing" party, so-called from the apparent ignorance of its leaders regarding the secret society. Among the candidates for speaker of the lower house of Congress was Lewis D. Campbell, of Ohio, who had the favor of some of the Northern "Know-Nothings" and the support of Horace Greeley. The Anti-Nebraskan congressmen, led by the veteran Joshua R. Giddings, voted for Nathaniel P. Banks. The contest continued from the opening of Congress until early in February, with great excitement and angry discussion, in which Giddings with his stalwart frame and heroic courage bore the brunt of the battle. Finally, on the 133d ballot, Banks was elected by a plurality of three, and Giddings, the "Father of the House," enjoyed the reward of sixteen years of struggle. Ohio cast eighteen of the votes necessary to elect Banks, and two for Campbell, and her influ-

ence was pre-eminent in winning the victory. There had been much talk of "our section," among the Southern congressmen. There were threats, also, of secession. But now Giddings took his revenge, and shouted to the opposition, "Your history is written; your doom is sealed." "We do not intend to dissolve the Union, and we do not intend to let you do it." Predicting that his party would soon have the senate and the president, he warned his opponents, "Then those who threaten disunion had better look out."

Before this event, in 1855, came the first convention in Ohio that revived the old Jeffersonian name of Republican. It was called to order at Columbus by Joshua R. Giddings, and John Sherman was made permanent chairman. Its membership included representatives of the Democrat, Whig, American and Free Soil parties. The American wing, led by Lewis D. Campbell, desired the nomination for governor of Jacob Brinkerhoff, of Richland county, for fifteen years a judge of the supreme court, but Giddings' support gave the honor to Salmon P. Chase. The Democrats who did not join the new party nominated William Medill, and a remnant of Whigs named the veteran Allen Trimble, but Chase received a decided plurality, nearly 147,000 to 131,000 for Medill and 24,000 for Trimble. The full ticket was successful.

The installation of the new officials in January, 1856, was followed in a few months, by the discovery of a deficit in the state treasury, which caused the resignation of Treasurer William H. Gibson, who had succeeded his brother-in-law, John G. Breslin. Amasa P. Stone was appointed to the vacancy.

The annual elections in this period kept the State in a turmoil of excitement. In 1856 came the famous Fremont presidential campaign. As a prelude occurred the personal assault upon Charles Sumner by Preston Brooks, in Congress, and when Anson Burlingame challenged Brooks to a duel, in behalf of Sumner, whose life was in danger, Lewis D. Campbell was selected as one of the seconds of the Michigan congressman. But Canada was proposed as the scene of the fight, and Brooks declined to cross the Northern states.

The national conventions of 1856 were held on the Ohio river. First, there met at Pittsburg the former Whigs, Democrats and Free Soilers who now took the title of Republicans, in a memorable convention largely dominated by Joshua R. Giddings, Salmon P. Chase and Benjamin F. Wade. Though Judge McLean was strongly supported, they nominated for president John C. Fremont, the "pathfinder" of the Rocky Mountains and son-in-law of Thomas H. Benton. The Democrats came further west, in recognition of the new power in the nation, and held their convention at Cincinnati, nominating Buchanan. Ohio gave Fremont a plurality of nearly 17,000 over Buchanan, while 28,000 votes were cast for Fillmore, the candidate of the Americans and Whigs. In the congressional

elections there was a Democrat or conservative gain, notably in the election in the First district of George H. Pendleton, a young lawyer of Cincinnati, beloved for his courteous manner and high character; in the Second district of William S. Groesbeck, of Cincinnati, an older man who had been prominent in the constitutional convention; in the Third district of Clement L. Vallandigham, who was adjudged by Congress to have a majority over Campbell, though the latter was at first awarded a majority of nineteen; and in the Twelfth district of Samuel Sullivan Cox, of Zanesville, grandson of the former state treasurer, Samuel Sullivan. He was then but twenty-two years old, but had earned a diplomatic appointment and considerable fame as editor of the Ohio Statesman.

The election of Buchanan, despite the large vote polled by Fremont, was a victory for the party now engaged in struggle with Northern colonists for the possession of Kansas. John Brown, after leaving Summit county, Ohio, for the East, had become one of the recruits for the Kansas war, and being joined in 1854 by five of his sons from Ohio, made his home near Ossawatomie, and began to have national fame. Just after the inauguration of Buchanan came the famous Dred Scott decision of the United States supreme court. The law, in 1856, as announced by Chief Justice Taney, was that when Dred Scott's owner, in Missouri, took him into Illinois, he remained a slave, in spite of the Illinois laws forbidding slavery, because Dred Scott, being a negro, was not a citizen of the United States. Though Illinois might recognize him as a citizen and grant him the citizen's privilege of lawful marriage, when his owner took him back to Missouri he continued in his former condition as a slave, and had no claim to liberty, wife or children. The same ruling had previously been made in cases of negroes taken into Ohio and back into Kentucky. The court also, in declaring the Missouri compromise unconstitutional, made it impossible to draw any line on slavery extension in the future. Judge McLean, the representative of Ohio on the supreme bench, dissented, and held that if Dred Scott became free on entering Illinois with his master, he remained free when he returned to Missouri. In plain words he stated the danger that threatened the nation. "It seems to me the principle laid down will enable the people of a slave state to introduce slavery into a free state, for a longer or shorter time, as may serve their convenience, and by returning the slave to the state whence he was brought, by force or otherwise, the status of slavery attaches, and protects the rights of the master and defies the sovereignty of the free states." A year later Abraham Lincoln startled the North by his clear and forcible statement of the same truth, which had been realized by the enemies of slavery for many years, inspiring them to their thankless and actually dangerous labors. "This government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free," said Lincoln. "It will become all

one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South."

In 1856 it became apparent that the great absorption of the capital of the country in building railroads, such as those that then extended through all parts of Ohio, was to produce serious results. At the same time there was a change in the tariff, upon which the evil that followed has been blamed. In 1857 the failure of the Ohio Life and Trust company started a panic. There was great depression of prices and loss of employment among working men, caused by suspension of manufacturing enterprises and railroad building, but on account of the famine in Ireland and the Crimean war the farmers did not suffer. The main effect in Ohio was the collapse of the railroad companies. Nearly all of them failed to pay interest, suffered foreclosure of mortgages, and went into the hands of receivers, from which most did not emerge until after 1860. A remarkable exception was the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula, under the presidency of Amasa J. Stone, one of the greatest financiers of Ohio. His road was the most perfect in the State and ten years later had the best financial record, all the original stockholders who had retained their stock having enjoyed regular and handsome returns.

As a result of the misfortunes of the railroads there were strikes of railroad employes, notably one at Chillicothe, January 1, 1858. The men took possession of the property of the Marietta & Cincinnati road, and stopped the trains, but the city police put forty strikers under arrest and the railroad company brought suit against them for $50,000 damages.

It can be said of Ohio that her financial record during this crisis was exceptional. Her public debt had reached its maximum, $20,000,000, in 1845, but, though there was talk of repudiation, the honor of the State was rigidly maintained. In 1857 an act was passed for the incorporation of the Bank of Ohio, with offices at Cleveland, Cincinnati and New York. The bank maintained specie payments through the year 1857. The next step in regard to money was made by the legislature in 1858, and it is of great interest as indicating the position of financial independence which it was then believed the State had attained. What was called the independent treasury system was adopted, and provision was made for the gradual retirement of all bank notes and the collection of taxes in coin only. The State bank was to come to an end in 1866, and the free banks in 1872, and after that nothing but hard money was to be receivable for public dues in the State. Ohio was in such good financial condition when the crisis of 1860 arrived that the banks did not suspend in unison with those of the rest of the country, and there was much

dispute in the board of control as to whether the banks should be allowed to suspend specie payments in 1862.

Governor Chase was re-elected governor in 1857 by a very small plurality. Henry B. Payne was selected as the Democrat candidate, and received 159,294 votes to 160,575 for Chase. Philadelph Van-Trump, the American candidate, polled over 10,000 votes. The legislature was strongly Democratic. But in the following year Christopher P. Wolcott, Republican, was elected over Durbin Ward, the Democrat candidate for attorney-general, by twenty thousand.

Governor Chase's administration extended from January, 1856, to January, 1860. Throughout his administration the legislature, by special sessions, met every January. One of the most important events of this period was the reorganization of the militia and a review of the military forces in 1858. There was practically a state of war in "bleeding Kansas," with the sacking of towns and bloody encounters of small parties.

In 1858 occurred one of the last attempts to make the fugitive slave law effective in Ohio. A young negro at Oberlin, supposed to be a fugitive, was taken by four slave hunters to Wellington, where a crowd rescued him without violence, and sent him to Canada. The law was invoked, and twenty-seven indictments returned in the United States court, against citizens of Oberlin and Wellington, including one professor. Two were tried and convicted, and fourteen went to jail at Cleveland, refusing to give bail. When the State supreme court was asked for a writ of habeas corpus, this relief was denied by a division of three to two. If one judge had been of different mind, says President J. H. Fairchild, in his history of Oberlin, Governor Chase would have sustained "a decision releasing the prisoners, by all the powers at his command, and the United States was as fully committed to the execution of the fugitive slave law. This would have placed Ohio in conflict with the general government in defense of State rights, and a war might have come in 1859 instead of 1861." A great mass meeting was held at Cleveland, May 24th, to express sympathy with the prisoners, and Joshua R. Giddings, referring to the charges of the Democratic press that he had counseled forcible resistance to the law, declared, "God knows it is the first truth they have ever told about me." It is pertinent to add that in the fall of the same year this veteran radical was defeated in the nomination for Congress by John Hutchins, by a majority of one vote. Finally the men in jail were liberated through a compromise with the slave hunters, who were alarmed by proceedings for kidnapping. So, said the Cleveland Plaindealer, "the government has been beaten at last, with law, justice and facts all on its side, and Oberlin, with its rebellious higher law creed, is triumphant."

Stanley Matthews, of Cincinnati, a Free Soil man appointed United States district attorney by President Buchanan, enforced

the provisions of the law against a white man of Cincinnati, who had given a fugitive negro couple some bread and water in the privacy of his home, and the sinful good Samaritan was sent to prison. Twenty years after, this enforcement of the United States statutes was recalled against Matthews, causing his defeat as a candidate for Congress, a circumstance that would tend to vindicate those who considered the fugitive slave law an outrage upon the essential principles of humanity and civilization.

Governor Chase, throughout his administration, attempted to arouse interest in military organization and drill, undoubtedly because he foresaw the danger of an appeal of the great political questions to the high court of war. He was far from a military man himself, but he sought to make the State capable of meeting any emergency. Ellsworth, of Chicago, had shown that militia might be interested in something more than the manual of arms, and Chase, with legislative support, encouraged similar companies of Zouaves in Ohio. A new arsenal was established, and new arms received from the government. A convention of nearly two hundred officers met at Columbus to devise means of promoting the militia system, and at Dayton Governor Chase had the satisfaction of reviewing a gathering of nearly thirty companies. The result was slight in value, yet all the westward states combined did not possess so large a militia body as the First Ohio regiment, under the command of Colonel King, of Dayton.*

In 1859 occurred John Brown's wild raid from Pennsylvania to Harper's Ferry, to promote an insurrection of negroes; the calling out of the militia of Virginia; the battle, in which one negro student of Oberlin lost his life, and the trials and hangings, in which another Oberlin negro student shared the fate of the old abolitionist. After this, there was a feeling that the crisis was near at hand. The last official declaration of Governor Chase was in reply to a notice from Governor Wise of Virginia that Virginia troops would pursue abolition bands into sister states if necessary to punish them. Chase responded with dignity that Ohio would obey the constitution and the laws and discountenance unlawful acts, but under no circumstances would the military of another state be permitted to invade her territory.

At the state election in 1859 there were no tickets but the Democratic, headed by Rufus P. Ranney, and the Republican, headed by William Dennison, Jr. Dennison was elected by a majority of over 13,000, and the legislature, strongly Republican, sent Salmon P. Chase to the United States senate to succeed Pugh.

The new governor, inaugurated in January, 1860, was a native of Cincinnati, born in 1815, son of the proprietor of one of the most

* "Ohio in the War," by Whitelaw Reid.

famous hotels of the West. In early manhood he married a daughter of the great stage proprietor, William Neil, of Columbus, and embarked in the practice of law at the capital. He had shown marked ability mainly in connection with railroad and bank management prior to 1860, though he had served a term in the State senate, but in the campaign against Ranney, an eminent lawyer and "acknowledged leader of the Ohio bar," he had achieved considerable popularity. He began his term with the eventful year of 1860, destined to be the crisis of the long pending conflict between the free and slave states. The situation was already serious enough for Governor Chase to say in his retiring message, January, 1860: "Ohio has uttered no menace of disunion when the American people have seen fit to entrust the powers of the Federal government to citizens of other political views of a majority of her citizens. No threats of disunion in a similar contingency by citizens of other states will excite in her any sentiments save those of sorrow and reprobation. They will not move her from her course. She will neither dissolve the Union herself nor consent to its dissolution by others. . . . She will abide in the Union and under the constitution maintain liberty."

Ohio, at this critical epoch, had a population of 2,343,739. This was one-eighth of the people of the states that might be expected to unitedly support the national government, and, with 500,000 young men, it was to be expected that the State would play an important part in the approaching conflict. To this importance had Ohio arisen. Sixty years before a wilderness, she was now indispensable to the maintenance of the Union to which she had been admitted in 1803. Besides, she had contributed an army of pioneers to the great states of Indiana and Illinois, which now contained three million people, as well as to other states west to California and north to Lake Superior. The census of 1860 revealed that the center of population of the United States, which had fallen further and further west from Baltimore since 1790, was now in Ohio, a State sixty years before on the frontier.

The State debt in 1860 was $14,250,000; the municipal debt nearly $10,000,000; but if to these were added corporate and private debt to make a total of $170,000,000, that total was only nineteen per cent of the assessed valuation of property. The people were paying in taxes for local and general purposes eleven million annually. The efficiency of the State government was shown by the maintenance of a reform school as well as a penitentiary, an institution for the blind, deaf and dumb, and three asylums for the insane.

In the way of educational facilities, the State had twenty-two colleges, eleven theological schools, one law school, ten medical schools, ten commercial schools, ninety academies, one hundred and thirty-five private and parochial schools, one hundred and fifty-seven high

schools, and 11,673 free common schools. The beginnings of Ohio university at Athens, and Miami university at Oxford, as well as Kenyon, Western Reserve, Oberlin, and Lane theological school, have been mentioned. Besides these there were Marietta college, founded in 1835; Ohio Wesleyan university at Delaware, founded in 1842; Wittenberg college, at Springfield, chartered in 1845; St. Xavier's college, chartered in 1846; Otterbein university, founded in 1849; Franklin college, founded in 1825; Muskingum college, 1837; Heidelberg college, 1850; Urbana university, 1850; Capital university, 1850; Antioch college, 1852; Baldwin university, 1856; Mount Union college, 1858. Nearly all of these, except the institutions at Athens and Oxford, were supported and controlled by particular religious denominations. The State had no great central university, such as was founded by Michigan. But in these numerous small colleges, where the students were comparatively few, there was earnest work done, and a democratic equality among the students, that tended to the proper training of men for noble functions in society.

Something has been said to indicate the prominence that Ohio had obtained in matters of intellect by her brilliant statesmen, jurists and journalists. In the literary field there have not been mentioned the Cary sisters, Alice and Phœbe, daughters of Robert Cary, a pioneer of 1803, who were born and reared at Cincinnati, began the publication of their poems in the Cincinnati papers, and were among the most popular poets of America from 1850 until after the civil war. In science considerable distinction had been obtained by John Strong Newberry, born in Connecticut, but reared from two years of age in Ohio and educated at the Western Reserve college and Cleveland medical college. From 1855 to 1859 he was engaged in geological exploration in the far west with government expeditions. William S. Sullivant, of Columbus, son of a pioneer of that region, associated with Leo Lesquereux, a Swiss who came there about 1850, became the highest American authority in one of the most difficult departments of botany, and Lesquereux began his famous study of the fossil plants of the coal beds.

William Davis Gallagher, born in Philadelphia in 1808, but reared in the Miami valley from the age of eight years, editor of the Cincinnati Mirror and a busy journalist, made himself famous in 1845 by a ballad, "The Spotted Fawn," and wrote some other things that were better. "There are few American poems," says William Dean Howells, who was then writing sketches and poems for the papers, "that impart a truer and tenderer feeling for nature than Gallagher's 'August,' beginning 'Dust on thy summer mantle, dust.' " Coates Kinney, born in New York, came to Ohio at fourteen years of age in 1840, lived at Xenia, and in 1849 published the poem, "Rain on the Roof," for which, and "Duty Here and Glory There,"

he will always be remembered. Hiram Powers, born in Vermont in 1805, came to Cincinnati in 1819, and there began his work as a self-taught sculptor. Aided by Nicholas Longworth, he went to Washington and finally to Italy, where he produced his "Greek Slave," the most famous work in early American art. James H. Beard, son of a pioneer shipmaster on the lakes, and reared at Painesville, where his scarcely less famous brother, William H. Beard, was born, after a wandering life as a portrait painter lived for many years at Cincinnati, leaving there in 1860 to become a resident of New York and member of the National Academy.

Cincinnati was at this time, with 160,000 population, one of the two greatest cities of the West. Its population was practically the same as that of Boston, New Orleans and St. Louis, and only 50,000 behind Baltimore. Chicago was growing remarkably fast, but as yet had only 110,000 people. Cleveland had less than 45,000, Columbus less than 20,000, and Toledo 15,000. The next in Ohio was Zanesville with about 10,000. In the list of cities of six or seven thousand were Hamilton, Springfield, Chillicothe, Portsmouth and Steubenville, and those of four thousand or five thousand were Xenia, Circleville, Marietta, Mt. Vernon, Mansfield and Canton.

The corn crop of the State, from the earliest days its main reliance, was 75,000,000 bushels a year. The wheat crop was about 18,000,000 on the average. There were 240,000 farmers, mostly owning small farms, and these were one-tenth of all the farmers in the United States. The meat packing industry of the State was worth about $12,000,000 annually, and Cincinnati was the great pork packing city of the country, as it was also the greatest city for the manufacture of clothing, not excepting New York, the product being valued at about $16,000,000 annually. Since 1850 there had been enormous progress in developing the natural resources of the State aside from agriculture and grazing. The coal dug had increased from eight million to fifty million bushels, the number of iron furnaces from nineteen to fifty-nine, and the product of salt had grown from 300,000 bushels to two million. The manufactures in iron were estimated at $20,000,000 annually. In 1854–60 were the beginnings of the iron rolling mills at Cleveland, and people began to prophesy, because of its situation in relation to coal and iron mines, the future greatness of that city.

Another source of wealth was becoming important for the first time. Oil, seeping out of certain rocks, or coming up in springs in some localities, was known to the red men before the days of the pioneers. The Indians used it as a medicine, and the thicker oil for mixing the paint with which they adorned their bodies. When the French commander at Fort Duquesne came into Pennsylvania before the Revolution, the Indians set fire to Oil Creek for his entertainment. The abundance of the oil about Fort Stanwix (Rome,

N. Y.), and the use of it by the Indians, gave rise to the name "Seneca oil," by which it was known for many years. In northern Ohio the oil exuded in many places from a fine-grained sandstone and clay shale that in eastern Ohio bends down under the coal beds, and there were similar appearances along the exposures of this rock as far south as Portsmouth. When the early settlers were boring salt wells they often encountered oil and sometimes a great pressure of gas that caused wonder and alarm. This was the case along the Little Muskingum, where some of the people used the oil in lamps, and Professor Hildreth, of Marietta, in 1819 predicted that some way would be found to employ the product in lighting the streets of future Ohio cities. At Liverpool, about the same time, people boring a well for salt water "struck oil," which was forced to the surface, accompanied by a tremendous explosion of gas. Not valuing such things, they bored deeper and found salt water, but it was too much defiled with oil to be valuable. So a wooden tube was inserted in the well, and a pump used to encourage the natural flow of the oil. It was used about Liverpool as a sovereign remedy for rheumatism, hoarseness and throat disease, and for lubricating machinery and cart-wheels. Three barrels of this "rock oil" were taken to Cleveland and offered for sale as rheumatism medicine, but the supply offered was so enormous that the speculation was defeated.

Distillation of the crude oil was necessary to make it valuable as an illuminant, and this was not successful, on a large scale, until 1854, when "kerosene," produced at New York, was put on the market. Then it became desirable, for the first time, to bore for oil, and a Connecticut man, Drake, came to Titusville, Pa., in 1859, and began a well, laughed at by the natives, who had so little faith in the enterprise that the village blacksmith refused the explorer credit for the price of a centerbit. But Drake struck oil, at 170 feet, and obtained twenty barrels a day from the well. This was the beginning of the great oil excitement in the West. The product of Pennsylvania was increased from 2,000 barrels a year to 2,000,000 in 1859-60. John Strong Newberry wrote in 1859 an account of "The Rock Oils of Ohio," which was published in the Ohio agricultural reports, and said that "already the amount of petroleum daily drawn from the wells bored to procure it in Pennsylvania and Ohio may be safely estimated to be at least five hundred barrels." He announced the theory that the oil was formed by natural distillation from coal under pressure, and that the oil of strong odor probably had its origin in animal remains. Some two hundred wells were being bored in the Mecca (Trumbull county) district, he said, and twelve or more were successfully pumped. The average depth was fifty feet, and the daily product five to twenty barrels. At Lowellville, in Mahoning county, a single well, 157 feet deep, was yielding twenty barrels of light oil a day. Boring had just begun about Liverpool and

Lorain, and wells had been sunk on Duck creek in Noble county, where oil had been obtained for many years from salt wells. Afterward, 13 wells were sunk about Liverpool, four of them by Colonel Whittlesey. The oil of Ohio promised great returns of wealth even then, for in Europe many of its uses had been discovered. Out of the oil from the West and East Indies there had been obtained "paraffin, benzole, nitro-benzole, aniline (used to produce the fashionable color, mauve), and pure violet aniline powder, selling at $300 a pound." The price of rock oil from Titusville at New York was then forty cents a gallon, and Dr. Newberry predicted, "Should petroleum ever be produced in such abundance as to glut the market, and the price be reduced to fifteen cents a gallon, it will be used as a fuel on steamboats and locomotives." That it "must ultimately succeed all illuminants now in use except gas" he had no doubt.

But the most remarkable advancement was in channels of communication and trade. At the beginning of the year 1858, Commissioner Mansfield was able to say that in the thirty-two years since the first earth was turned for the canals, the State had completed the most extensive system of works for the facilitation of commerce and travel that any state or nation of like population could show. "Nothing in ancient or modern times, within the same period of time and with the same population, can be compared with it." No state in the Union, except New York, with greater population, could rival Ohio in this respect. It was only ten years since the Little Miami and Mad River railroads had begun to attract attention, but in 1858 Ohio had three thousand miles, or one-seventh of the railroads of the United States, in addition to the 850 miles of canals, and 2,400 miles of turnpike and plank roads. A single generation had made over 70,000 miles of canals, highways and iron roads.*

The principal points of convergence of the railroad lines were Toledo, Sandusky and Cleveland on the lake, Columbus and Dayton in the interior, and Cincinnati on the river. The only railroad termini on the river between Cincinnati and Bellaire were Portsmouth and Marietta. The main lines of the present Lake Shore, Pennsylvania, Panhandle and Big Four systems were in operation, under various names, through the State, as channels of transportation from east to west. The Baltimore & Ohio system was also represented by the lines from Bellaire to Columbus and Sandusky, but without the modern Chicago extension. On these lines there were many changes of cars for through travel, from one railroad to another. No bridge spanned the Ohio. At Cincinnati the famous engineer, John A. Roebling, had planned a suspension bridge in 1846, and work was begun on the towers in 1856, but financial troubles had forced its abandonment.

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*Reports of E. D. Mansfield, State statistician.

Hardly less notable was the advance in ship building and water commerce. The State ranked next to Maine, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania in ship building. There was now as much Ohio steamboat tonnage on Lake Erie as on the Ohio river, and the sail tonnage on the lakes had increased so much that all together the lake tonnage exceeded that of the river four to one. The commerce with Canada ports had doubled in ten years. In 1860 the lake exports were valued at $23,000,000 and the imports at $38,000,000. In 1855 a canal had been completed at Sault Ste. Marie, opening the iron and copper mines of Michigan to the iron workers of Ohio.

Toledo, in 1860, received by way of the Michigan Southern, Toledo & Wabash and Detroit & Milwaukee railroads and the canal, over five million bushels of wheat, eight hundred thousand barrels of flour, and considerably more than five million bushels of corn, besides other grain, which was largely shipped east by boat over the lake.

Now, the Ohio and Mississippi rivers were no longer necessary as outlets for the products of the State. The great channels of commerce eastward over the lake and along the lake shore and north bend of the river, as well as by the Potomac valley, were established, and the East and West were one, as George Washington had said they must be. Ten years earlier the South, controlling the Mississippi river, might have set up a separate government with comparatively little danger of its overthrow. Now the railroads had made the East and West an united and unconquerable enemy to such a division of the country.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

GOVERNORS WILLIAM DENNISON, 1860–62; DAVID TOD, 1862–64; JOHN BROUGH, 1864–65.

PART of the inaugural address of Governor Dennison was admirable—that directed to matters in which he had experience—the needs of commerce. He said most appropriately: "The time has arrived when the West will no longer consent that her just demands upon the Federal government for the protection of her great interests shall be disregarded. She is no longer a frontier, and will not patiently be treated as such. She is the heart of the Union, the center of its population, its production and its consumption."* This sentiment evidently influenced the nominations for president that followed. The Democratic party, which had already contributed thousands of voters to the Republican party, split again because, as George E. Pugh said in the Charleston convention, the South would humiliate the Northern Democrats to the verge of degradation, with their hands on their mouths and their mouths in the dust. The Northern wing nominated Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and the Southern John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. The Republican national convention, meeting at Chicago, considered Salmon P. Chase and Judge McLean, of Ohio, as well as Seward and others, and chose Abraham Lincoln for the presidency. In the election Ohio gave Lincoln 231,610 votes, Douglas 187,232, Breckinridge 11,405, and Bell (the candidate mainly supported in the South in opposition to Breckinridge) 12,194. Thus all shades of opinion were represented. As soon as the result of the national vote electing Lincoln was announced, preparation for secession began in the extreme Southern states, led by South Carolina, and the people of Ohio were brought

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*But he was verbose in his discussion of the proposed secession, and declared that standing armies would be the "succedaneum" of division. The word was new to his readers and was the subject of much jesting.

to consider what was their duty in regard to the preservation of the Union.

The sentiment of the State was conservative. Anything would have been conceded to the South for the sake of peace except the one thing, that slavery must not be extended over more territory, either in the west or southward by expansion in the Spanish-American countries. The legislatures of Kentucky and Tennessee, visiting Columbus, were greeted with the utmost friendliness and courtesy, and an effort was made to assure them that Ohio was actuated by fraternal feelings. In the Congress of 1859-60, memorable for the long and bitter and finally successful contest of the Southerners against the candidacy of John Sherman for speaker of the house, Thomas Corwin had secured the preliminary adoption of an amendment to the United States constitution, guarding slavery forever from interference, provided it remained within the limits then established, and the legislature of Ohio ratified this amendment after war had actually begun.

But the South, educated by the farseeing and logical-minded John C. Calhoun, was persuaded that there could be no peace in the Union with slavery, and consequently, in the minds of the leaders, it was settled that the cotton states would go out of the Union. They were convinced that their interests were so different from those of the corn and wheat states that it was useless for either section to attempt those sacrifices of individual notions necessary to maintain one general government. They did not want manufactories nor a tariff to protect manufactories. Their only desire was to raise cotton by negro labor and let England spin the cotton and weave the cloth.

In that gloomy period at the end of 1860 and beginning of 1861 when the Southern congressmen were taking their leave and pronouncing funeral orations for the Union, and people were everywhere in doubt what should be done or could be done, Ben Wade of Ohio rose in the senate and boldly declared that the United States was a nation and must defend herself. He went on to lay down the policy that Lincoln afterward followed. If a state should secede, the nation will not make war on her, but the secession would be illegal until the nation acceded to it. The president must continue to execute the laws of the Union and collect revenues. The state must submit to this or make war on the United States. If she makes war on the United States, that is treason and will be crushed. "That is where it results," said Wade, "we might just as well look the matter right in the face." As for him, he said, "I stand by the Union of these states. Washington fought for that good old flag. My father fought for it. It is my inheritance. It was my protector in infancy and the pride and glory of my riper years, and though it may be assailed by traitors on every side, by the grace of God under its shadow I will die."

But a large part of the people of the North were convinced that the sections were so radically different that it was no longer worth while to try to keep the cotton states in the Union. Like Horace Greeley, they would let them go in peace. Throughout January, 1861, they were going—adopting ordinances of secession, taking possession of United States forts and arsenals, capturing and paroling United States troops, until there remained only a few little spots in the South Atlantic and Gulf States where the Stars and Stripes were flying—only the islands occupied by Forts Sumter and Pickens and the Florida keys. Five of the states that were thus behaving, out of seven, had been bought by the money of the whole country or won from foreign powers and the Indians by the blood and treasure of the whole country. Gradually the enormous impertinence of such a proceeding prevailed over the feeling of indifference, and there was a mighty indignation in the North that awaited more acute provocation to break out in the spirit of conquest and punishment. Yet there was a constant restraint imposed by the neutral attitude of the border states, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri. At their suggestion a peace conference was held at Washington in February, 1861, to which Ohio sent as delegates, Salmon P. Chase, William S. Groesbeck, Franklin T. Backus, Reuben Hitchcock, Thomas Ewing, Valentine B. Horton and C. P. Wolcott. They deliberated on plans to perpetuate slavery in the South and limit it by a boundary. But the conference was altogether futile. The cotton states were determined on independence, and no proposition on any other basis would be considered then, or at any other time before Appomattox.

The Ohio legislature passed resolutions declaring that the general government could not permit the secession of any state without violating the bond and compact of union, and, after President Lincoln had been inaugurated, "hailed with joy his firm, dignified and patriotic message," and pledged "the entire power and resources of the State for a strict maintenance of the constitution and the laws." But there was a considerable party that objected to such expressions, holding that the general government had no power to "coerce a state." The leaders in the legislature, favoring the maintenance of the Union by force, were James A. Garfield, who since leaving the Mahoning canal had fitted himself to become president of Hiram college; Jacob Dolson Cox, a graduate of Oberlin who had married the daughter of President Finney, and James Monroe, an oldtime abolitionist of the Oberlin district.

At the election of a United States senator in February, to succeed George E. Pugh, Salmon P. Chase was elected by a vote of 76 to 53 for Pugh and 5 for Thomas Corwin. A month later President Lincoln selected Mr. Chase as his secretary of the treasury, and John Sherman was elected to the vacancy, his Democratic antagonist being

William Kennon, Sr. Thus Ohio was represented in Congress in 1861 by Wade and Sherman in the senate, the first a radical, the other a conservative, but firm and unyielding; and in the house by George H. Pendleton, John A. Gurley, Clement L. Vallandigham, William Allen (of Darke county), James M. Ashley, Chilton A. White, Thomas Corwin, Richard A. Harrison, Samuel Shellabarger, Warren P. Noble, Carey A. Trimble, Valentine B. Horton, Samuel S. Cox, Samuel C. Worcester, Harrison G. Blake, Robert H. Nugen, William P. Cutler, James R. Morris, Sidney Edgerton, Albert G. Riddle, John Hutchins and John A. Bingham. Bingham, Shellabarger and Horton were leading supporters of the war power of the nation, and Pendleton, S. S. Cox and Vallandigham, the prominent critics of the exercise of power by the administration.

On April 10th, after there had been an actual state of war on the southern coast for many weeks, but not officially recognized, the people of Cincinnati displayed a sense of the situation by stopping the shipment of arms through that city to Arkansas. This aroused great indignation southward; but the United States was denied the right to send food to the soldiers at Forts Sumter and Pickens. When it was attempted, Fort Sumter was bombarded, April 12th, and Major Anderson, son of the old land officer of the Virginia reserve in Ohio, was compelled to haul down the flag.

This, at last, removed all restraint from the spirit of war. Before the bombardment had ended twenty full companies were offered to Governor Dennison for immediate service. On the 15th came President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men for three months service to re-establish the laws of the United States where they were defied. Governor Dennison immediately gave out a patriotic proclamation to the State, and when Governor Magoffin telegraphed that "Kentucky would furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister southern states," Dennison telegraphed to Washington, "If Kentucky will not fill her quota, Ohio will fill it for her." The Ohio legislature promptly passed a bill appropriating one million dollars to put the State on a war footing, and Cincinnati offered to take one-fourth of the loan. Some of the members voted for the war act with explanation. Judge Thomas M. Key, the ablest of the Democrats, "believed it was an unwarranted declaration of war . . . a usurpation by the president . . . the beginning of military despotism; but he was opposed to secession, and could do no otherwise than stand by the stars and stripes." Thomas Moore, of Butler county, a type of the "Silver Gray Whigs," felt that this was "the most painful duty of his life . . . but he could do nothing else than stand by the grand old flag of the country." There was one vote against the bill in the senate, but the house, waiting a day for public opinion, was unanimous, and in the speeches made there was unreserved national spirit. Mr.

Flagg, a Democrat of Hamilton county, said he was "ready for peace for the Union, or war for it, love for it, hatred for it, everything for it." Mr. Vallandigham visited the capital and earnestly remonstrated with the Democrats for giving their sanction to the war; but the patriotic enthusiasm of the crisis could not be controlled by such partisanship.* With particular reference to Vallandigham, it was supposed, Garfield secured the passage of a bill to punish treason.

There was no hesitation in the response to the call for troops in Ohio. Three months before, President Lorin Andrews, of Kenyon college, had offered his services in case of war, and he now set about forming a company. He was a type of the men who enlisted or encouraged enlistment. As soon as the President had called for troops, telegrams came to the governor from various towns, tendering companies. Cincinnati, Dayton and Cleveland offered thousands. James Barrett Steedman, of Toledo, who had been a delegate to the Charleston Democratic convention, pledged a regiment in ten days. Prominent men, in every quarter, without regard to party, offered their services and asked what they could do. The militia system was, of course, worthless, and of no avail in the emergency. There were a few companies of volunteer infantry, armed and trained, and a few one-gun squads of artillery. The best known of these companies immediately offered their services. It is interesting to note that Lucius V. Bierce, the invader of Canada in 1838, was among those who raised companies, largely at his own expense. Later he was made assistant adjutant-general of volunteers, under the national government, and was engaged for two years in the mustering of volunteers at Columbus.

The feelings with which the greater part of these soldiers enlisted have been frequently stated, but perhaps nowhere so naturally and simply as in a memorandum found among the papers of Col. Minor Milliken. He was the son of a wealthy lawyer and farmer of Butler county, before the war graduated in Miami college and Harvard law school, and began the practice of law with Thomas Corwin, but returned to farming until the spring of 1861, when he organized a company of cavalry and furnished the money to partly equip it. He went to West Virginia as a private, and later was commissioned major of the First Ohio cavalry, from which rank he soon rose to colonel. The memorandum here referred to was made public after Colonel Milliken was killed at Stone River, and in part was as follows:

"It was not pleasant to leave my friends and my home, and, relinquishing my liberty and pleasure, bind myself to hardships and obedience for three years by a solemn oath. Why did I do it?

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*"Ohio in the War," by Whitelaw Reid, at the beginning of the war an editor at Xenia, his native town.

"First. I did it because I loved my country. I thought she was surrounded by traitors and struck by cowardly plunderers. I thought that, having been a good government to me and my fathers before me, I owed it to her to defend her from all harm; so when I heard of the insults offered her, I rose up as if some one had struck my mother, and as a lover of my country agreed to fight for her.

"Second. Though I am no great reader, I have heard the taunts and insults sent us workingmen from the proud aristocrats of the South. My blood has grown hot when I heard them say labor was the business of slaves and mudsills; that they were a noble-blooded and we a mean-spirited people; that they had ruled the country by their better pluck, and if we did not submit they would whip us by their better courage. So I thought the time had come to show these insolent fellows that Northern institutions had the best men, and I enlisted to flog them into good manners and obedience to their betters.

"Third. I said that this war would disturb the whole country and all its business. The South meant rule or ruin. It has Jeff Davis and the Southern notion of government; we our old constitution and our old liberties. I couldn't see any peace or quiet until we had whipped them, and so I enlisted to bring back peace in the quickest way."

The Lancaster Guards arrived at Columbus April 15th, closely followed by the Dayton Light Guards and Montgomery Guards, and on the morning of April 18th two regiments were made up of the companies that had reached the capital. The First included the Lancaster Guards; the Lafayette Guards, and Light Guards and Montgomery Guards, of Dayton; the Grays and the Hibernian Guards of Cleveland, the Portsmouth, Zanesville and Mansfield Guards, and the Jacksons of Hamilton. In the Second regiment were the Rovers, Zouaves and Lafayettes of Cincinnati, the Videttes and Fencibles of Columbus, the Springfield Zouaves, the Covington Blues (of Miami county), one Steubenville and two Pickaway companies. The men elected their own officers, and Edward A. Parrott was made temporary commander of the First, and Lewis Wilson, chief of police of Cincinnati, colonel of the Second. Without uniform and without arms, they started out by train next day under the command of George W. McCook, a Mexican war veteran, to defend the capital founded by George Washington. The First was mustered into the United States service at Lancaster, Pa., by Lieut. Alexander McDowell McCook, a New Lisbon boy, who had been educated at West Point. He was then made colonel, and Parrott lieutenant-colonel. The Second was mustered in at the same place and Wilson retained in command. Both regiments, after some delay, reached Washington, and were assigned to a brigade under the command of Robert C. Schenck, who was made a brigadier-general, as Hamer had been in 1846, and who, like Hamer, justified the honor.

The quota of Ohio, in the call for 75,000 men, was 13,000, and after two thousand had been sent to meet the most urgent demand, there remained the work of organizing eleven regiments from the hosts that poured into Columbus, where there was no shelter for them, no tents, no supplies, nobody with experience to take care of the men and organize them. Governor Dennison established Camp Jackson in the woods, naming it in honor of the old Democrat patriot, and his staff, Adjutant-General Henry B. Carrington, Commissary-General George W. Runyan, and the others, did the best they could under the circumstances, soon embarrassed by the usual disparaging comment that accompanies the organization of armies.

To command the troops the governor wanted Irvin McDowell, whose career has already been noticed, then on the staff of General Scott, but upon the urgency of Cincinnati friends he selected George B. McClellan, a Pennsylvanian, then thirty-five years old, a West Pointer who had seen war in Mexico and had been sent to Europe by Jefferson Davis, when secretary of war, to observe the Crimean war. In 1860 he had come to Cincinnati as president of the Ohio & Mississippi railroad. For brigadier-generals, Newton Schleich, the Democrat leader in the state senate, J. H. Bates, of Cincinnati, and J. D. Cox were selected. Presently the governor's staff was reinforced by the addition of Catharinus P. Buckingham, Charles Whittlesey, J. W. Sill, and William S. Rosecrans, a native of Delaware county, a graduate of West Point, who had left the army in 1854, and since then had been interested in coal and oil production in Ohio. He had drilled the home guards at Cincinnati, which was in fear of invasion, and in the latter part of April he located Camp Dennison, near Cincinnati, and was busy caring for the volunteers until made chief engineer for the State. As finally re-organized the governor's staff was C. P. Buckingham, adjutant-general; George B. Wright, quartermaster-general, Columbus Delano, commissary-general, and C. P. Walcott, judge advocate-general.

Thirty thousand men assembled in answer to the call for thirteen. Out of these, eleven more regiments were organized for three months' service for the United States: the Third, Col. Isaac H. Marrow; Fourth, Col. Lorin Andrews; Fifth, Col. Samuel H. Dunning; Sixth, Col. William K. Bosley; Seventh, Col. Erastus B. Tyler; Eighth, Col. Hiram DePuy; Ninth, Col. Robert L. McCook; Tenth, Col. William H. Lytle; Eleventh, Col. James F. Harrison; Twelfth, Col. John F. Lowe; Thirteenth, Col. A. Saunders Piatt. A little later these were sent to Camp Dennison and re-organized for three years' service, with some change in officers. Two or three thousand declined to re-enlist, and were sent home on furlough until their three months' enlistment had expired. They had not been paid. "Their feelings were participated in by their friends, until very

many were led to believe that the promises of the government were worthless, and bitterness and wrath succeeded to suspicion and disappointment."*

In addition to these thirteen for the national army, Ohio organized ten regiments of her own out of the companies that were offered. These were the Fourteenth, Col. James B. Steedman; the Fifteenth, Col. George W. Andrews; the Sixteenth, or Carrington Guards, Col. James Irvine; the Seventeenth, Col. John M. Connell; the Eighteenth, Col. Timothy R. Stanley; the Nineteenth, Col. Samuel Beatty; the Twentieth, Col. Thomas Morton; the Twenty-first, Col. Jesse S. Norton; the Twenty-second, Col. William E. Gilmore.† Besides these regiments, enough companies for four others were held in reserve at their homes.

The State was expected to uniform, arm and equip its soldiers, and the difficulties of doing this were enormous, requiring the generous services and counsel of the best qualified citizens. To aid in the work Miles Greenwood, who had established an iron foundry in Cincinnati in 1831, undertook the contract for rifling the old smoothbore muskets, producing the "Greenwood rifle," which carried for a long range a bullet that would nowadays be considered very large. Greenwood also undertook the casting of cannon, and during the war turned out over two hundred bronze cannon, the first ever made in the West, as well as gun caissons, and the armanent of a monitor.

As soon as it was known that troops would be called out for three years, Governor Dennison recommended McClellan for the rank of major-general, so that he could retain chief command in the West. "Ohio must lead throughout the war," said the governor. The commission was issued. McClellan at first could hardly believe in his sudden advancement, but it was not long before he was exercising authority with ample sway, and betraying toward Dennison an ingratitude that hurt the governor more than the extravagances of public opinion and newspaper tirades.

Governor Dennison's chief duty, aside from the furnishing of troops to the general government, was the protection of the State from invasion. There was no Confederate army near, in the early part of 1861, for Kentucky was neutral and western Virginia largely Union in sentiment. But Confederate companies were organizing all along the border, and it was reasonable to expect that Confederate armies would occupy those regions adjacent to Ohio, if they were not forestalled. General Carrington in April advised the Governor that the Ohio river was not a practical line of defense, and that Ohio could be guarded only by occupying western Virginia and Kentucky. But did the Ohio troops have a right to invade the soil of another

*Report of Adjutant-General Buckingham, 1861.

†One of the ten went to St. Louis and mustered in as the Thirteenth Missouri, under Col. Crafts J. Wright.

state? When it was being discussed whether United States troops could take possession of the Long Bridge at Washington, Governor Dennison said: "We can let no theory prevent the defense of Ohio. I will defend Ohio where it costs less and accomplishes most. Above all, I will defend Ohio beyond rather than on her border." He joined with Governors Yates and Morton in urging the government to garrison the important points in Kentucky; but that was not attempted until the enemy had occupied the strategic positions. Regarding western Virginia, the governor obtained permission to act, because in that quarter it was desired to encourage the people to secede from Virginia and form a new state. In April Colonel Barnett and part of his artillery was sent to Marietta to hold in check the rebellions element at Parkersburg, and when it was heard that the Virginia volunteers had taken possession of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad at Grafton, the government permitted Ohio to go ahead. General McClellan had given his first advice regarding the campaign: "I advise delay for the present. . . I will soon have Camp Dennison a model establishment. . . In heaven's name don't precipitate matters. . . Don't let these frontier men hurry you on. . . Morton is a terrible alarmist." But on the 24th of May he began to move, and asked for the nine regiments of state troops, which were in motion for the border in six hours. Colonel Steedman crossed with the Fourteenth and Barnett's artillery at Marietta, occupied Parkersburg May 27th, and swept out on the railroad repairing the track and rebuilding bridges, at Grafton joining Colonel Irvine, who had brought the Sixteenth and Kelly's Virginia regiment along the other branch of the road. Pushing on to Philippi, they fought the first battle of the war, June 3d, and drove the Confederate forces into the mountains.

Colonel Norton, with the Twenty-first Ohio, crossed at Gallipolis and seized thirty Virginians of secession activity, who were sent to Camp Chase, near Columbus, and were the first prisoners at that camp, afterward famous as a place of detention for Confederate soldiers. The Twenty-second went across in May.

The Fifteenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth rapidly supported the advance guard. McClellan soon entered western Virginia, with other Ohio State troops, and some Indiana regiments. William S. Rosecrans, promoted to brigadier-general, was with the army, and Gen. Charles W. Hill led a considerable body of Ohio militia. A slow advance was made against the new position of the Confederates at the Rich Mountain and Laurel Hill gap in the mountains. The attack was made July 11th, a victory was won by Rosecrans, and a sharp blow to the retreating enemy delivered at Carrick's Ford by Steedman's regiment.

Gen. J. D. Cox, under the orders of General McClellan, had taken command of the district of the Kanawha in July, with the

Eleventh, Twelfth and Twenty-first Ohio and First and Second Kentucky, organized near Cincinnati, Cotter's Ohio battery and Pfau's Cincinnati cavalry, and moved up the river, driving the enemy from the Kanawha valley into the mountains, a little battle occurring at Scary Creek, July 17th, that caused the death of several gallant Ohioans.

Meanwhile Irvin McDowell had been major-general in command at Washington, and occupied Arlington, Va., in the latter part of May. Moving into Virginia, he fought the disastrous battle of Bull Run, July 21st. The First Ohio, which had lost nine killed and two wounded in a little fight at Vienna, June 17, was but slightly engaged at Bull Run, losing three killed. The Second, their comrades, had two killed.

Such was the first experience of Ohio in the war. Her native son, McDowell, a really capable military man, missed his chance to be the great Union leader, and became the victim of slander as well as just criticism; and another native son, Rosecrans, won an easy victory on account of which, McClellan, the ablest of all the generals that went out from Ohio in winning popularity, was hailed as a young Napoleon, and called to supersede McDowell at Washington. But the main thing to be remembered is, that though valuable aid was given by Indiana, it was mainly the Ohio militia that established the power of the Union in western Virginia, and saved that region, inhabited by descendants of the mountaineers who opened the West, from the danger of secession. As Governor Dennison desired, the Virginia mountains were made the bulwark of Ohio on the southeast.

The State troops that did this work in West Virginia returned home at the end of their three months' enlistment, but were neglected by the United States government in the matters of muster out and pay. "Disappointed and disgusted by the treatment they had received," says General Buckingham, "they aggravated in a tenfold degree the mischief produced by the three-months' men sent home from Camp Dennison. The prospect of raising troops in Ohio was for a time very discouraging." The neglect was, of course, due to the lack of efficient general organization, not to any desire of the government to disappoint the men. It is well to remember how impatient and distrustful and ready to accuse the government and hound unlucky generals public sentiment was in that period where, looking back through the haze of forty years, the hasty observer can see only a glorious unanimity and patriotic devotion. There was, in fact, a wonderful readiness to sacrifice self for country, as compared with any other American war. If men had enlisted as readily for the war of the Revolution, George Washington would have had an army large enough, one might say, to crowd the British into the sea in a fight with clubs and stones. Yet, with all this degree of unanimity, there was the same fault-finding, sensational misrepre-

sentation and unwillingness of a great many to do their duty, that have characterized other wars. The newspapers of both parties indulged in censure of the State government, persuading the people that the soldiers were given bad rations, shoddy uniforms and worthless guns. Some of them daily denounced the management of Camp Dennison, "exaggerated every defect and sought for criminal motives in every mistake,"* justifying that scathing indictment of the newspapers of the United States that Charles Dickens had made a few years before.

So much was enlistment discouraged that it was fortunate that Ohio had four regiments in reserve. In June these were called to Camp Chase, near Columbus, and organized in the Twenty-third regiment, Col. E. P. Seammon; the Twenty-fourth, Col. Jacob Ammen; Twenty-fifth, Col. James A. Jones, and Twenty-sixth, Col. E. P. Fyffe. The nine regiments that had been in West Virginia having been mustered out, the entire force of Ohio three-years' men in the field August 1st were the four just named, the eleven organized at Camp Dennison, the cavalry companies of Captains George and Burdsall, and two sections of artillery. These were on duty mainly in West Virginia.

But the effect of disaster at Bull Run was to stiffen the determination of the patriotic leaders. Venomous criticism was stifled in the face of danger to the national capital, and new regulations removed some disagreeable features of enlistment. The nine three-months' regiments that had been in West Virginia were re-organized for three years, generally with the same commanders, except that Col. Moses R. Dickey re-organized the Fifteenth, John F. de Courcey the Sixteenth, and Charles Whittlesey the Twentieth. Besides these many other entirely new regiments were organized, so that by the end of the year the infantry numbers ran up to eighty-two. At Mansfield, under the encouragement of Senator Sherman, who for a time intended to go to the field, but was dissuaded, there was organized the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth, under Colonels Forsythe and Harker, with McLaughlin's squadron of cavalry and Bradley's battery. Congressman Gurley gave special attention to the promotion of distinctive regiments from the Cincinnati district, such as the Twenty-eighth, Thirty-fourth, Forty-seventh, and Fifty-eighth, German or Zouave, and the Fiftieth, Irish Catholic. Cavalry was at first discouraged, but the State raised one regiment in July, Senator Wade and John Hutchins raised another in the Reserve, and by special efforts six cavalry regiments were formed in the year. These were the First, Col. Minor Milliken; Second, Col. Charles Doubleday; Third, Col. Lewis Zahm; Fourth, Col. John Kennett; Fifth, Col. W. H. H. Taylor, and Sixth, Col. William R. Lloyd.

* Reid, "Ohio in the war."

In the artillery branch seventeen batteries were organized, besides Barnett's regiment, which was filled to ten companies. Notable among these batteries was Wetmore's, of Cleveland, associated with Col. William B. Hazen's* Forty-first regiment, and Mitchell's battery, of Springfield, that went to Missouri. Hoffman's Cincinnati battery was the first to go to Missouri, followed by the Thirty-ninth, Twenty-seventh and Eighty-first regiments and part of the Twenty-second. Ohio troops did gallant service in saving Missouri as well as West Virginia and Kentucky.

Military operations in Kentucky did not begin until September and later, when the Confederate troops occupied Columbus and Bowling Green and a force under Zollicoffer came through Cumberland Gap on the old Warrior's trail. Then the Clermont county boy, Ulysses S. Grant, who had been comparatively unnoticed so far, but had been given a brigadier's commission because of his old army training, advanced to Paducah with Illinois troops, and Robert Anderson, by this time also a general, and in command of the department of the Cumberland, ordered the Ohio and Indiana troops across the Ohio river, where they took position to guard Cincinnati, and hold the railroads against the enemy. In a few weeks William Tecumseh Sherman, who had been made colonel in the regulars, and brigadier-general after Bull Run, where he was cool in the midst of confusion and panic, succeeded Anderson. Sherman, in this new position, was nervous, irritable and extremely free in expressing his opinions. An interview in which he asked two hundred thousand men to make a successful campaign, caused his removal. The Cincinnati Commercial published a famous editorial beginning: "The painful intelligence reaches us in such form that we are not at liberty to discredit it, that Gen. W. T. Sherman, late commander of the department of the Cumberland, is insane. It appears that he was at times, when commanding in Kentucky, stark mad." McDowell, a man of strict abstinence, had already been written down as a drunkard; the same fate awaited Grant, and McClellan before long found himself libelled as a traitor. But General Sherman had a faithful brother, and was not long overwhelmed by calumny. If insane in the fall of 1861, his reason appears to have resumed its throne at a later date.

While the Ohio regiments were advancing to meet the enemy in Kentucky, Rosecrans and Cox made a successful campaign in West Virginia against an army under Gen. Robert E. Lee, which attempted to regain command of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad and the Kanawha valley. This was considered an important campaign and engrossed the attention of the nation. Floyd's Virginians moved against Cox in the Kanawha valley. Cox's advance was commanded by Col. E. B. Tyler, of the Seventh Ohio, and this regiment

*Hazen, a native of Vermont, was reared in Portage county, Ohio. Appointed to West Point from Ohio, he was in the regular army six years, until he took command of the Forty-first.

was surprised at Cross Lanes August 26th, and a considerable number killed, wounded and captured, a reverse that occasioned much excitement in Ohio. Then Lee made his first move against the Union troops at Cheat Mountain, and the Twenty-fourth figured prominently in his repulse, as it did in the operations that followed in that quarter through the winter, losing a number of killed and wounded. This maneuver completed, Rosecrans and Lee concentrated in the upper Kanawha valley. Rosecrans, moving to join Cox, with three brigades of Ohio regiments, under Gen. H. W. Benham, Col. Robert L. McCook and Col. E. P. Scammon, attacked Floyd in intrenchments at Carnifix Ferry on Gauley river, September 21st, and gained a position that compelled the Confederate retreat. In this attack fell the first Ohio field officer killed in battle, Col. John W. Lowe, of the Twelfth, and Col. W. H. Lytle was wounded. In the Ninth, Tenth, Twelfth, Thirteenth and Twenty-eighth regiments, McMullin's battery and Ohio cavalry, 17 were killed and 141 wounded, the Tenth suffering most severely. That position won, Rosecrans and Cox advanced and confronted Lee at Sewell mountain, but, no battle resulting, fell back to the falls, and routed Floyd, who followed, on Cotton hill. Meanwhile the Fourth and Eighth and other Ohio commands held the Baltimore & Ohio railroad in West Virginia, occasionally skirmishing, and performing arduous service that caused the death of some brave men, among them the patriotic college president, Lorin Andrews, colonel of the Fourth.

The result of the campaign, holding West Virginia against a large army directed by the ablest Southern general, encouraged the North. Lee was relieved of command and sent to take charge of a department on the coast. Rosecrans, says Pollard, "was esteemed at the South one of the best generals the North had in the field." He was thanked by the legislatures of Ohio and West Virginia. A year later Lee and Rosecrans, in different fields, were in command of great armies, one invading the North, the other the South, and both manifested, at Antietam and Stone River, unshaken heroism in the face of great danger and heavy loss. For yet another year, the two continued in somewhat parallel careers, making a second set of invasions, further north and further south; but though Rosecrans had more success in Georgia than Lee in Pennsylvania, his fame was overshadowed by that of Grant. Probably Lee would have given way at the same time to some successful Southern general, had there been one. Virginia had lost Stonewall Jackson, and beyond the two, Lee and Jackson, the old Dominion did not seem as fertile of great generals as her daughter, Ohio.

At the time when the political parties in Ohio nominated candidates for governor in 1861, Governor Dennison was blamed with all the errors that had occurred in the raising of an army in Ohio greater

than the whole United States had ever before put in the field. He had organized twenty-three regiments for three-months service and eighty-two for three years. He left the State credited with 20,751 soldiers over and above the demands of the general government. Besides that he had shown military wisdom in regard to the occupation of West Virginia and Kentucky. In financial administration, when the appropriations of three millions by the legislature were tied up under the construction of the law followed by Treasurer Taylor, he adopted the bold plan of collecting money due the State from the general government by his personal agents, and using it for the desired purpose. In this way he kept out of the State treasury, and where it could be used, over a million dollars that was absolutely necessary for war purposes. In all this work he had been efficiently aided by such civilians as George W. McCook, Edward Ball, Noah H. Swayne, Joseph R. Swan, Aaron F. Perry, Julius J. Wood, Richard M. Corwin, Alfred P. Stone and William A. Platt.

Yet his party dropped him* and nominated, partly to retain the favor of the Democrats who supported the war, David Tod, of Warren, who had been the Democrat candidate for governor in 1844, for five years served as minister to Brazil, and in 1860 was president of the Baltimore national convention that nominated Douglas. He was an ardent supporter of the war for the Union. Benjamin Stanton, the abolitionist, was named with him, for lieutenant-governor. They received nearly 207,000 votes, and the candidates of the Democratic party, Hugh J. Jewett and John G. Marshall, about 152,000. Jewett, a lawyer at Zanesville, had begun in 1857 a very prominent career as a railroad man, as president of the Ohio Central. He was a conservative war Democrat.

In the fall of 1861 the country was restive and impatient for action at the front, a sentiment that was voiced by W. D. Gallagher, for thirty years a poet and editor of Ohio, in a poem that became immensely popular, "Move on the Columns!"

After the elections, and near the close of the year, came the first campaign in Kentucky. The sudden eclipse of General Sherman had given a chance to Gen. Don Carlos Buell, another Ohio graduate of West Point, who was given command in eastern Kentucky in November. He rendered services of great value in organizing an army and winning by diplomacy the good-will of the State he occupied. The first active campaigning in Kentucky was when Col. James A. Garfield, of the Forty-second Ohio, was sent in command

*"With the end of his service he began to be appreciated. He was the most trusted counsellor and efficient aid to his successor. Though no more than a private citizen, he came to be recognized in and out of the State as her best spokesman in the departments at Washington. Gradually he even became popular. The State began to reckon him among her leading public men, the party selected him as president of the national convention at Baltimore, and Mr. Lincoln called him to the cabinet."—Reid.

of a brigade to drive out Humphrey Marshall, and George H. Thomas to repulse Zollicoffer. Both were successful, and the young Western Reserve colonel was made a brigadier-general. At Logan's Cross Roads, January 19, Thomas won the most decisive Union victory so far, east of the Mississippi, in which Col. Robert L. McCook, commanding a brigade, and his regiment, the Ninth Ohio, were particularly distinguished.

Justice John McLean, whose honorable career covered the first fifty years of the statehood of Ohio, died at Cincinnati, April 4, 1861, and in February, 1862, as his successor in the United States supreme court, President Lincoln named Noah H. Swayne, whose early career has already been noticed. He held this high office, with unquestioned ability, until his resignation in 1881, three years before his death.

In the early days of Tod's administration, in the beginning of 1862, the first serious onslaught was made on the Confederacy. It was begun by General Grant, who cleared Kentucky of the enemy by moving up the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, and taking Forts Henry and Donelson in February. In this movement Ohioans did not take a conspicuous part, but the Fifty-eighth, Sixty-eighth and Seventy-sixth regiments were present at Fort Donelson, under the command of Gen. John M. Thayer, of Nebraska, and lost twenty-seven killed and wounded. Grant, pushing forward rapidly, occupied Pittsburg Landing in March, near the north boundary of Mississippi, and there on an April Sunday morning, was assailed by the concentrated forces of the Confederacy that he had crowded out of Kentucky and Tennessee, as well as reinforcements from all over the gulf states.

Buell's army, by this time, had begun to show the distinctive organization of the great Army of the Cumberland. The First division was commanded by George H. Thomas, with Col. R. L. McCook leading one brigade, and nearly half of all the regiments from Ohio. The Second division was under the command of Alexander McD. McCook, the first commander of the First Ohio, now a brigadier-general. Three of McCook's regiments were from Ohio. O. M. Mitchel, who had been a class-mate of Robert E. Lee at West Point, and had left his astronomical studies to become a brigadier-general and commandant at Cincinnati, fortifying the city through the summer of 1861, was given command of the Third division, in which there was a strong Ohio brigade, including the Third, Thirty-third, and Twenty-first, with Col. Joshua W. Sill in command; a brigade half Ohioans, and several other Ohio regiments. Colonel Ammen commanded a brigade in Nelson's division. With this army, General Buell had moved southward, by Bowling Green and Nashville, supporting Grant's advance on the Tennessee river, and was close at hand when the fighting began at Shiloh.

General Sherman had been appointed to succeed Grant at Cairo, and as Grant moved south, he brought along a division that was mainly Ohio regiments. Two brigades, under Colonels Hildebrand and Buckland, were all Ohio soldiers,* and half of the other two were Ohioans. They were encamped in the most advanced position, and upon them fell the first blow of the attack, April 6th. They were pounded back, and part broke in confusion, but Sherman was still fighting at the close of the day, with a remnant of two brigades. He was shot in the hand, three horses had been shot under him, but his gallantry and cheering influence had been such that General Halleck reported that "Sherman saved the fortunes of the day." His division, with seven thousand men in battle, lost 325 killed, 1,277 wounded, and 300 captured, nearly two thousand in all. Among the killed was Col. Barton S. Kyle, of Miami county.†

Outside of this the Ohio troops did not have much to do in the first day's battle. Gen. Lew Wallace, it will be remembered, did not arrive until late in the day, and Thayer's brigade, with him, and Col. Charles Whittlesey's brigade,‡ were not in the fight of the 6th. Col. Thomas Morton commanded McArthur's brigade of W. H. L. Wallace's division, and his regiment, the Eighty-first Ohio, lost 23; the Fifth Cavalry had some active service, though it was not a cavalry battle. Burrows' Ohio battery fought gallantly until overwhelmed and their guns captured. But it should not be forgotten that Jacob Ammen's brigade, the vanguard of Buell's army, was on the field before dark, and reinforced the Union line at a critical moment.

Through the night, the rest of General Buell's army arrived, Alexander McCook and Thomas J. Wood commanding two of the divisions, and William H. Gibson, William B. Hazen, William Sooy Smith and James A. Garfield among the brigade leaders, and there was a strong reinforcement of the Ohioans on the field as the battle was renewed next day. There was warm fighting, as the Union army pressed forward to drive the enemy back to Corinth. The First regiment lost 50 killed and wounded, the Fifteenth 75, the Forty-ninth 40, the Sixth 9, the Twenty-fourth 76, the Forty-first (under Hazen) 133, the Nineteenth 55, the Fifty-ninth 57, the Thirteenth 66, in this second day's battle, but the Confederates were beaten, and Sherman was entrusted with the pursuit.

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*Hildebrand's brigade, Fifty-third, Fifty-seventh and Seventy-seventh Ohio; Buckland's brigade, Forty-eighth, Seventieth and Seventy-second regiments. Fifty-fourth and Seventy-first in T. Kilby Smith's brigade and Forty-sixth in J. A. McDowell's brigade.

†Col. Thomas Worthington's regiment, the Forty-sixth, lost 185 killed and wounded. The Fifty-fourth lost in the same way 139 and the Seventy-first 44. The casualties of Hildebrand's brigade were 221 and of Buckland's 203. Besides, over two hundred Ohioans were captured.

‡The Twentieth, Fifty-sixth, Seventy-sixth and Seventy-eighth regiments.

Shiloh was a battle of great carnage, but a decided victory, and if Grant had been left in charge, would have been speedily followed by the occupation of Corinth, but, unfortunately, the people at home treated it as a defeat, and Halleck took direct control of the army. As soon as the news of the losses in killed and wounded reached home the great heart of Ohio throbbed with sympathy. The Sanitary commission, Mayor Hatch of Cincinnati, and Governor Tod, hastened to send steamers down the rivers, laden with supplies, surgeons and nurses. "Ohio boats removed the wounded with tender care to the hospitals at Camp Dennison and elsewhere within the State; the Ohio treasury was good for expenditures for the comfort of the sick and wounded which the general government did not provide for." At the close of the year Ohio had paid out over $50,000, the expenses of eleven steamboats and many surgeons in this work of mercy.

While Grant and Sherman and Buell made such a great advance toward the heart of Rebeldom and held their ground, it was quite different in the east with that other son of Ohio, McDowell, and her protegé, McClellan. Before they could grapple with their antagonist, their plans were disarranged by the fierce activity of Stonewall Jackson, a son of that Scotch-Irish breed that opened up the Ohio valley, a type of that large element in the Southern army that makes it idle to attempt to classify the Southern and Northern fighters on any basis but the flags they bore. Six Ohio regiments,* a squadron of cavalry and two batteries of Ohio troops had the honor of assisting in a repulse of Jackson at Kernstown in the Valley, losing 250 killed or wounded, half the Union loss; but at McDowell, Va., May 8th, General Schenck and General Milroy (of Indiana), suffered a severe defeat. The Twenty-fifth, Thirty-second, Seventy-fifth, and Eighty-second, under Schenck, lost 210 killed and wounded, and the Seventy-fifth, Twenty-fifth and Thirty-second, under Milroy, 153. In fact, on the Union side, it was almost exclusively an Ohio battle, and it was characterized by great gallantry, but the superiority of numbers defeated the Ohioans, after they had inflicted a loss of nearly five hundred on their enemy. Rosecrans, it may be noted, was no longer in command in this region. He had been called away for some inscrutable reason and the romantic Frémont put in his place. If it had been Rosecrans, instead of Frémont and Shields and Banks, against Jackson, that industrious Confederate might not have made his sudden leap to glory.

While Jackson was sweeping the valley clean of "Yankees," there was great alarm for the safety of Washington. In obedience to a call from the capital, Governor Tod called for volunteers. At Cleveland a public meeting was hastily called, at which two hundred and

* Eighth, Sixty-seventh, Fifth, Sixty-second, Seventh and Twenty-ninth.

fifty men enlisted, among them nearly all the students of the law school; at Zanesville the fire bells rang alarm, and three hundred were enrolled, among them the judge of the court then in session and the lawyers, and all over the State there was the same spirit, so that five thousand men reported at Camp Chase within a few days. Under these circumstances the Eighty-fourth regiment was sent to the field in ten days, and the Eighty-fifth, Eighty-sixth, Eighty-seventh and Eighty-eighth soon afterward filled. All the other regiments, eighty-two of infantry and six of cavalry, had been filled in February and March and sent out of the State, except the Forty-fifth, Fiftieth and Fifty-second, that recruited during the summer.

As has already been noted, Jackson's exploits in the Valley disarranged the operations of McClellan and McDowell. The enemy did not stand for them to slowly approach and grapple the Confederacy by the throat, but by a lightning shift, crushed the unfortunate McClellan and hurled his splendid army back from Richmond. Then came upon Ohio the necessity of raising seventy-four thousand more men. Under the law the state militia was liable to draft for half of this force. To avoid the apparently harsh methods of the draft, which would bring in all able-bodied men without regard to their patriotism, the plan was at this time adopted of apportioning the quota to the counties, according to population, and calling upon the communities to encourage enlistments in the most effective manner possible. Up to this time 115,000 voluntary enlistments had been made, and of these 60,000 three-years troops were in the field. This was not a very serious depletion of the State's military resources, but it was deemed best by Governor Tod and those who were apparently best qualified to judge, to use extraordinary means to secure enlistments, and the practice was begun of paying bounties. Beginning in the summer of 1862 and continuing until the latter part of the war, over $50,000,000 was paid in local bounties in Ohio to secure enlistments, while in the South a much larger proportion of the able-bodied population was put in the field without such expense, by means of draft or conscription. In spite of all that was done in this way in the summer of 1862, the State had furnished but 151,301 voluntary enlistments on September 1, 1862, and a draft was necessary to raise 12,000 more. The draft was a failure practically, for it resulted in adding only 2,400 men, but voluntary enlistments were renewed afterward, so that the State was by the end of the year credited with 171,000 men, besides the first three-months men, recruits for the regular army and enlistments in the navy. It was evident that some strong anti-war influence had temporarily occupied the public mind in the summer. Before the military situation was very serious the arrest and imprisonment, at the suggestion of Governor Tod, of Dr. Edson B. Olds, of Lancaster, for making

speeches discouraging enlistment, showed the tendency of reaction against the government.

Despite the Confederate successes in Virginia there appeared nothing threatening to Ohio in the West in the early summer of 1862. Buell was making a campaign toward Chattanooga, in the course of which General Mitchel, in command of a division, occupied Huntsville, Ala., had some skirmishing, and sent Colonel Streight on the raid to cut the railroad between Atlanta and Chattanooga, in the course of which the Third Ohio was captured by Gen. Nathan B. Forrest. Part of Mitchel's command actually bombarded Chattanooga. Suddenly the air of peace which had settled over the Ohio valley was disturbed by the irruption of Gen. John H. Morgan and his cavalry into Central Kentucky. Cincinnati was reasonably alarmed by the news and the frantic appeals of Boyle, the Kentucky general on guard in that state. Public meetings were called in the city, George E. Pugh leading the effort for defense, Governor Tod sent arms and convalescent soldiers, followed by other troops in the State, and these and the city police force were sent to Lexington, Ky., to meet the enemy, but Morgan retired after recruiting his brigade and destroying a great amount of military supplies.

When this period of excitement had passed, the people were discouraged by the Second Manassas campaign, which forced the Union army in Virginia back to Washington. On August 9th Geary's Ohio brigade* behaved with great gallantry in the serious drawn battle of Cedar Mountain, Va., losing 465 killed and wounded.

The Ohio brigade of Sigel's corps, the Twenty-fifth, Fifty-fifth, Seventy-third and Seventy-fifth infantry, and Haskins' battery, under the command of Col. Nathaniel C. McLean, son of Judge John McLean, had an active part in the Second Bull Run battles and marches, and lost 434 killed, wounded and captured. General Schenck, their division commander, was wounded. Twenty of the First Ohio cavalry, acting as escort for General Pope, were gobbled up by Jeb Stuart in his famous raid. In the fierce battle of August 29th the Eighty-second Ohio suffered terribly, losing over a hundred men, and Colonel Cantwell was killed. The Sixty-first, in the same battle of Schurz' division, lost 35, and two Ohio batteries and the Sixth cavalry were participants in the struggle.†

This was soon followed by disaster in West Virginia and the carrying of the Confederate flag into Ohio. General Cox's army on the Kanawha, in June, 1862, was made up of one West Virginia brigade,

*Fifth, Seventh, Twenty-ninth and Sixty-sixth regiments.

†At Second Manassas a brigade was creditably commanded by Gen. A. Sanders Piatt, of Logan county, colonel of an Ohio regiment in the West Virginia campaign. His brother, Donn Piatt, noted as an author and editor, served on the staff of General Schenck in Maryland, and created considerable commotion by an unauthorized order permitting the enlistment of slaves as soldiers. It practically put an end to slavery in that State.

and three Ohio brigades, the latter Col. E. P. Scammon's, including the Twelfth, Twenty-third and Thirtieth regiments and McMullin's battery; Col. George Crook's, including the Eleventh, Thirty-sixth, Forty-fourth and Forty-seventh, and Col. A. Moor's, including the Twenty-eighth, Thirty-fourth and Thirty-seventh regiments. They occupied the Kanawha valley as far east as the Greenbrier gap. Yet it was impossible to keep the district entirely free from invasion. A party of Confederate raiders struck Guyandotte, on the Ohio river, in November, 1861, and captured a number of Ohio citizens. In the spring of 1862 Cox and Crook and their Ohio regiments had some brisk fighting in the West Virginia mountains, in the region of the New river narrows, but held their positions until Cox and the main part of the division were ordered to Washington. The Confederates heard of this movement by the capture of General Pope's letter-book at Manassas, and a large force of the enemy was at once sent to sweep the Kanawha valley clean to the Ohio. They found in the Kanawha valley, besides some West Virginia troops, the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-fourth Ohio, under Col. E. Siber, and the Forty-fourth and Forty-seventh under Col. S. A. Gilbert. Gilbert and Siber made a gallant resistance, losing a considerable number of men in their fighting, but were forced back to Point Pleasant. Before their arrival there, a dashing Confederate raider, A. G. Jenkins, had forded the river September 4th, and carried the Confederate flag for the first time into Ohio.* He made an excursion in Meigs county and reported that he was at times welcomed with cheers for Jeff Davis.

In this same doleful September Lee made his first invasion of Maryland, cutting off the line of communication by the Baltimore & Ohio railroad. McClellan was restored to command, and battles were fought in Maryland to defend Washington and Philadelphia. It may be imagined that profound depression prevailed in Ohio in the midst of this unexpected result of the "On to Richmond" campaigns. But the Ohio troops did their duty in the emergency. The distinctively Ohio command in the Army of the Potomac during this famous campaign was the Kanawha division under the command of Gen. Jacob D. Cox. It was part of the Ninth army corps, under General Reno, and when the latter was killed at South Mountain, General Cox was advanced to corps command. The Kanawha division led in the attack upon the strong position of the Confederates at Turner's Pass, September 14th, fought gallantly and lost heavily. The First brigade was in the advance of Reno's army, led by Col. E. P. Scammon, the Twenty-third regiment under Lieut.-Col. Rutherford B. Hayes, the Twelfth under Col. Carr B. White, and

*But he soon recrossed the river; Morgan's division was sent to Point Pleasant, and in October, Cox and Crook returned and the Kanawha valley was regained and permanently held.

the Thirtieth under Col. Hugh Ewing. McMullin's battery was advanced with the attacking column, and the second line was composed of the Second brigade, Eleventh, Twenty-eighth and Thirty-sixth Ohio, under Col. George Crook. A hill was won, and when the enemy attempted to retake it, the Thirty-sixth and Twelfth saved the position by a dashing charge. Hayes' regiment lost 130 killed and wounded, a very heavy casualty, for all the regiments were depleted. The total loss of the two Ohio brigades was 356. Hayes was wounded. He and Cox and Scammon and Crook here won their promotions and may be said to have begun their careers of distinction, though they had earned promotion in West Virginia.

In the great battle of Antietam that followed, General Cox commanded the Ninth corps under General Burnside, and Colonel Scammon the Kanawha division, while Col. Hugh Ewing led the First brigade, and Crook the Second. Cox fought the famous battle for the possession of the bridge over Antietam creek, and the two Ohio brigades were in the heat of the struggle, winning a victory after stubborn fighting, but being compelled to yield the advantage to Lee's reinforcements, while McClellan held out of the battle a corps that might have saved the important position gained and compelled the surrender of Lee's army. McClellan was afraid to risk all on one tremendous blow that might have ended the war, and Lee escaped from the effects of his strategic blunder and peacefully retreated across the Potomac. Therefore many lives were wasted, among them two Ohio lieutenant-colonels, A. H. Coleman, and Clarke, of Miami county, and 36 killed and 188 wounded in the Kanawha division. At the other end of the field, where there was terrible havoc, an Ohio brigade fought under Major-General Mansfield (killed), and lost a hundred killed and wounded, the brigade at the close of the fight being under the command of Maj. Orrin J. Crane, of the Seventh. The other regiments with the Seventh were the Fifth and Sixty-sixth Ohio and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania. The Eighth Ohio, in Kimball's brigade, under Lieut.-Col. Franklin Sawyer, probably had harder fighting than any other Ohio command, half their number (324) being killed or wounded. Gen. E. B. Tyler, who had fought a battle against Stonewall Jackson in the valley, commanded a brigade of Pennsylvania troops in this battle and at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville.

Before the news of the slaughter at South Mountain and Antietam brought mourning to Ohio homes, the State was alarmed by the great invasion of Kentucky. First came word that Kirby Smith was coming up to Ohio over the old Warrior's trail through Cumberland Gap. Gen. George W. Morgan, commanding a division, including the Sixteenth and Forty-second Ohio in Colonel De Courcy's brigade, had occupied Cumberland Gap, but was flanked out of the position and compelled to retreat to the Ohio river. General Manson

attempted to check the Confederates at Richmond, Ky., August 30th, and was swept away, one Ohio regiment, the Ninety-fifth, sharing in the battle, and losing 48 killed and wounded, among the wounded their colonel, William L. McMillen. News of the battle reached Cincinnati Saturday night and on Monday came the information that General Buell, lately planning to take Chattanooga, was retreating toward Louisville, and Bragg was advancing with the main Confederate army to unite with Smith. Cincinnati was exposed to the combined Confederate forces. It is not surprising that the city was alarmed. Yet there was no panic. The people resolved to defend their homes. Gen. Lew Wallace was sent to take command, and he at once proclaimed martial law and ordered the citizens to suspend all business and assemble for military service or work. "The principle adopted is, Citizens for the labor, soldiers for the battle," he said; "The willing shall be properly credited, the unwilling promptly visited." This vigorous order was generally and cheerfully obeyed. Every store was closed, the street cars stopped running, and even the schoolteachers reported for duty. By noon thousands of citizens were drilling in companies, and many were at work on the fortifications traced back of Newport and Covington. At the close of the day a pontoon bridge connected Cincinnati and Covington, and lumber for barracks and material for fortifying was being transported. Governor Tod, meanwhile, reached the city and ordered forward all the available troops and munitions of war. "Throughout of the interior, church and fire bells rang, mounted men galloped about spreading the alarm, there was a hasty cleaning of hunting rifles, molding of bullets and filling of powder horns, and village musters of volunteers." The trains for Cincinnati were crowded that night, and by daybreak of September 3d the "Squirrel Hunters" began pouring into Cincinnati. These, as the self-armed volunteers were called, with their homespun clothes and sportsman outfits, mingled in the streets with fragments of militia companies and invalid veterans and portions of partly organized regiments, marching over the pontoon bridge into Kentucky. "The ladies of the city furnished provisions by the wagon load; the Fifth-street market house was converted into a vast free eating saloon; halls and warehouses were used as barracks." By the 4th Governor Tod had sent to the point of danger twenty regiments, and twenty-one more were in organization, besides the militia. Among them was the newly organized Hundred-and-Fourth, under Col. J. W. Reilly. The stringent orders regarding business were relaxed in a few days, but the people continued their work of defense. Details of white citizens, three thousand a day,—judges, lawyers, clerks, merchant-princes and day laborers, shoveled side by side in the red Kentucky clay, and a negro brigade reinforced them. The Confederate demonstration was pushed far enough to cause some skirmishing before

Wallace's line by September 10th, but by the 15th it was apparent that the prompt measures for defense of the city had saved it from all danger of attack, and the "Squirrel Hunters"* were able to return to their homes and the citizens to business. This was the "siege of Cincinnati," which left its monuments in extensive military works on the hills of Newport and Covington. After it was over, the people laughed, but they had done a glorious as well as necessary work, unparalleled in the history of the United States. As General Wallace said in his farewell address: "Paris may have seen something like it in her revolutionary days, but the cities of America never did. Be proud that you have given them such an example."

The relief of Cincinnati from danger was caused by the advance of Buell from Louisville, compelling Bragg to concentrate for a battle, which was fought at Perryville, Ky., October 8th. Ohio troops had a very important part in this famous combat, and sustained one-fourth of the total casualties. The battle was fought almost entirely by Gen. Alexander McCook's corps, and the brunt of the Confederate assault was borne largely by the brigades commanded by Col. Leonard A. Harris, of the Second regiment; Col. William H. Lytle, of the Tenth (who was wounded and captured); Col. Albert S. Hall, of the Hundred-and-Fifth, and Col. George Webster, of the Ninety-eighth (who was killed). Under these Ohio officers were eight Ohio regiments,† which lost 1,089 killed, wounded and captured. Four of these, the Tenth, Third, Hundred-and-Fifth and Ninety-eighth, lost 222 killed and 625 wounded. No regiment lost so many killed or wounded or fought more gallantly than the Tenth Ohio, in that part of the field held by Lytle. Colonel Beatty's Third fought side by side with them, and the two, by a stubborn defense, did a great deal to avert disaster when the other wing of the army was crumpled up under the Confederate assault.

While these audacious campaigns were being carried on toward the north, another Confederate army, under Price and Vandorn, attempted to drive Grant and Rosecrans out of Mississippi and east Tennessee. Rosecrans, whose merit had by this time been recognized by command of the Army of the Mississippi, attacked the enemy at Iuka, September 19th and won a victory. Gen. David S. Stanley, a native of Wayne county, who had had a distinguished career in Missouri and on the Mississippi, commanded a division. Col. John W. Fuller's Ohio brigade (Twenty-seventh, Thirty-ninth, Forty-third and Sixty-third regiments) was engaged, the Thirty-ninth regiment winning honorable mention, and no command was more highly spoken of in the general's report than Sands' Ohio bat-

* There were fifteen thousand of the "Squirrel Hunters," from the various counties of the State, Brown and Gallia contributing over two thousand.

† The Second, Thirty-taird, Ninety-fourth, Third, Tenth, Hundred-and-Fifth, Fiftieth, Ninety-eighth and Hundred-and-Twenty-first.

tery, that fought brilliantly in an exposed position, losing 16 killed and 35 wounded, a loss seldom equalled in the artillery service.

Two weeks later Rosecrans, in the works at Corinth, was assailed by the Confederate forces, and successfully resisted desperate and repeated assaults, practically destroying the Confederate army brought against him. In this fight Fuller's Ohio brigade fought in the place of greatest danger, at Battery Robinett. The Sixty-third lost 24 killed and 105 wounded, the Forty-third 20 killed and 76 wounded, the Twenty-seventh 62 in all, and Col. J. L. Kirby Smith, of the Forty-third (nephew of the Confederate Kirby Smith), fell with a mortal wound, Adjutant Heyl dropping with him. Colonels Sprague, Swayne and Noyes were particularly commended in the official reports. The Eightieth, Twenty-second and Eighty-first infantry, Fifth cavalry and Sands' battery, also did their duty, and lost more than a hundred men.

This was the only decided success in the enemy's country to cheer the people of the North in the fall of 1862. Lee and Bragg retreated, but to positions that continued to threaten the North. Buell, made the subject of a court of inquiry, gave place to Rosecrans, who won in a remarkable degree the confidence and love of the Army of the Cumberland, that he now set about reorganizing at Nashville.

Not only was the course of the war discouraging, but the proposition to emancipate the slaves of the South as a war measure was not agreeable to all. The Democrat party in Ohio declared its allegiance to the Union, but opposed emancipation and arraigned the administration for those arbitrary exertions of power which accompany war. Their platform found so much favor that they carried the State, electing W. W. Armstrong secretary of state, and Judge Ranney to the supreme court, by a majority of seven thousand. The danger of Ohio's sending a congressional delegation opposed to the administration was so great that Schenck and Garfield became candidates for Congress. They were elected, but only three other Republicans pulled through, while sixteen Democrats were successful.

In October, Maj.-Gen. O. M. Mitchel, who had lost his command in Alabama because of a tremendous outcry against some plundering by his soldiers, died of yellow fever on the Carolina coast. The State had expected much of him, he was regarded as one of the ablest and most brilliant generals, and his death was deeply mourned.

There was little in the events of the war during the remainder of the year to inspire hope. The army in Virginia was defeated with frightful loss at Fredericksburg, December 13th, the Fourth and Eighth Ohio sharing in the casualties of the charge against Marye's hill. In Mississippi Grant was thwarted in his campaign against Vicksburg, and Sherman, attempting to carry the Confederate works north of that river post, suffered a grievous repulse and heavy loss,

nearly a third of which was borne by Ohio troops, who had 68 killed, 250 wounded and 200 captured. Gen. George W. Morgan, of Ohio, commanded the division that did most of the fighting, and Colonel De-Courcy commanded the brigade that led the assault. The Sixteenth Ohio was particularly distinguished, and suffered the heaviest loss on the field, 16 killed, 103 wounded, and 194 captured before the Confederate works. Sherman, on account of this battle, again went under temporary eclipse, while Rosecrans, in command of the main army of the west, gained renown by advancing to Murfreesboro and fighting in the closing days of 1862 and beginning of 1863 the famous battle of Stone River. It began something like Pittsburg Landing, but Rosecrans showed himself as great as Grant in his refusal to admit defeat, and finally compelled his enemy to retire.

To this great battle Ohio furnished thirty-two regiments of infantry, nine batteries of artillery and three cavalry regiments, and if losses are a criterion the Ohio troops bore at least one-fourth of the burden of the conflict, for they lost 3,641 men, and the total casualties were 13,249. The most distinguished among the killed was Brig.-Gen. Joshua W. Sill, who had ably commanded a division of the army. There also fell Col. Minor Milliken, of the First cavalry; Col. John Kell, of the Second infantry; Col. Joseph G. Hawkins, of the Thirteenth; Col. Fred C. Jones, of the Twenty-fourth; Col. Leander Stem and Lieut.-Col. M. F. Wooster, of the Hundred-and-First, and many other gallant officers and men. In this battle Philip H. Sheridan, reared at Somerset, and appointed to West Point from Ohio, won great fame in command of a division of infantry. Colonel Kennett led a division of cavalry. John Beatty, Timothy R. Stanley, John F. Miller, Moses B. Walker, Daniel McCook, Charles G. Harker, William B. Hazen, Samuel Beatty, James P. Fyffe, Samuel W. Price, Lewis Zahm, Ohio colonels, and Gen. James B. Steedman, commanded brigades, and Gen. Samuel Beatty succeeded VanCleve in command of a division. Alexander McCook commanded the right wing of the army. Colonel Barnett was chief of artillery.

In January, 1863, Senator Wade was elected for a third term, his opponents being Hugh J. Jewett and Thomas Ewing. He continued in the senate to be the powerful leader, with Thad Stevens, of the uncompromising party that sustained the war. But the opposition became more active. Rosecrans' battle, a costly victory, did not greatly inspirit the people at home in the early days of 1863, and there was a field for labor for the agitators of discontent and fault-finding, supported by those who were opposed to the emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, issued January 1, 1863. In Noble county there was a little rebellion, and a squad sent to arrest a deserter was met by an armed force that asked the United States officers to surrender and be paroled as prisoners of the Confederate

army. Two companies of troops marched through the disaffected region and arrested a large number of citzens, a few of whom were punished by imprisonment and fine. The leader in Ohio in opposition to the administration was Clement L. Vallandigham, who had been defeated for Congress in the previous fall, despite the general triumph of his party. General Burnside took command at Cincinnati, and issued an order intended to rigidly repress acts tending to discourage enlistment or create enmity to the general government. Vallandigham was arrested at Dayton, May 2d, just after he had made a speech at Mount Vernon, and his paper, The Dayton Empire, announced next day: "The cowardly, scoundrelly Abolitionists of this town have at last succeeded in having Hon. C. L. Vallandigham kidnapped," and followed this up with invective against the Union party. The result was that the newspaper office was wrecked and burned by a mob, and several buildings were consumed before the flames could be extinguished. The county was put under martial law, but no other disturbance followed. Mr. Vallandigham issued an address from his confinement at the Burnet House, Cincinnati, which he called a "bastile," declaring that he was a good Union man, and his enemies were "abolitionist disunionists and traitors." On the trial of Mr. Vallandigham it was shown that he had denounced the war as "wicked, cruel and unnecessary," waged not for the preservation of the Union, but for "the purpose of crushing out liberty," and that he had indulged in various inflammatory utterances about "Lincoln and his minions," and their "usurpations." He was defended before the court-martial by Messrs. Pugh and Pendleton, but there could be no denial of his violent utterances, and he was sentenced to close confinement until the end of the war, a punishment which President Lincoln commuted to banishment within the Confederate lines.

By an application for writ of habeas corpus, the Vallandigham case was brought before Judge Leavitt, of the United States district court,* who, after elaborate arguments by Mr. Pugh and District Attorney Perry, refused the writ, holding that there had been no unwarranted exercise of the powers intrusted to the president of the United States as commander in chief of the army in time of war. There were many, however, who disagreed with the judge, and asserted their right as American citizens to emulate the freedom and incur the unpopularity of Thomas Corwin when he advised the Mexicans to welcome American soldiers to hospitable graves.

After the Vallandigham episode, there was a serious resistance to the draft in Holmes county, and Governor Tod sent a body of troops against the insurgents, issued a proclamation warning the people at

*Judge Humphrey Howe Leavitt had held this office ever since his appointment by Andrew Jackson, in 1834.

fault, and told General Mason to grant no quarter if they did not obey. A thousand armed men collected in a fortified camp to fight the Ohio troops, but, after a skirmish, dispersed, and peace was soon restored, without any loss of life.

The political campaign of 1863 was one of the most remarkable in the history of Ohio. Some leaders of the Democratic party, and a great part of the rank and file, excluding of course that large number who had from the first supported the war for the Union, were carried away by the theory that the war was being waged unnecessarily by the administration at Washington, when an honorable peace might be made. Aside from the theory of peace, remonstrances were made against General Burnside's order No. 38, which led to the arrest of Vallandigham. Judge Pugh,* in his address at the state convention of 1863, said in reference to Vallandigham: "We will not talk of war, or peace, or rebellion, until our honored citizen has been restored to us. If you make that your platform you will be victorious. If not I counsel you to seek a home where liberty exists."

The convention nominated Vallandigham for governor of Ohio. This was followed by a written appeal addressed to President Lincoln, for the restoration of Vallandigham to his home, and a remonstrance alleging, among other things, that the arrest of Vallandigham was an insult to Ohio. Lincoln, in his answer said: "Your nominee for governor, in whose behalf you appeal, is known to you and to the world to declare against the use of an army to suppress the rebellion. Your own attitude, therefore, encourages desertion, resistance to the draft and the like, because it teaches those who incline to desert and escape the draft to believe it is your purpose to protect them, and to hope that you will become strong enough to do so." Lincoln adroitly proposed that the committee sign a statement that a war was in existence tending to destroy the national Union, that an army and navy were constitutional means of suppressing it, that none of them would do anything to impair the efficiency of the army and navy, or hinder enlistment, and that they would do all they could to maintain the soldiers. In that case the President would return Vallandigham to his home. But the campaign went on with Mr. Vallandigham in Canada, where he went from Wilmington on a blockade-runner, the Confederates refusing to keep him except as a prisoner. In Canada there were many other refugees who opposed the war, and some secret agents of the Confederacy plotting for the release of prisoners. From Niagara Falls, Vallandigham issued an address to the people of Ohio, declaring himself the champion of "free speech, a free press, peaceable assemblages of the people, and a free ballot."

But almost simultaneous with the Vallandigham convention, John

*As quoted in Reid's Ohio in the War.

Brough, remembered as a great Democratic leader in the days of Harrison and Jackson; founder of the Cincinnati Enquirer, the ablest of the Ohio auditors of state, for the past fifteen years a railroad manager, made one of his powerful public addresses at Marietta, in support of the war, and E. D. Mansfield, in the Cincinnati Gazette, proposed Brough for governor. The proposition found instant favor, and at the "Union" convention, a week later, Brough was nominated by a small majority over those who supported the renomination of Tod. The platform upon which he appealed to the people was essentially this: "The war must go on with the utmost vigor, until the authority of the national government is re-established, and the Old Flag floats again securely and triumphantly over every state and territory of the Union."

This was all on the heels of the terrible disaster at Chancellorsville. But soon the faith of the war party was vindicated by the great military triumphs of the early days of July, that opened the Mississippi river to the gulf and ended the invasive career of the Confederate army led by General Lee.

General Grant, with the Army of the Mississippi, obtained a lodgment on the river below Vicksburg, May 1st, fighting a successful battle at Port Gibson, in which several Ohio regiments were actively engaged. One corps of his army was commanded by James B. McPherson, a native of Sandusky county, thirty-five years old at that time, who had been Grant's chief engineer at Shiloh, and Halleck's before Corinth, and in less than a year had been advanced from captain to major-general. McPherson, after Port Gibson, pushed on toward Jackson, Miss., and Logan's division of his command, on May 12th, fought a fierce little battle at Raymond, in which the Twentieth Ohio, under Col. Manning F. Force, was particularly distinguished, losing 10 killed and 58 wounded. Sherman and McPherson, united, then struck a blow at Joseph E. Johnston's army at Jackson, which brought into battle Gen. Ralph B. Buckland's brigade, and the Eightieth Ohio. Turning westward and concentrating, Grant defeated Pemberton at Champion's Hill, where Gen. George F. McGinnis, an Ohio soldier in the Mexican war, now an Indianian, ably commanded the brigade that fought at the most important point and suffered the greatest loss. The Fifty-sixth Ohio, of Slack's brigade, fighting on an extension of McGinnis' line, lost 20 killed and 90 wounded. Gen. Mortimer D. Leggett commanded the brigade of Logan's corps that comprised the Twentieth, Sixty-eighth and Seventy-eighth Ohio, and these were hotly engaged, as also were the three Ohio regiments of Lindsey's brigade.

Then followed the rout of the Confederate rear guard at Big Black river, and the investment of Vicksburg. In the assault of May 19th two regiments of Gen. Hugh Ewing's brigade, the Fourth West Virginia and Forty-seventh Ohio, got close to the Confederate works,

and held their place till night. In the second assault, May 22d, a volunteer storming party of Ewing's brigade planted the flag on the Confederate works, and the Thirtieth Ohio gallantly followed, supported by the Forty-seventh. Other Ohio regiments, at other points of the line, participated in the assault with credit, but none lost so heavily as the Thirtieth and Thirty-seventh on that day, or as the Thirty-seventh and Forty-seventh on the 19th.

In the siege, that continued six weeks, twenty-five regiments of Ohio infantry took part and eleven batteries of Ohio light artillery. Ohio, represented by these gallant men in the line and by Grant, Sherman and McPherson among the generals, fully shared in the glory of compelling the surrender of the Confederate garrison, July 4th. This triumph was soon followed by the fall of Port Hudson, for which, among the generals, no one was more responsible than Godfrey Weitzel, who had been appointed to West Point from Cincinnati, and had done more than any other man to secure the Union occupation of Louisiana. Later in the year he was on recruiting duty in Ohio.

The day of Pemberton's surrender General Lee began his preparation for retreat from Gettysburg, just after the failure of his grand assault on Cemetery Hill, July 3d. Lee had begun by defeating the Union army in Virginia, at Chancellorsville, early in May. Among the first troops to be overwhelmed by the flank attack of Stonewall Jackson was General McLean's brigade of four Ohio regiments and one Connecticut. They fought bravely, as is proved by their list of 45 killed and 350 wounded, but were driven from their line, and the same fate befell other three Ohio regiments in Howard's corps. The other brigade in the army, largely composed of Ohioans, and commanded by Col. Charles Candy, of the Sixty-sixth, fought with more success, and lost less heavily, and the Fourth and Eighth, in a brigade under Colonel Carroll, of the latter regiment, also had honorable part in the battle. Every Ohio regiment on the field suffered loss, and among the killed was Col. Robert Reily of the Seventy-fifth.

Advancing into Pennsylvania, Lee's long column, extending from the Potomac to the Susquehanna, was touched near the center, at Gettysburg, by the advance of Reynold's corps. Instantly contracting, the Confederate army was hurled upon the head of the Union column, but was held at bay until corps after corps could be hurried forward into an impregnable position on which Lee wasted the flower of his army during three sweltering days, July 1st, 2d, and 3d. In this great battle, the most generally familiar, if not the most important of the war, Ohio had the Fourth and Eighth infantry regiments in Carroll's brigade of Hancock's corps; the Twenty-fifth, Seventy-fifth and Hundred and Seventh in Harris' brigade of Howard's corps; the Fifty-fifth and Seventy-third in Col. Orland Smith's bri-

gade of the same corps, and the Sixty-first and Eighty-second in Schurz's division of the same corps; the Fifth, Seventh, Twenty-ninth and Sixty-sixth in Candy's brigade of Geary's division, Slocum's corps; the Sixth cavalry in Pleasanton's corps, and in the artillery, a very important arm in that battle, the batteries of Gibbs, Dilger, Heckman, and Norton. Carroll, Harris, Candy and Orland Smith were Ohioans in brigade command. Carroll and his men earned the special thanks of General Howard. The Seventy-third Ohio lost 21 killed and 120 wounded, and the Hundred-and-Seventh 23 killed and 111 wounded. These were the heaviest regimental losses among the Ohio troops, the total being 1,234.

It was in July, 1863, also, that Col. John T. Toland, of Cincinanti, led a brigade of mounted men, the Thirty-fourth Ohio and Second Virginia, to Wytheville, and cut the railroad communications of Richmond, but lost his life in the act.

The reader may have remarked that although Ohio had by this time enlisted over 180,000 men for the Union army, there were in the summer of 1863, only twenty-five regiments in the lines about Vicksburg and twelve in the battle of Gettysburg. Forty-five were in Rosecrans' army operating in middle Tennessee. That is to say, at the great points of contact, where North and South were most actively contending, Ohio had about eighty regiments, which, if full, would have represented 80,000 men, but were far from full, and probably did not contain over 60,000. The other regiments had either been mustered out, as was the case with the three-months regiments, or they were on duty guarding the Southern territory that lay behind the western armies, and the routes along which food and ammunition were shipped to the fighting lines. This duty, altogether honorable, required a large part of the Union troops. Attention is called to this here, that the reader may understand the truth when he encounters some statement based on total enlistments, that the North had in its armies three million men, and the South less than a million, and the war was won by hurling these three million en masse upon the lonely one. The campaigns of 1863 were fought by contending armies in which there was not enough difference of numbers in line to excuse any great general for defeat.

It was after Ohio was filled with rejoicing over Gettysburg and Vicksburg that the word came, July 8th, that the redoubtable raider, John Morgan, had reached the Ohio river and was about to enter Indiana. On the 12th Governor Tod issued a proclamation calling out the militia, and on the next day Morgan and two thousand troopers were near the suburbs of Cincinnati, tearing along at the rate of fifty miles a day, picking up fresh horses as they went, but not taking time to do serious mischief. Feinting toward Hamilton, Morgan boldly crossed the railroads running out of Cincinnati in the suburbs of the city, passing through Glendale and feeding his

horses in sight of Camp Dennison. There was a slight skirmish there, and a Little Miami train was thrown from the track, but Morgan did not tarry, and pushed on to find a crossing place into Kentucky, followed closely by General Hobson, while Generals Cox, Sturgis and Ammen and Cols. Granville Moody and Stanley Matthews organized the militia about Cincinnati, and General Judah's troops were sent up the river to cut off the Confederate retreat. Of course, the utmost consternation prevailed among the people of the country that Morgan traversed. There was little danger to life, but the raiders indulged in the most unrestrained plundering. They seemed to want calico more than anything else, and every village store they passed had to contribute this commodity. Every man who could get a bolt, says the historian of Morgan's cavalry, Gen. Basil Duke, tied it to his saddle belt, only to throw it away and get a fresh one at the first opportunity. One man carried a bird cage, with three canaries in it, for two days. Another slung seven skates around his neck, though it was intensely hot weather. They pillaged like boys robbing an orchard. Against these mirthful marauders fifty thousand Ohio militia actually took the field, but not half of them ever got within fifty miles of Morgan.

On the 8th, four days after leaving Camp Dennison, Morgan was at Pomeroy, where the militia annoyed him seriously, and when he reached Chester he gave his men a rest of an hour and a half that was just the margin between successful escape and disaster, so close was the pursuit. It was dark when he reached the ford at Buffington's island (or Portland, Meigs county), where a little fort was held by two or three hundred militia, who evacuated in the night while Morgan waited for light before attacking. In the morning, July 19th, Hobson's cavalry, who had chased Morgan through three states, came down upon him pell-mell, and Judah, with his gunboats, occupied the river. After a brisk fight, in which the Ohio men lost the gallant old patriot, Maj. Daniel McCook, father of two major-generals and three brigadier-generals, Morgan escaped with about twelve hundred men, and seven hundred surrendered. The chase continued. Twenty miles above Morgan got three hundred more of his men across, when the gunboats compelled him to hasten on with the remainder. Striking for the Muskingum, he was headed off by the militia under Runkle, and he turned toward Blennerhassett's island. Then, finding an unguarded crossing on the Muskingum above McConnellsville, he pushed toward the Ohio above Wheeling, but was attacked at Salineville, in Columbiana county, on July 26th, by some Michigan cavalry, and lost two or three hundred of his men, and on the evening of the same day he surrendered what remained of his party to a small body of Kentucky cavalry. The non-combatants whose property had been taken in this famous raid were clamorous to have Morgan treated as a horse-thief, and the dashing

Kentuckian and some of his officers were immured in cells of the Ohio penitentiary, which was not used otherwise as a military prison. Morgan took his revenge for this treatment by making a daring and successful escape in November.

Morgan's raid cost the State and individuals, it was estimated, about one million dollars. For the individual losses claims were made against the general government. A State commission, in 1864, passed upon the claims of individual losses and arrived at a total of a little over $575,000.

The great victories of July, 1863, and the speedy discomfiture of Morgan, helped the Union party in Ohio to make a spirited campaign. Toward the close of it, however, there was a great combat that was dubious in its results—a defeat in battle, though the campaign of which it was the culmination was partly a success. The heavy loss of life among Ohio soldiers cast gloom over the State. This battle of Chickamauga, the greatest in the West, ranking with Gettysburg as the greatest of the war, was fought under the command of that general of all famous generals most closely associated with Ohio, William S. Rosecrans. It was his supreme test, and, unfortunately, he did not quite come up to supreme greatness, falling short of that tenacity that saved his army at Murfreesboro.

Rosecrans had maneuvred Bragg out of middle Tennessee, back to Chattanooga, in the summer of 1863, and in August set his army in motion to flank that point, and force Bragg down into Georgia. The main part of his army crossed the Tennessee river below Chattanooga and struggled through the mountains into Georgia south of Chattanooga, compelling Bragg to evacuate that city and fall back toward Atlanta, while the remainder of Rosecrans' army occupied the abandoned town. But Bragg would not give up without a battle, and expecting reinforcements from Virginia, sought to cut off Rosecrans' columns as they debouched in the Georgia valleys. This caused Rosecrans to hurry his scattered divisions northward, and the fighting began September 18th across Chickamauga creek, for possession of the roads to Chattanooga. Through the 19th and the 20th the battle raged, marked by furious assaults by the Confederate troops, and stubborn defense by the northern end of the Union line, under General Thomas, while the southern wing, kept in a state of confusion by the hurrying of troops to support Thomas, was shattered and driven back to Chattanooga. But the roads for which the battle was fought were held, and when the troops retreated, they fell back to Chattanooga, and retained that important position, which had been the objective of campaign for more than a year.

In the great battle of Chickamauga an Ohioan commanded the army, and an Ohioan, General Garfield, was chief of staff. Five of the thirteen division commanders and twelve of the thirty-six brigade commanders were Ohio officers; ten of the thirty-six batteries, and

forty-four of the one hundred and fifty-eight regiments were from the Buckeye state.*

Attached to general headquarters were the First battalion Ohio sharpshooters and the remnant of the gallant Tenth infantry. In Thomas' corps there were Ohio regiments in every division. In Baird's were the Second, Thirty-third and Ninety-fourth Ohio regiments of Scribner's brigade. In Negley's division were the Eighteenth, in a brigade commanded by its colonel, T. R. Stanley; the Twenty-first and Seventy-fourth in Sirwell's brigade, and Marshall's and Schultz's batteries, and John Beatty commanded a brigade of Westerners. In Brannan's division were the Seventeenth, Thirty-first and Thirty-eighth, in a brigade commanded by Col. John M. Connell of the Seventeenth; the Fourteenth in Croxton's brigade; the Ninth and Thirty-fifth in a brigade commanded by Col. Ferdinand Van Derveer; and Gary's battery. In Reynold's division the Hundred-and-Fifth was a part of King's brigade, and the Eleventh, Thirty-sixth and Ninety-second formed the main part of Turchin's brigade.

There were not many Ohioans in the corps commanded by Gen. Alexander McCook: the Fifteenth and Forty-ninth of Goodspeed's battery, in the brigade commanded by Gen. August Willich, of Cincinnati, who had drilled the Ninth Ohio, but went into the war as colonel of an Indiana regiment; the Hundred-and-First, in Carlin's brigade; the First and Ninety-third, in Baldwin's brigade; and Grosskopf's battery. But in this corps Phil Sheridan commanded a division and Gen. William H. Lytle a brigade under him.

In Crittenden's corps there was an Ohio brigade—Sixty-fourth, Sixty-fifth, and Hundred-and-Twenty-fifth Ohio and Third Kentucky—commanded by Col. Charles G. Harker; William B. Hazen, promoted to brigadier-general, commanded a brigade including the Forty-first and Hundred-and-Twenty-fourth; the Ninetieth, Ninety-seventh, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-fourth and Sixth were scattered in other brigades, and Bradley's, Baldwin's and Cockerill's batteries were in the artillery. Horatio P. VanCleve, kinsman of Dayton pioneers, commanded a division including the Nineteenth in a brigade led by Gen. Samuel Beatty, also the Thirteenth and Fifty-ninth and Fifty-first and Ninety-ninth, making up half the other brigades.

Gen. Gordon Granger's reserve corps, destined to win much fame in the battle, was largely Ohioans. Gen. James B. Steedman commanded the main division of it, with the Ninety-eighth, Hundred-and-Thirteenth and Hundred-and-Twenty-first regiments the main

*In 1894 Ohio erected fifty-five monuments on this field and about Chattanooga to mark the places where her soldiers had fought. The two fields of battle were made a national park largely through the efforts of Henry Vanness Boynton, of Cincinnati, in later life a distinguished journalist and war historian, who commanded the Thirty-fifth Ohio at Chickamauga and Missionary Ridge.

part of the brigade of Col. John G. Mitchell, of the Hundred-and-Thirteenth. Col. Daniel McCook commanded another brigade, including the Fifty-second and Sixty-ninth, and the Fortieth, Eighty-ninth and Aleshire's battery were part of Whitaker's brigade.

In the cavalry corps Col. Edward McCook commanded one division, and Gen. George Crook, an Ohioan who had made himself a name in the West Virginia campaigns, the other. One brigade of cavalry, under Col. Eli Long, was made up of the First, Third and Fourth Ohio and Second Kentucky, and Newell's light artillery was with McCook's division.

Of the part of Ohioans in the battle there is not space here to give details. They fought gallantly in every part of the field. After the wreck of the Union right, General Garfield made a famous ride under fire to encourage Thomas to keep up the fight, and in the emergency of Thomas' command, Steedman, Harker, Willich, Dan McCook, John Beatty, Stanley, and their men, and the men of Turchin's brigade, earned the special commendation of the "Rock of Chickamauga." Harker, VanDerveer, Dan McCook and T. R. Stanley, Ohio colonels, were urgently recommended for promotion. Hazen and Samuel Beatty and Willich were no less faithful under less fortunate circumstances.

No death on the field was more lamented than that of General Lytle, the only officer of that rank who was killed. He fell at the head of his men, in a charge upon the enemy. Fifty-eight other commissioned officers were killed, among them Col. Hiram Strong, of the Ninety-third, Lieut.-Col. Valentine Cupp, commanding the First cavalry, Col. William G. Jones, of the Thirty-sixth, and Lieut.-Cols. Elhannon M. Mast and D. M. Stoughton. The Ninth regiment, which distinguished itself on the first day by capturing a battery at the point of the bayonet, lost more heavily in killed and wounded than any other Ohio regiment—48 killed and 185 wounded. The other regiments that suffered most severely were the Fourteenth, 35 killed and 167 wounded; the Twenty-sixth, 27 killed and 140 wounded; the Thirty-fifth, 21 killed and 139 wounded; the Thirty-first, 13 killed and 134 wounded. There was not an Ohio infantry regiment on the field that was not at least decimated, to use that word in its strict meaning; not a regiment that did not lose one-tenth of its men, killed, wounded or missing. In every regiment men were unaccounted for when the official reports were made out, and their friends at home did not know for months, and some never, whether they were buried on the field, or languished, wounded and sick, in Southern prisons. The Ohio troops, if losses may be taken as the test, bore one-third of the brunt of battle, for their killed were 510 in a total of 1,657. The wounded among the Ohio soldiers were 3,052 in a total for the army of 9,756, but those reported captured or missing were not in so great proportion, only 1,346 in a total of

4,757.* Out of this 1,346 many should be added to the list of killed and wounded.

The survivors of Chickamauga, besieged at Chattanooga, had the privilege of voting their opinions regarding the extraordinary political campaign at home. They and their comrades in other parts of the South cast 41,467 votes for Brough and 2,288 for Vallandigham. That Vallandigham received so many votes among the soldiers is surprising, and that he received 187,000 votes in Ohio was yet more startling. But Brough was given a majority of over 60,000 at home, and the soldier vote raised it to 101,099, the greatest in the history of Ohio. There was hearty jollification throughout the State. The victory was taken as an assurance of the progress of the war until the South should submit unconditionally and it should be forever settled that a secession of states was an offense against the law of the nation, a rebellion to be crushed by force of arms.

After Chickamauga Grant was given chief command in the West. Rosecrans was supplanted by Thomas in command of the Army of the Cumberland, and in the reorganization Alexander McCook, who was blamed in considerable degree for the misfortunes both of Murfreesboro and Chickamauga, was relieved. The fate of Rosecrans cannot be passed without comment. If, on the field of Chickamauga, he had sent Garfield to look after the retreating troops and arrange for defense of Chattanooga, and had gone himself to Thomas' line, doubtless he would not have lost command of the army. But nothing influenced him to go to the rear but the conviction that such was his duty. It was, in fact, his proper place, for there the troops must be arranged to check pursuit. The newspapers, however, accused him of running away, and nothing could be said to overcome the prejudice that was excited against him. Even then, he might have held his place, if, in earlier campaigns, he had been careful in criticising the shortcomings of other officers, like Grant and McClellan. When he needed friends most, he found he had lost them. It must be said, also, that Charles A. Dana, special agent of the war department, had found fault with his administration in Tennessee, and by his reports of the Chickamauga campaign, one day telegraphing that the army would march to Atlanta and end the war, and a few days later declaring that Bull Run had been outdone, worked irreparable injury to Rosecrans. If he had retained command of his army, and had been reinforced at Chattanooga, he would doubtless have won the same triumph that followed and associated on the field of victory the more famous trio of Ohio soldiers, Grant, Sherman and Sheridan.

In the November battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, the Ohioans of the Army of the Cumberland were reinforced by the Ohioans of Howard's corps of the Army of the Potomac, and

*Official Reports.

Candy's brigade of Geary's division of the same eastern army, as well as nine Ohio regiments of Sherman's Army of the Tennessee, from Mississippi, Gen. Hugh Ewing commanding one of the divisions. More Ohioans fought together around Chattanooga than ever before in the war. Ohioans of both the Eastern and Western armies climbed together up the steep sides of Lookout, and swarmed up Missionary Ridge and broke the line that had held Sherman at bay. There was comparatively little loss in the fighting on Lookout Mountain, and those Ohio regiments that suffered most in the campaign were in the divisions of Sheridan and Wood, under Brigadiers Wagner, Harker, Willich, Hazen and Samuel Beatty, the greatest loss being 149 killed and wounded in the Ninety-seventh Ohio. These fifteen regiments lost 600 in all, seven Ohio regiments of Turchin's brigade lost 246, and the other regiments of Ohio's fifty lost enough to make up an Ohio total of 1,600, about one-third of the loss of the army. Twice as many Ohio officers were killed as of any other state—forty in all—among them Col. William R. Creighton, of the Seventh regiment; Col. Edward H. Phelps, of the Thirty-eighth, and Majors Samuel C. Erwin, B. F. Butterfield, Thomas Acton and William Birch.

At the same time Col. James W. Reilly's Ohio brigade, and several other regiments of Ohio infantry and cavalry, were campaigning in east Tennessee, where they and their comrades held Knoxville against the assault of Longstreet.

During the year 1863, fifteen thousand new men were enlisted for the army in Ohio, raising the entire number furnished by the State to something over 200,000 according to the governor's estimate. But the great event of the year in that line was the re-enlistment, for the war, of twenty thousand veterans in the field, who were the remnants of eighty Ohio regiments enlisted for three years in 1861. "It was the most inspiring act since the uprising after Sumter." Col. R. B. Hayes' regiment, the Twenty-third, was the first in which the work began, and Col. E. F. Noyes' regiment, the Thirty-ninth, furnished the largest number of veterans.* The Sixty-sixth, the first of these regiments to return to the State after re-enlistment, on the veteran furlough of thirty days, reached Columbus December 26th, and was received with unprecedented enthusiasm. The others rapidly followed, and enjoyed for a few brief days the delights of peace and the admiration and applause of their fellow citizens. They did the State good, also, in shaming into silence what was left of the spirit of opposition to the war.

Governor Tod retired from office at the beginning of 1864 with a record of a great many good things done, as well as some instances

* Reid's Ohio in the War.

of hasty action that made him enemies.* He had been very active in sending assistance to wounded soldiers, had encouraged the work of the sanitary commission and aided the government in every way possible, in none more effectually than promoting the reorganization of the state militia on a working basis as a National Guard under Adj.-Gen. Charles W. Hill.

Statistics showed that Ohio, despite all the losses in battle, was nowhere near the point of exhaustion at the close of 1863. In fact, she had a reserve of over four hundred thousand able-bodied men from which levies could be made for war, and actually thirty thousand more able-bodied men at home in the State in the fall of 1863 than she had in the fall of 1860. From this one may realize how the ordinary life of the State, business, manufacturing, transportation, mining, the courts and schools, went on with no visible effect from the war except the dropping out of many familiar figures of three years before. The production of petroleum was rapidly growing in importance, and in that line of exploitation of the earth's resources the foundations of some great fortunes were being laid. The railroads were generally in the hands of receivers, offering the opportunities for purchase and consolidation and destruction of original stock that founded other great corporations.

People were able to give attention to search for the north pole as well as conquest of the southern states, and Charles Francis Hall, a modest seal-engraver of Cincinnati, returned in 1862 from a voyage in the polar regions, and met Lady Franklin at Cincinnati, afterward receiving assistance for a second voyage, in 1864, in which he discovered the relics of Franklin's unfortunate party.

With high prices for farm products the people at home were prospering, and the mortgage debts had been decreased $10,000,000 since 1860. In 1863, $675,000 of public debt was paid, $150,000 advanced to the general government, and nearly $425,000 remained in the State treasury. The Ohio banks had over six and a half millions of their paper money in circulation in 1863, but it was rapidly giving way, under the financial policy of Secretary Chase, to the national bank currency, the issue of which was begun in 1863, and the greenbacks, or national notes. Gold had gone out of circulation, and a gold dollar was worth two of paper, but wheat sold at $1.50 per bushel.

Though the constitution of Ohio tended to make the governor a figure-head, during the war the occupants of that office found abundant opportunity for action, and they were distinguished among the

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*Governor Tod, near the close of his term, was near actual imprisonment on the charge of kidnapping as the result of a scheme for revenge ingeniously planned by Dr. E. B. Olds. Probably he was the second governor to be put under arrest. Governor Worthington about fifty years before was brought to the door of a jail on a writ of capias, sued out by Judge Jarvis Pike, who had contracted to clear the statehouse square, and was anxious for his pay.

governors of the North for energy and wisdom in their efforts to maintain the Union and support the men in the field. None was more active than the last of the three, John Brough. He began his administration in 1864 by persuading the legislature to levy a tax of two mills on the dollar, to which county commissioners might add one mill, and city councils a half mill, for the support of soldiers' families, and he watched the enforcement of the law with an eagle eye, promptly exposing those recreant county and township officials, for there were some, who tried to divert the tax into the road fund. He also built up the State agency for the relief of soldiers in the field, pushing the work ahead regardless of all conflict with the Sanitary commissions. "He kept a watchful eye upon all the hospitals where any considerable numbers of Ohio troops were congregated. The least abuse of which he heard was made matter of instant complaint. If the surgeon in charge neglected it, he appealed forthwith to the medical director. If this officer made the slightest delay in administering the proper correction, he went straight to the surgeon-general. Such, from the outset, was the weight of his influence with the secretary of war that no officer about that department dared stand in the way of Brough's denunciation. It was known that the honesty and judgment of his statements were not to be impugned, and that his persistence in hunting down defenders was remorseless.*

By the beginning of 1864 there had been over 200,000 enlistments in Ohio, and in February over 50,000 more were called for; in March 20,000, in July 50,000, and in December 26,000 more. The method already adopted was used in raising these troops. First bounties were offered until as much as a thousand dollars was paid to get a recruit up to the mustering officer and as much more to get him to the front. This failing to secure enough men, there were drafts which were generally ineffectual. Nearly eight thousand were drafted in May, of whom the government got less than fifteen hundred in the ranks. These facts do not have a patriotic ring, but such was the record, and no state did better than Ohio, for some way or other she supplied the government with all the men called for, and more too. Eleven new regiments were organized in 1864, running the numbers up to One Hundred and Eighty-three of infantry, and old regiments were recruited.

In February a campaign was made by Gen. William Sooy Smith, a native of Delaware county, and graduate of West Point, who was assistant adjutant-general at Camp Dennison in 1861, and colonel of the Thirteenth regiment, and in 1862 brigadier-general. He served with credit at Shiloh and Perryville, and next was chief of cavalry in the Tennessee department. His campaign in February, 1864,

* Reid's Ohio in the War.

was from Memphis into Mississippi, and resulted in several unsuccessful battles with General Forrest, the greatest of the Confederate cavalrymen.

In April Governor Brough conceived the idea of calling out State militia to hold the frontier and lines of communication, so that the experienced troops could be released to take part in the united effort to crush the rebellion. On his suggestion a meeting of western governors was held at Washington, and Brough, Morton, Yates, and Stone of Iowa offered President Lincoln 85,000 militia for such a purpose. Thirty thousand were immediately called for from Ohio, and the work of organizing them fell upon Adj.-Gen. B. R. Cowen. People doubted if the militia would respond, and on the day set a cold, heavy rain fell, that seemed a gloomy token of failure. But at night came the thrilling news that thirty-eight thousand were in camp for duty, at various towns and cities of the State. The government at Washington was amazed, and was not ready with mustering officers, so that the movement of the men was delayed. Governor Brough asked that he might send more than thirty thousand, and Stanton accepted all he could raise, to fill up the deficiencies of other states, saying: "They may decide the war." In brief, Ohio sent forty regiments, clothed, armed and equipped, to the points that the government designated, for one hundred days' service. Some of these men did more than guard duty in the Shenandoah valley, on the Virginia peninsula, around Petersburg and Richmond, at Monocacy and in the works around Washington. Three of the regiments went into Kentucky to meet Morgan's last raid, and at Cynthiana lost heavily in killed, wounded and captured. The war was not ended when their term of service expired, but they did much to "decide the war," for Grant needed all the veterans they released for his campaign in Virginia.

In the army that moved across the Rapidan early in May, under the command of General Grant, who at the same time directed the movements of Sherman in Georgia and Banks in Louisiana and Crook in West Virginia, were a comparatively small number of Ohio regiments. The veteran Fourth and Eighth Ohio, with Carroll as their brigade commander, represented Ohio in Hancock's corps. The Hundred-and-Tenth, Hundred-and-Twenty-second and Hundred-and-Twenty-sixth were in Sedgwick's corps; the Sixtieth and Second cavalry in Burnside's corps. The Sixth cavalry was the only Ohio regiment then under the command of Phil Sheridan, but George A. Custer, son of a Harrison county blacksmith, who had been sent to West Point by Congressman Bingham, commanded one of the cavalry brigades. Though few in numbers the Ohioans were conspicuous for gallantry at the Wilderness, Spotsylvania Courthouse and Cold Harbor, and their losses were among the heaviest.

The most efficient officers in the army of General Butler, that

should have taken Richmond, were Gen. Quincy A. Gillmore, a native of Lorain county, and Gen. August V. Kautz, reared in Brown county, a soldier of the Mexican war in the First Ohio, and commander of Ohio cavalry in Kentucky, who led Butler's little cavalry division with great energy; but there were only two veteran Ohio regiments in that army, the Sixty-second and Sixty-seventh.

Another small group of Ohio regiments (five) mixed with West Virginians, under General Crook, with Rutherford P. Hayes as one of the brigade commanders, operated through the western Virginia mountains, cutting the western railroad communications of Richmond, and fighting a severe battle at Cloyd's Mountain, where the Ohioans lost 300 killed and wounded. Crook's division, with other Ohio regiments, was also in the Lynchburg campaign, and six of the newer Ohio regiments were represented in Lew Wallace's battle at Monocacy, losing heavily in killed, wounded and captured. Later in the year, Crook's division was with Sheridan in the famous Shenandoah valley campaign*—Hayes', Wells' and Johnson's brigades of Ohioans, and with them were J. Warren Keifer's brigade of three Ohio regiments, and two Ohio regiments of cavalry. Gen. William H. Powell, of Ironton, who organized the Second West Virginia cavalry, mainly Ohioans, commanded a division of Sheridan's army.

In the far distant Red River campaign Ohio was represented among the division commanders by Gen. T. Kilby Smith, and among the troops by an Ohio brigade, under Col. J. W. Vance, four regiments in all.

But the great mass of the Ohio soldiers at the front were concentrated in May, 1864, in north Georgia, for the campaign to Atlanta. William Tecumseh Sherman led the grand array of a hundred thousand effective soldiers, comprising the Army of the Cumberland under Thomas; the Army of the Tennessee, under McPherson; and the Army of the Ohio under Schofield. With "Pap" Thomas were twenty-two Ohio regiments and five batteries; D. S. Stanley commanding a division, and Samuel Beatty, Harker, Willich and Gibson, Emerson Opdycke, and Isaac M. Kirby, brigades, in Howard's corps; in Palmer's corps twenty-one Ohio regiments and two batteries, with A. G. McCook, Dan McCook, M. B. Walker, Van Derveer, John G. Mitchell and Este leading brigades; in Hooker's corps, nine regiments and two batteries, with Dan Butterfield commanding a division and Candy and James S. Robinson brigades. Under McPherson were thirteen Ohio regiments and a battery in Logan's corps, with C. R. Woods and Hazen rising from brigade to division

*Sheridan's famous victory at Cedar Creek, October 19th, inspired Thomas Buchanan Read, at his Cincinnati home, to write the well-known poem, "Sheridan's Ride," which Murdock read for the first time at an entertainment given for his benefit, as he had been giving all his talent to the cause of the Sanitary commission. The walls of every schoolhouse and lyceum in the North soon resounded with "Hurrah! Hurrah for Sheridan!"

command, and Gen. Charles C. Walcott commanding a brigade; in Dodge's corps four regiments and a battery, with Gen. J. W. Fuller commanding a brigade or division as emergency demanded, and Gen. John W. Sprague and Col. R. N. Adams brigades; in Blair's corps, which joined the army in June, five Ohio regiments and three batteries, with M. D. Leggett commanding a division and Force and R. K. Scott and B. F. Potts brigades. Under Schofield were eight Ohio regiments and two batteries; J. D. Cox commanding a division, and Bond, Reilly and McLean brigades. In the cavalry there were four Ohio regiments, and Ed McCook and Kenner Garrard commanded divisions, and Long the Ohio brigade.

In all Ohio contributed eighty-six regiments and sixteen batteries to this magnificent army, that maneuvered and fought for a hundred days from Dalton to Jonesboro and occupied Atlanta in the early days of September, while Grant was still waiting outside the breastworks of Petersburg and Richmond, and Banks had been driven back from Shrevesport, and Sheridan was preparing to begin the conquest of the Shenandoah valley. Thousands of these Ohio soldiers were numbered among the killed and wounded in the battles of Resaca, New Hope, Kenesaw Mountain, Peachtree Creek, Atlanta and Jonesboro, and the innumerable skirmishes. There was no death in that year that so saddened the nation as the death of the gallant McPherson, who fell in the pine woods near Atlanta, July 22d.

In the assault at Kenesaw Mountain the brave generals, Dan McCook and Harker, fell mortally wounded. "If they had lived," wrote Sherman afterward, "I believe I should have carried the position." Col. John H. Patrick fell at Dallas, Col. James W. Shane at Kenesaw.

When Sherman marched to the sea he took with him forty Ohio infantry regiments, three of cavalry and two of the Ohio batteries. Among his division commanders were C. R. Woods, W. B. Hazen and M. D. Leggett, and brigades were led by B. D. Fearing, Theodore Jones, W. S. Jones, J. W. Fuller, M. F. Force, R. K. Scott, John S. Pearce and George P. Este. All of these shared in the honor of capturing Savannah, and Hazen, by the capture of Fort McAllister, won promotion to major-general.

During this campaign Gen. Robert S. Granger, a native of Zanesville, was in command in north Alabama, and with the Hundred-and-Second Ohio among his troops did conspicuous service in holding Forrest in check, and later in the year made a splendid fight against Hood at Decatur. At the same period General Steedman was in command of the garrison at Chattanooga, and Gen. Ralph Buckland at Memphis.

Over thirty Ohio regiments were left in Tennessee under General Thomas, when Sherman marched from Atlanta, and they shared in the bloody victory of Franklin and the rout of Hood's army before

Nashville. Ohioans were conspicuous in leadership. Schofield, in chief command at Franklin, reported that Gen. J. D. Cox, commanding the Twenty-third corps, "deserves a very large share of credit for the victory;" Gen. D. S. Stanley, commanding a division, was "deserving of special commendation," and General Reilly, commanding a division of brigades under Cox, captured twenty rebel battle-flags. Emerson Opdyeke won the brevet of major-general. At Nashville Stanley commanded a corps and Samuel Beatty, Cox, Steedman and Kenner Garrard divisions, and were highly distinguished. Among the brigade commanders was Col. C. H. Grosvenor.

The political campaign of 1864 in Ohio is also to be noticed as one of the important occurrences of the war period. There was opposition to the renomination of Mr. Lincoln, and for a time Salmon P. Chase listened to the voices that urged his candidacy, but he withdrew his name from consideration when the Ohio legislature indicated a preference for Lincoln, and later in the year became chief justice of the United States supreme court. Lincoln was renominated in a convention presided over by ex-Governor Dennison, and the Democratic convention put in nomination Gen. George B. McClellan for president and George H. Pendleton for vice-president. This was a ticket that should have particularly appealed to Ohio, but the platform declared that "after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war," the situation demanded a cessation of hostilities and a convention of the states to make peace. Such a sentiment lost force after the capture of Atlanta. A smaller, temporary political party, called Peace Democrats, in which Alexander Long of Ohio, was prominent, was more radically opposed to war. Mr. Pendleton, in October, expressed himself as devoted to the Union and in favor of no terms of peace that did not restore the Union entire. But the majority of the people took the view expressed by the famous war Democrat, General Dix, in a speech at Sandusky, that "a cessation of hostilities would lead inevitably and directly to a recognition of the insurgent states." Ohio gave Lincoln a majority of nearly sixty thousand, but there were over 200,000 votes for McClellan. The majority would have been only thirty thousand if 50,000 soldiers in the field had not voted four to one for Lincoln. But no other state, save Massachusetts, gave Lincoln so large a majority. He carried New York by less than seven thousand out of a total vote of over seven hundred thousand.

In the midst of the political campaign, and while a draft was impending, discovery was made of a secret organization, opposed to the war and enlistment of troops, akin to the "Knights of the Golden Circle." The adjutant-general estimated that it embraced from eighty to a hundred thousand members in Ohio. But no serious trouble resulted. There were rumors later in the year, of expeditions from Canada to release the Confederate prisoners, of whom

there were large numbers held at Camp Chase, near Columbus, and on Johnson's island. An attempt was actually made against Johnson's island in September, by John Yates Beall, of Virginia, who, with a few comrades, seized the steamer Philo Parsons, at Sandwich, captured and scuttled the steamer Island Queen, and cruised about Sandusky bay, awaiting a signal from another conspirator to make an attack on the war boat Michigan. But the scheme failed, the Parsons was scuttled on the Canada shore, and Beall, being captured later and accused of attempting to wreck an express train, was hung at Governor's Island, N. Y.

The year 1865 opened with Sherman marching northward from Savannah to crush the united remnants of the Confederate armies that had held Atlanta and Charleston, and Grant and Sheridan waiting for passable roads to compel the surrender of Richmond. To aid Sherman, Schofield's corps was sent from Nashville east and by boat to Wilmington. General Cox was in immediate command of the corps, and Gens. N. C. McLean and J. W. Reilly in command of divisions, that included twelve regiments of Ohio infantry. With Sherman in the northward march were the Ohio regiments that had marched to the sea, and Gens. C. R. Woods, W. B. Hazen, M. F. Force and M. D. Leggett commanding divisions of the army. Sherman and Cox, between them, pulverized the forces of Johnston, Bragg and Hardee, and compelled their surrender soon after Grant had cornered Lee at Appomattox and put an end to the career of the greatest of the Confederate armies. With Grant in this famous campaign, among the conspicuous generals were George Crook, one of the staunchest and bravest of Ohio soldiers, and his gallant men of the old Kanawha division, under Keifer and C. H. Smith, and Gen. Charles Griffin, a native of Licking county, who had made a most honorable record in Virginia, from Bull Run, where his battery was in the center of the hardest fighting, to Appomattox where he commanded a corps and received the arms and colors of the defeated army. With the Army of the James, before Richmond in the last days, were four Ohio regiments, and Weitzel and Kautz were high in command of the troops.

The telegraphic news of the surrender of Lee, April 9, 1865, was received with the wildest rejoicing at home. A week later the State was plunged in mourning by the horrifying news that President Lincoln was assassinated. Ohio has had to mourn two other presidents, her own sons, foully taken off, but there has never been in the history of America, such a moment of horror and dismay and such a cry for vengeance as followed the death of Lincoln. The voice that most potently reassured the nation was that of General Garfield—a few broken sentences spoken to the frantic crowd that gathered in the streets of New York:

"Fellow citizens: Clouds and darkness are around Him. His

pavilion is dark waters and thick clouds. Justice and judgment are the establishment of His throne. Mercy and truth shall go before His face! Fellow citizens, God reigns. The government at Washington lives."

In the sad journey of Lincoln's body to Illinois, a stop was made at Cleveland, where the coffin was placed under an open temple and viewed by thousands. At Columbus the body lay for a day in the rotunda of the capitol, upon a mound of flowers, while the walls about were hung with the tattered battleflags of Ohio regiments. The streets were draped in mourning, minute guns sounded through the day, and the people crowded in tearful silence about the body of the great leader of the Union.

After the grand review at Washington the Ohio troops with Grant and Sherman returned to their homes in June and July, and the men with Thomas and other commanders also came home, all being received with the highest manifestations of honor and approbation. But it was some time before all returned, for fifteen regiments assembled in Texas to expedite the departure of the French army from Mexico, and many were kept in garrison throughout the South. General Steedman remained in command of the department of Georgia, Gen. C. R. Woods in Alabama, Sherman in command of the division of the Mississippi and Sheridan of the division of the Gulf.

Before the close of 1865 all but eight of the Ohio regiments had ceased to be, and the soldiers were again quietly engaged in the pursuits of civil life. Fears of the growth of a military despotism were proved to be utterly unfounded. The last of Ohio's volunteer army, the Twenty-fifth infantry, Eleventh cavalry and Battery B, First artillery, were mustered out in June and July, 1865.*

The summaries compiled by the adjutant-general of the State show that Ohio furnished troops under the various calls as follows:

Call	Number
Call of April 15, 1861, for 75,000	12,357
July 22, 1861, for 500,000	84,116
July 2, 1862, for 300,000	58,325
June 15, 1863, for militia	2,736
October 17, 1863, for 500,000	32,837
March 14, 1864, for 200,000	29,931
April 22, 1864, for militia	36,254
July 18, 1864, for 500,000	30,823
December 19, 1864, for 300,000	23,275
Grand total	310,654

These were four thousand more than the State was allotted as her share, and reduced to department standard they represent quite

*King's "Ohio."

240,000 three-year soldiers. The total list of Ohio organizations includes 230 regiments, 26 independent batteries, five independent companies of artillery, several corps of sharpshooters, large parts of five West Virginia regiments, two Kentucky regiments, two of United States colored troops, and a large proportion of two Massachusetts colored regiments. Besides, the State gave nearly 3,500 men to the gunboat service on western waters. According to Reid's summary, Ohio contributed one-third of a million men to the war. Out of her troops who went upon the field, 11,237 were killed or mortally wounded (of which 6,563 were left dead on the field), and 13,354 died of disease.

Out of every thousand, on an average, 37 were killed or mortally wounded, 47 died in hospital, 79 were honorably discharged for disability, and 44 deserted. But such an average, like most averages, is deceptive. The item of desertions is hardly applicable to the regiments that went to the front, and, while some regiments suffered scarcely any loss in battle, others were nearly destroyed. A brief dipping into the military records will illustrate. The First regiment lost 527 killed and wounded in twenty-four battles; the Second 537. The Third went on Streight's raid into Georgia and were all killed, wounded, or captured and confined in prison pens where many died. The Seventh, out of 1,800 enlisted from time to time, returned home with but 240 able-bodied men. Similar figures might be given of other regiments.

The total war expenses of the State government, beginning with a million and a half in 1861 and ending with over half a million in 1865, was $4,741,373, to which should be added the fund for relief of soldiers and their families, which rose from half a million in 1862 to two millions in 1865, and aggregated $5,618,864. Besides the total of these two items, over ten millions, more than fifty-two millions were paid as local bounties to soldiers, and over two millions in bounties of $100 each to 20,708 veterans in 1864. Furthermore, Ohio paid $1,332,025 in direct national tax for the support of the war, a sum that was refunded in later years. The grand total of war expenditure is given at nearly $65,000,000.

This enormous total does not, of course, represent all the pecuniary sacrifice of the State. Notable among the other contributions were those made through the agency of the Sanitary commission. The Cincinnati branch, laboring efficiently all through the four years for the relief of Ohio soldiers, devoted large amounts of money to the cause and forwarded vast stores of clothing and supplies donated from all parts of the State. It established a Soldiers' home in 1862, and a soldiers' cemetery at Spring Grove, and under its auspices was held the Great Western Sanitary Fair at Cincinnati, that yielded the commission over a quarter million dollars. Outside of Cincinnati the principal association was the Soldiers' Aid society of Cleve-

land, the first general organization in the United States for such a purpose, which disbursed in money and goods and food much more than a million dollars, established a home, and also held a fair that brought in $78,000. The Columbus society, active in the same sort of work, established a Soldiers' home in 1862. In every part of the State, these greater efforts were rivalled, according to the ability of smaller communities, and the work was without compensation or hope of reward. Everywhere the women gathered to scrape lint for bandages, and make up boxes of clothing and dainties for the brave men in camp or hospital.

And it may be said further, that among these quiet workers there were very few who were not earnest supporters of the war to the bitter end. They labored to hold the people true to the cause of establishing and perpetuating a national America, with no more rotten compromises for its betrayal. They had no sympathy for the prophets of a patched-up peace.

Men of Ohio birth—Grant, Rosecrans, Buell, McDowell, Sherman, Sheridan, McPherson, Crook—commanded armies with, on the whole, more success than the generals of any other state. Indeed, if we may include McClellan, who, it may be said, was presented to the nation by Ohio, the greater part of the Union armies were the greater part of the time under the leadership of Ohio men. The most successful of these were the sons of Ohio pioneers, and were reared in log cabins or humble village homes, in the western atmosphere of equality and fearlessness. This was particularly exemplified in Grant, Sheridan, Crook and Custer, typical hard fighters, fearless leaders, who were never worried by the reverence for Southern strategy and awe of Southern "chivalry," that injured the worth of many officers. "Never mind the danger of their cutting our communications," said Grant in the Wilderness, "they have communications of their own to take care of." "They are only a lot of department clerks," cried Sheridan at Five Forks, "Run them down!"

Among the naval officers particularly distinguished for patriotism was Henry Walke, of Virginia birth, who had been reared and educated at Chillicothe, had gone into the navy as midshipman in 1827, and served with credit in the Mexican war. He was unfaltering in upholding the honor of the flag at Pensacola, aided in saving Fort Pickens to the nation, and on the Mississippi river from the fall of 1861 to the fall of 1863 had a conspicuous part in all the naval fighting, as the commander of the famous Carondelet. Afterward he chased the Confederate cruisers on the Atlantic, and his service was rewarded by promotion to commodore in 1866, and to rear-admiral in 1870. Among the naval officers on the Atantic coast, commanding a monitor in the attacks on Fort Sumter and other Confederate strongholds, was Daniel Ammen, a brother of General

Ammen, and a native of Brown county. He was an old playmate of Grant's, and after the latter became president, Ammen was made a rear-admiral. James Findlay Schenck, a brother of Gen. Robert C. Schenck, who had been in the United States navy since 1825, was made a commodore in 1863, and took an important part in the attack upon Fort Fisher. He was promoted to rear-admiral in 1868.

Not only did Ohio furnish great generals but she gave the nation great statesmen, like Chase, whose administration of the treasury department was one of the memorable features of that period—not perfect according to some critics, but on the whole as good as human imperfection would permit; Stanton, secretary of war—stern, tireless, single in purpose, who will always be conspicuous among the heroes of the most dramatic era of American history; Benjamin F. Wade, the bold and unhesitating leader of the war party in the senate; John Sherman, wise, calm, deliberate, a power in steadying the ship of state; John A. Bingham, a famous leader, and Schenck and Garfield, who were both statesmen and soldiers.

Thomas Corwin, at the beginning of Lincoln's administration, was sixty-seven years of age. He served his country through the war as minister to Mexico, and December 18, 1865, died at Washington. In 1874 Governor Noyes, urging that the State honor his memory, said: "In a little graveyard at Lebanon, marked only by a bed of myrtle, reposes the dust of Thomas Corwin, the most brilliant orator and one of the wisest statesmen whose lives grace the history of the State. No man has held a larger place in the hearts and minds of the people, nor has contributed more to the welfare of the State than he."*

Thomas Ewing, seventy-two years of age in 1861, gave his influence to the support of the war after the failure of the Peace congress, of which he was a member, but the weight of years was upon him. He died at Lancaster October 26, 1871. His son Hugh was one of the most gallant Ohio commanders, while Thomas, Jr., was no less noted among the commanders west of the Mississippi.

Jay Cooke, son of a Sandusky lawyer, land speculator, and congressman of early days, Eleutheros Cooke, had become a noted financier in New York in 1861, and as financial agent of the United States aided materially in the sale of the government bonds.

Among the newspaper men of the Union, Edwin Cowles, of Cleveland, a native of Ashtabula county, and Murat Halstead, born in

*"At the close of the war he was stricken with paralysis while visiting as a private citizen the capitol at Washington where he had triumphed as representative and senator, and he died almost before the laughter had left the lips of the delighted groups which hung about him. Of all our public men he was most distinctly what is called, for want of some clear term, a man of genius, and he shares with but three or four other Americans the fame of qualities that made men love while while they honored and revered him."—William Dean Howells, "Stories of Ohio."

Butler county, were inferior to none in ability or devotion to the government. Whitelaw Reid, the Xenia editor, became war correspondent of the New York Tribune, and upon his observations many thousands based their hopes of success. The potent weapon of ridicule was turned so strongly against the opponents of the war by David Ross Locke in the Toledo Blade, that it was soberly declared in a speech at Cooper Institute, New York, that three things saved the Union, "the army, the navy and the letters of 'Petroleum V. Nasby.'"

Again, if songs are more important than laws, Ohio was eminent in that field also. In the trenches of the Crimea, it is said, the English all sang "Annie Laurie." In the Union army they sang "Lorena," written by a young Zanesville preacher. Soldiers of many states, when they thought of home, hummed the plaintive lines of "Rain upon the Roof," by Coates Kinney, of Xenia. Nor was there lack of poets to express the patriotic sentiment of the people. In the latter days of the war nothing cheered the people more strongly to the final and supreme effort than the "Sheridan's Ride," of Thomas Buchanan Read.

NOTE.—It has been barely mentioned that Ohio troops were conspicuous in saving Missouri to the Union in 1861-62. In the Army of the Mississippi, first organized under General Pope, there was the Twenty-seventh Ohio, Col. John Groesbeck: Thirty-ninth, Col. John W. Fuller; Forty-third, Col. J. L. Kirby Smith, and Sixty-third, Col. John W. Sprague, forming the First division, under Brig.-Gen. David Sloan Stanley, born in Wayne county in 1828, and a graduate of West Point in 1852. Sands' Ohio battery was also with this army. Stanley's command attacked and captured New Madrid, Mo., early in March, 1862. The regiments were afterward put in one brigade under Col John W. Fuller, and their subsequent career can be traced in the foregoing pages. Another army in the trans Mississippi, the Army of the Southwest, was under the command of Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, an Ohio veteran of the Mexican war. On March 7-8, 1862, Curtis fought a severe but successful battle at Pea Ridge, in which the Second and Fourth Ohio batteries had an important part. Other Ohio commands in these Missouri campaigns were the Eleventh and Sixteenth batteries, the Second and Sixth and part of the Fourth cavalry After Pea Ridge, Missouri was not seriously disturbed until the fall of 1864, when General Rosecrans drove out a formidable invasion and ended the war in the West.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE TWENTY YEARS AFTER APPOMATTOX.

Governors Charles Anderson, 1865–66; Jacob D. Cox, 1866–68; Rutherford B. Hayes, 1868–72; Edward F. Noyes, 1872–74; William Allen, 1874–76; Rutherford B. Hayes, 1876–77; Thomas L. Young, 1877–78; Richard M. Bishop, 1878–80; Charles Foster, 1880–84; George Hoadley, 1884–86.

GOVERNOR BROUGH, despite his good record as a war governor, was not a candidate for re-election in 1865. With his patriotic devotion was mingled an impatience and occasional harshness that impaired his popularity. In June he received an injury that caused his death at Cleveland, August 29th, terminating a long and honorable public career. Until January, 1866, Lieutenant-Governor Charles Anderson was at the head of the State government.

Governor Anderson was a son of the Colonel Anderson who was land agent for the Virginia veterans of the Revolution, and a brother of Gen. Robert Anderson; was born at his father's home near Louisville in 1841, was graduated at Miami university, married and made his home at Dayton and was elected to the legislature, but became unpopular because he sought the repeal of the Black laws. Afterward he practiced law eleven years at Cincinnati as a partner of Rufus King, and in 1860, being a resident of Texas, he made vigorous but futile efforts to encourage a Union spirit there. Escaping to the North he served as colonel of the Ninety-third Ohio until wounded at Stone River. In his message to the legislature it is interesting to note that Governor Anderson, in alluding to the proposed war on France in behalf of Mexico, made an elaborate argument against the "Monroe doctrine," which he characterized as the invention of Mr. Canning, minister of George IV, and an "absurd usurpation of the functions of universal wetnurse to the orphan republics of the world." An event of temporary importance in his brief administration was the removal from office of State Treasurer Dorsey.

Two Ohio generals were nominated for governor in 1865—Maj.-Gen. Jacob D. Cox by the Republican or "Union" party, and Brig.-Gen. George W. Morgan by the Democrats. The national issues now turned upon the questions of how to reconstruct the Southern states, and whether the freedmen should be given full citizenship and the right of suffrage. Senator Ben Wade, who had found himself in opposition to Lincoln regarding the method of re-establishing state governments, was a leader of the radical wing of the Republican party, that would hold the Southern states under military rule until they had abolished slavery by their constitutions, submitted to negro suffrage and did penance for their secession, while the Democrats were for re-establishing the state governments without condition. "The one great question of the day," according to the platform of the Democratic party (in 1866), was, "the immediate and unconditional restoration of all the states," and they opposed the condition of "negro political and civil equality." President Lincoln, in 1864, had appeared to be in favor of the theory that none of the states had ever been out of the Union. He would recognize the reorganization of their governments by loyal men; but Congress had the right to refuse their representatives admission. There were abundant new sources of political difference in the reconstruction question and the negro suffrage question, to divide patriotic people, and some who had stood together in the war soon found themselves in opposing ranks. The Republican party did not welcome the negro suffrage doctrine with remarkable enthusiasm, and General Cox, in the midst of the State campaign, declared himself strongly opposed to the policy. He was elected in October, by a majority of nearly thirty thousand, the Republican vote being much smaller than in the previous year.

Governor Cox, born in Canada in 1828, while his parents were temporarily in that country, was a product of the Connecticut reserve in training, from the time he entered Oberlin college in 1846. He began the administration of the office of governor with great prestige as a military officer. No volunteer soldier, without military experience in 1861, rose to higher functions in the war than he ably performed. He was to Ohio what Logan was to Illinois, as a general without military training, but different in other respects. Aside from his soldierly qualities, which were characterized by quiet, careful performance of duty, without dash and display, though he was a fine horseman and skillful swordsman, he was a good lawyer, an able public speaker, one of the most accomplished literary men the State has produced, and an expert in one of the most delicate departments of scientific research.

In his inaugural address he sounded a note of caution against carrying the spirit of the conqueror into the legislation regarding the South. He advised holding in check impulse and passion, and

would challenge the motives and consistency of actions, and fasten attention on the principles of government and human rights that had been axioms in the earlier days of the republic.

Regarding the conditions of civil life he said: "The habit of grasping great thoughts and of daring to do great deeds has apparently begotten in our people a disposition that makes all business enterprises take wider scope than heretofore, and the keen insight with which all our resources are being scanned, and the adventurous energy with which their development is pushed, leave nothing to be desired in a business point of view, unless it be an increase of that sagacious caution which may save us from the danger of those commercial revulsions which have with considerable regularity followed great expansions of the currency."

It is often said that the soldiers of the great war, returning quietly to civil life, were submerged in the ordinary channels of industry, something not exactly true. If so, these men would have lost at once that spirit of heroic enterprise that had animated them for several years, would have gone counter to the broadening of mind, the wide grasp of affairs, that war service had brought to them. In fact, when they came home in 1863, 1864, and 1865 the soldiers brought into the fields of industry and commerce a spirit of enterprise and restlessness that helped make the following years remarkable for development in all lines of activity. But the opportunity that the war had afforded to those who did not engage in it was the source of most of the great fortunes that now had their beginning. The evil side of war doubtless aided, also, the multiplication of schemes and speculations, some of them unsound and wicked, and a spirit in politics that bred a corruption even greater than that which marked the days before 1861.

One of the avenues of enterprise that were thronged by adventurous men in this period was boring for oil and speculating in oil lands. The beginning of the industry in 1860 has already been noted. In 1861 the first "gushers" were discovered by boring deeper, into the region of gas pressure, and the price of crude oil at the wells fell to fifty cents a barrel. The boring of wells continued in Ohio during the war period, particularly in Washington, Meigs and Morgan counties. Marietta, as the commercial center of that oil country and a region in West Virginia, revived her ancient importance, and herself boasted of an oil well 800 feet deep. Cleveland became a center of oil refining and of speculation.

It will illuminate one's view of the condition of the North during the war to learn that Sheridan's victories in the Shenandoah valley in the fall of 1864 were hailed with delight as giving an opportunity to open up the oil fields of West Virginia. In February, 1865, a newspaper correspondent wrote from Franklin, Pa. (in the time of Col. George Washington known as Fort Venango): "Somebody

said the papers say that Charleston is taken. Who cares? Somebody struck a forty-barrel well up Sugar Creek yesterday, and this fact gives rise to infinitely more gratification and discussion than the fall of Charleston or even than would the surrender of Richmond, including Lee and his whole army and the Southern confederacy thrown in." At Cleveland and other centers of oil speculation, "everybody talked, thought, dreamed and schemed about oil." Fortunate owners of wild land, fortunately living under laws that gave individuals, for the insignificant price of surface land, a title to all the treasures of the earth that might be found beneath—laws that may sometime excite the amazement of wiser people—suddenly became millionaires. Some spent hundreds of thousands rapidly in all sorts of extravagance and licentiousness. Others hoarded their money, like the miser who acquired a fortune from oil land, and was robbed by burglars of $250,000. The part of Ohio in this period of "coal-oil" history was principally speculation in Pennsylvania lands, and reaping a harvest from lucky oil men who desired to spend their money, and in the legitimate business of oil refining, which soon became important at Cleveland. But there was considerable speculation and boring of wells in the Liverpool region, where the oil wells had been abandoned after the discovery of gushers in Pennsylvania, and wells were also sunk in Washington, Athens, Morgan and Noble counties.

In 1865 eleven hundred oil companies were formed in the United States, mainly to operate in the Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia country, with an aggregate capital of six hundred million dollars, and among these, the companies organized at Cleveland were not inconsiderable. But most of these organizations were speculative. In two or three years the "oil bubble" broke, and there was not much advance in the growth of the oil fields until 1873, Ohio during this period producing at the best not more than 50,000 barrels a year.

Notable among those who embarked in the oil business at this time, though not then conspicuous, was John D. Rockefeller, who had come to Cleveland, a boy of fourteen and son of a physician, from central New York, in 1853. During the period of speculation he and his partner, Clark, bought some oil land, and borrowed money to build an oil refinery to put in practice a method devised by Samuel Andrews, a man with ideas acquired as a day laborer in the oil regions of Pennsylvania. William Rockefeller was induced to join the partnership, and a second refinery was built and a warehouse opened in New York. The Andrews method was successful, and they were able to produce refined oil of better quality at less cost than their rivals. Henry M. Flagler went into the partnership, with $60,000 capital, and, in 1870, the Standard Oil company was organized, with the Rockefellers, Andrews and Flagler as the principals, and a nominal capital of one million dollars. The policy of promoting co-op-

eration rather than competition was carried on from the first, rivals being bought out for cash or Standard stock, and in seven years the company had a monopoly of the refined oil business in the United States, and, before long, practical control of the petroleum market of the world. The participants in the enterprise were enriched beyond the dreams of men esteemed wealthy in the earlier days of America. Through the enterprise of Rockefeller and other pioneers in the industry the investment of capital in the oil refining at Cleveland increased from $3,000,000 in 1868 to $27,000,000 in 1884.

Beginning also in 1861, but more noticeable after the close of the war, was the period of sale of railroads to pay the mortgages, as a rule destroying the value of the original stocks, in which the people of the State had made large investments. Upon the financial wrecks of the original unassociated lines rose, sometimes by devious methods, the modern railroad systems. One of the earliest of these reorganizations and consolidations was brought about by a shrewd New York lawyer, Samuel J. Tilden, following the foreclosure sale of the Crestline roads in 1861, out of which he formed the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago system. Another of the new companies was the Pittsburg, Columbus & Cincinnati (Panhandle), operating in 1865 the old Columbus & Steubenville and part of the Central Ohio. Gradually out of these and subsidiary lines grew the great Pennsylvania railroad system. Another famous system of that day was the Atlantic & Great Western, which built a road from Warren to Dayton, in 1863–64, as a link in a line between New York and St. Louis. The Baltimore & Ohio also acquired control of lines to Columbus and Sandusky, preparatory to its extension to Chicago. The Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula railroad leased the Cleveland & Toledo in 1867; these were merged in 1868 in the Lake Shore railroad, and in 1869 this was consolidated with the Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana to form the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern railroad.

The great Cincinnati suspension bridge over the Ohio river, on which work was resumed in 1863, was opened to foot travelers December 1, 1866, and to wagon traffic a month later, and the Bellaire bridge, to connect the two shores held in hostility by the Indians and the advance guard of white conquest a hundred years before, was begun in 1865, to be completed five years later at a cost of one and a quarter millions.

There was also a great development of coal and iron mining and manufacturing, and sawmills multiplied, denuding millions of acres of the forests that had so far survived the conquests of agriculture.

The manufacture of agricultural implements had been begun at Springfield in 1854. Indeed, primitive plows had been made at Cincinnati as early as 1813, and a concern at Columbus was turning out 1,500 plows a year in 1832, but it was "after the war" that the wonderful growth in the manufacture of all sorts of agricultural machin-

ery began and inventors racked their brains for new ways of doing the farmer's work.

The warning of Governor Cox was timely, regarding the danger of a revulsion, but except for a dullness in 1867, the evil to come was postponed for a few years. During the administration of General Cox the State board of charities was created in 1867, with G. D. Harrison, Douglas Putnam, Joseph Perkins, Robert W. Steele and Albert Douglas as the first members. A State Soldiers' home was established in 1866, followed in 1867 by the location of the Central branch of the National Soldiers' home at Dayton. It was not long before the Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' home was established at Xenia.

In the political affairs of the nation, soon embittered by the conflict between President Johnson and Congress, Ohio was pre-eminent with Ben Wade and John Sherman in the senate, and Robert C. Schenck, William Lawrence, John A. Bingham, James A. Garfield, Benjamin Eggleston, Rutherford B. Hayes, Samuel Shellabarger, Ralph P. Buckland, James M. Ashley, Rufus P. Spalding and others in the house. The State was not in this period represented prominently in the opposition, except by Gen. George W. Morgan, who was elected to Congress in 1866, and was the candidate of his party for speaker when James G. Blaine was first elected to that office. The attitude of the president led Postmaster-General Dennison to resign in 1867, while Edwin M. Stanton, one of the greatest figures among the Ohio men of war times, held his post as secretary of war, sustained by Congress, against the will of the president. The president, seeking vindication of the people, "swung around the circle," making a speech in Cleveland, among other places, that did not help him in public favor. There followed his impeachment and trial before the senate, in the spring of 1868, proceedings in which John A. Bingham was the leader of the prosecution, and William S. Groesbeck and Henry Stanbery* were among the president's counsel, Groesbeck making a speech of remarkable power. Senator Wade, president of the senate, would have become president of the United States if the impeachment had not failed.

In 1866 the Republicans carried the State by 43,000 majority, and elected all but two of the congressmen, but in 1867 the majority was greatly reduced. The issue then was narrowed largely to negro suffrage, though reconstruction still remained a source of dispute, and the Democratic party was beginning a vigorous fight against the protective tariff established in 1861. The Republicans nominated for governor Gen. Rutherford B. Hayes, and the Democrats Allen G. Thurman, whose earlier life has already been noticed, and who began at that time a career of national importance. He had been the choice of his party for senator when John Sherman was re-elected

*Stanbery was afterward nominated for justice of the United States supreme court, but Congress would not confirm the president's selection.

in January. He and Sherman were leaders in national politics for more than twenty years, and were alike in being strong, conservative men, restraining their parties from error and excess, and earning perpetual remembrance as patriots. At the polls, in October, 1867, a proposed constitutional amendment giving colored men the right to vote in Ohio, also disfranchising deserters and refugees from the draft, was rejected by a majority of over 50,000. Though General Hayes won the governorship, it was by a majority of less than 3,000, and the Democrats elected a majority of the legislature, so that when that body convened in January, 1868, Mr. Thurman was elected to succeed Benjamin F. Wade in the United States senate. This was the end of Wade's official career, but he had finished his work, manfully performed in a period when men of such heroic mold were indispensable.

Gen. Rutherford Birchard Hayes, who became governor in January, 1868, was born at Delaware, Ohio, in 1822, son of one of the immigrants of 1817 from the frozen east. Largely through his own exertions he was educated at Kenyon college and Harvard law school, and he practiced at Marietta and Fremont before making his home at Cincinnati in 1849. When the war began he was elected captain of a company organized in the Literary club of that city, and his military career, thus begun, was marked by rapid advancement, until he commanded a brigade and was honored with the brevet of major-general for gallantry in Sheridan's valley campaign. Before he came home he was elected to Congress by the Cincinnati district. He was a man of clean life and sound judgment, an able and honest lawyer, who was called to high political honors because his record and personal bearing commanded the confidence of good people. One who will read the public papers of the governors of Ohio will recognize in those of Hayes the characteristics that reveal the man of quiet strength, directness of purpose, and an evident superiority of nature without the slightest tinge of effort to excel.

The proposed amendments to the United States constitution, which were intended to perpetuate the results of the war, were the subject of much political contention. The Thirteenth, abolishing slavery, was adopted in 1865, and in 1867 the legislature ratified the Fourteenth amendment, which defined citizenship in the United States, without regard to color, disfranchised the most prominent participants in the rebellion and forbade the payment of the "rebel debt," but, at the beginning of the administration of Governor Hayes, it was proposed by the majority of the legislature to rescind the approval of the latter amendment. A resolution was passed for that purpose, and presented to Congress, also resolutions protesting against the reconstruction laws. To further strengthen the attitude of the State as opposed to negro suffrage, a law was passed in the

same session (1868), disqualifying men from voting who had a "visible admixture" of African blood.

In the national political campaign that followed, the Democrats of Ohio declared for payment of the United States five-twenty bonds in paper money, but the main issue was reconstruction and negro suffrage. On this subject Mr. Hayes declared: "In my judgment, Ohio will never consent that the whites of the South, a large majority of whom were lately in rebellion, shall exercise in the government of the nation as much political power, man for man, as the same number of white citizens of Ohio, and be allowed, in addition thereto, thirty members of Congress and of the electoral college, for colored people deprived of every political privilege." His party, in Ohio, in March, urged the nomination of General Grant for president and Benjamin F. Wade for vice-president. In May many Ohio soldiers gathered at Chicago in a national soldiers' convention that urged the nomination of Grant, and immediately afterward the Republican national convention, meeting in the same city, nominated the General by unanimous vote. For vice-president Senator Wade was the leading candidate for four ballots, but the honor went to Colfax, of Indiana. For the Democratic nomination Chief-Justice Chase was urged, and though he was one of the original Abolitionists, there was a considerable sentiment for him on the platform of "universal suffrage and universal amnesty," which he announced in a letter to the chairman of the Democratic national committee. It was recalled, as has already been noted in this work, that he had maintained state sovereignty, but not as a justification of secession. In 1869 he delivered the famous opinion of the United States supreme court that the secession ordinances were never of any force in law, that the seceding states were never out of the Union, and that "the constitution, in all of its provisions, looks to an indissoluble union, composed of indestructible states." In the Democratic convention, held at New York, he received a few votes, but the leading candidate was George H. Pendleton, of Cincinnati. He maintained this lead until the fifteenth ballot, and came near a majority, but failed to hold his gains, and the convention turned to General Hancock, and Hendricks of Indiana, and finally to Horatio Seymour, of New York, who was nominated unanimously on motion of General McCook, leading the Ohio delegation.

The political campaign that followed was more like a military campaign than any heretofore known in the country, nearly every Republican county having a brigade of marching clubs. In October the Republicans carried Ohio by 17,000 and in November the Grant electors were given a majority of over 40,000. General Grant was elected—the first man of Ohio birth to occupy the presidential chair—and when inaugurated in 1869 he called to his cabinet Governor Cox as secretary of the interior.

The State legislature, however, continued to have a Democratic majority, and there was no immediate change in the attitude of Ohio toward the constitutional amendments. At the session of 1869 the Fifteenth amendment, declaring that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, was rejected by a party vote. Governor Hayes was re-nominated soon after the legislature adjourned, and the Democratic party put forward against him General Rosecrans. The latter declining the nomination, George H. Pendleton was chosen as a candidate. A convention at Mansfield, favoring the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor, also named a ticket, which received only a few hundred votes. General Hayes was re-elected by a majority of 7,500, and a narrow majority was obtained by his party in the legislature. This legislature, meeting in January, 1870, repealed all the laws restricting the suffrage to white citizens, and ratified the Fifteenth amendment.

In 1869 the Cincinnati fairs, that had ceased during the war, were revived by the exposition of the Wool Growers' association of the Northwest, and in the following year an association, through the efforts of Alfred T. Goshorn and others, made the first Cincinnati Industrial exposition, which in 1870 occupied the spacious building erected for the National Saengerfest, and afterward was housed in the great Music Hall, built by popular subscription, which, with its immense organ, one of the largest in the world, was for a time the most famous "attraction" in the West.

Under an act of the legislature creating that office, John Strong Newberry, son of one of the settlers of the Western Reserve, was appointed state geologist in 1869. He had gained fame by explorations in the far west, as well as in the administration of the sanitary commission in 1861–65. Under his management a thorough investigation was made of the geology and mineral resources of the State, the fruits of which are preserved in nine volumes of reports and a geological map of Ohio which are hardly surpassed in thoroughness by any similar works in the world.

The credit for this work is mainly due to Edward Orton, who was assistant geologist from the beginning, and chief from 1882. He was a native of New York, but partly educated at the Lane theological seminary, and from 1865 was in educational work in Ohio. He was made president of Antioch college in 1872, and first president of the State university at Columbus in 1873. His geological work in Ohio and other states gave him national fame.

The census of 1870 showed a population of 2,665,260, an increase in ten years of a third of a million despite the losses and deterrent influences of war.

In 1870 the legislature chartered the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical college, to receive an endowment by Congress of land

scrip for 630,000 acres, which yielded a fund of something over half a million dollars. The college was located at Columbus, and opened in 1873, and since then has received the name of Ohio State university. It shares with the Ohio university (at Athens) and Miami university, the appropriations of the legislature for higher education. As each of these institutions was founded by the bounty of the national government, Ohio must confess a shortcoming in this field, as compared with such younger states as Michigan and Wisconsin and Minnesota, or even with Indiana and Illinois, whose state universities are not so conspicuous as the others. But the people of Ohio have all the time supported a large number of small colleges, and while the pride of the professional teacher and the patriotic admiration of big institutions are not gratified, the small colleges have not failed to turn out big men and noble women.

In his second inaugural address Governor Hayes made the characteristic expression: "The law should touch the rights, the business and the feelings of the citizen at as few points as is consistent with the preservation of order and the maintenance of justice. If every department of government is kept within its own sphere and every officer performs faithfully his duty without magnifying his office, harmony, efficiency and economy will prevail." He recommended the restoration to communities of the right to vote aid to railroads, the reform of the civil service and the appointment of judges by the governor and legislature as things that should be considered in the proposed revision of the constitution. The constitution of 1851 authorized the people to vote in 1871 on the holding of a constitutional convention, and the vote resulted in favor of the same.

In the State campaign of 1871 the Democratic party adopted a platform, based on the Dayton platform, written by Clement L. Vallandigham, which was called the "New Departure," and, in the words of Vallandigham, "buried out of sight all that is of the dead past, namely, the right of secession, slavery, inequality before the law and political inequality," and waived all questions as to the means of reconstruction, reconstruction having been accomplished and all the states restored to Congress, but reinsisted on the principle of "strict construction, as proclaimed by the Democratic fathers." Vallandigham's "New Departure," interesting as a projection of old-school Democracy into the present era, also urged the rapid payment of the public debt, advocated "a strictly revenue tariff," and declared that "specie is the basis of all sound currency," and specie payments should be resumed as soon as possible without hardship. But his party refused to adopt the specie plank of Vallandigham's platform and advocated the receipt of customs and payment of bonds in paper.

The opposing parties again presented, for the honor of chief executive, two men distinguished in war. The Republicans named Gen. Edward Follensbee Noyes, born in Massachusetts in 1833, who had

obtained his education in a printing office and Dartmouth college and the Cincinnati law school, and when a young lawyer in Cincinnati had gone into the war in 1861 as major of the Thirty-ninth regiment. He won promotion to colonel, lost a leg in the Atlanta campaign, and was honored with the brevet rank of general. He was one of the most popular public speakers of Ohio. In opposition the Democrats named Gen. George Wythe McCook, one of the first Ohio brigadier-generals in 1861, whose earlier career has already been noticed. He had long before been the attorney-general of Ohio, and in war was one of the most active supporters of the government. During the campaign ill health compelled him to abandon the canvass. General Noyes received a plurality of over 20,000, and began his term as governor in January, 1872. This was soon followed by the third election of Senator John Sherman. Gen. George W. Morgan was the candidate of the Democrats, who had a large vote, and part of the Republican strength went to General Cox, causing an exciting contest.

An event of 1871 which attracted much attention was the burning of the Central lunatic asylum at Columbus, and in 1872 the Northern asylum was partly destroyed in the same way, and five lives lost in the work of checking the flames.

The national political events of 1872 centered largely about Ohio. The first national convention of the year was of the Labor Reform party, which met at Columbus, and adopted a platform that advocated national paper money interchangeable for government bonds, and the abolition of bank notes, also urging government control of railroads. On May 1st a national convention opposed to the re-election of President Grant met at Cincinnati, and nominated Horace Greeley; Salmon P. Chase receiving some votes for nomination for president and General Cox for vice-president. General Cox and Judge Jacob Brinkerhoff afterward led in a schism from the Greeley ticket and put in nomination William S. Groesbeck, of Cincinnati, for president. The main part of the Republicans of Ohio adhered to General Grant, and urged the nomination of Governor Dennison for vice-president, but Henry Wilson was chosen. The Democratic party, following Vallandigham's "new departure," accepted Mr. Greeley as its candidate for president, on a platform advocating, as Greeley said: "equal rights, regardless of creed or clime or color." Another Democratic convention nominated Charles O'Connor, of New York. Ohio gave, in round numbers, 282,000 votes to Grant and 244,000 to Greeley.

In his first communication to the legislature Governor Noyes alluded to the excellent financial condition of the State, the debt having been reduced to about eight million dollars. He pointed with gratification to the completion in the past year of 272 miles of new railroad, and the partial construction of 322 miles, and the granting

of charters for 4,000 miles of other lines, but with apprehension said, "We hope it will nowhere prove the evidence of recklessness."

The progress of railroad building greatly encouraged the rapid development of the manufacture of iron and steel. Cleveland, which in 1870 had but eight rolling mills, in 1872 had fourteen, and Ohio stood fourth among the states in the production of iron rails for the new railroads. The general tendency was shown by the incorporation of over four hundred new companies for various purposes in 1872 with a nominal capital of nearly one hundred and forty millions. At the same time the annual product of the manufactories already established in the State was estimated at three hundred millions.

The railroad building in Ohio during this period was a sample of what was going on throughout the West, causing the investment of seventeen hundred million dollars in five years. The money had been obtained by the sale of bonds in the East and in Europe, and railroad promoters were borrowing money for new projects in advance of the sale of bonds. It soon became apparent that the money, so easily obtained, was being wasted, and there was a sudden tightening of the strings of credit, so that failures began in the summer of 1873, of those concerns based on credit, or deeply involved in airy ventures. Then on September 18th, Jay Cooke, with some four millions of deposits in his bank and fifteen millions of Northern Pacific paper, went to the wall, the notorious Jim Fisk failed, and there followed a "run" that forced the suspension of some of the most famous and trusted New York banks. The frightful depression of stocks and the blow dealt to credit and speculative enterprises wrought considerable temporary harm in Ohio, but as Governor Noyes said in his message of 1874: "Our agricultural, manufacturing and mining industries have been unusually prosperous during the past twelve months, and the close of the year has aggregated fair returns to investments in business enterprises of every description." In 1873 only five new railroad lines were projected in Ohio, but in spite of the depression 245 miles were constructed, including the Baltimore & Ohio extension to Chicago.

A notable feature of railroad enterprise, despite the panic, was the building of the Cincinnati Southern, begun in December, 1873, by the city of Cincinnati, which issued bonds to pay for the work. The earlier bonds bore over seven per cent interest, and the latest four per cent, and as about $15,000,000 of these bonds remained unpaid in 1900, the burden of debt has been great upon the city. The Southern road was opened to Somerset, Ky., in July, 1877, and to Chattanooga in 1879. It is of historical interest that the movement for such a road was begun in 1835, forty years before the work was well under way. The enterprise is one of which the city is proud, and it

has been of great value in promoting that southern commerce that is of vital importance to Cincinnati.

Governor Noyes was renominated in 1873, and the Democrats, having tried, with poor success, the latter day heroes as candidates for governor, called upon William Allen, who for many years had been in retirement at Fruit Hill, the old Chillicothe mansion of General McArthur. The Cincinnati Commercial, in anticipation of his candidacy, concocted the ditty, "Come, rise up, William Allen, And go along with me, And I will make you governor, Of this fair countree!" He yielded, upon the solicitation of his uncle, Senator Thurman, and his candidacy was hailed with delight by the old-school Democrats, and with humorous sallies by the opposition. The veteran politician of Andrew Jackson's time—besides Thurman the only one remaining as an example of the ancient Chillicothe statesmen, all-powerful in their day—went into the canvass with vigor, and his powerful voice was heard in every part of the State. His opponents put the ablest orators of the Union in the campaign against him, but the romance of his candidacy appealed to the people, and the "Sage of Fruit Hill" was elected by a plurality of 817 votes in a total of nearly 450,000. At the same time a legislature was chosen that re-elected Allen G. Thurman to the United States senate. There was also a Prohibition party ticket in the field, headed by G. T. Stewart, and a Fusion party ticket, that declared both the leading parties helpless to check "the tendency to utter demoralization of politics," headed by Isaac Collins, and these had about 10,000 votes each.

The constitutional convention organized at Columbus May 14, 1873, adjourned August 8th, reassembled at Cincinnati in December, and agreed upon a new constitution May 14, 1874. At first, it was presided over by Morrison Remick Waite, a native of Connecticut and graduate of Yale college, who had come west to study law under Samuel L. Young, of Maumee City. Since 1850 he had been a prominent lawyer at Toledo, had served once in the Ohio senate, and made an unsuccessful attempt to defeat James M. Ashley for Congress in 1862. In 1871 he was counsel of the United States in the famous international court at Geneva, Switzerland, but overshadowed by his associates, William M. Evarts and Caleb Cushing. Soon after the assembling of the convention he was appointed chief-justice of the United States to succeed Salmon P. Chase, who died May 7, 1873. As Judge Waite was comparatively unknown outside of Ohio, his appointment was criticised, but in the course of his service as chief justice, which extended until his death in 1888, he justified the high opinion of his merits entertained by Judge Thurman and other Ohioans. He was succeeded as president of the convention by Rufus King, of Cincinnati, son of Gen. Edward King, of that city (whose wife was a daughter of Governor Worthington), and grandson of the Rufus King of Massachusetts who was an eminent statesman in the

days of the ordinance of 1787. The vice-president of the convention was the veteran Lewis D. Campbell, and among its members were Gen. J. W. Reilly, George Hoadley, Richard M. Bishop, William H. West, Thomas Ewing, Jr., and other able men. It is likely that the constitution they prepared would have been of great value to the State. It provided for biennial state elections, salaries for legislators, a qualified veto power for the governor, and a radical reform of the judicial system, and in many other respects introduced changes. But when it was submitted to the people in 1874 it was rejected by an adverse vote of more than two to one. The propositions of minority representation and railroad aid by municipalities were even more overwhelmingly disapproved, and the only close vote was on the proposition to levy license fees upon the liquor traffic, which was rejected by seven thousand majority.

The regulation or prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquors was at this time, and had been since 1841, engaging the earnest attention of many people. In the closing days of 1873 a new form of the movement against the saloons was developed under the guidance of Dio Lewis, a noted lecturer on health reform and temperance. At Hillsboro, December 23d, the lecturer urged the women to attempt to suppress the wholly unrestrained sale of intoxicants in their town, and, on the next day, seventy women marched from the church at which they met to the saloons and drugstores that dealt in liquor, most of which soon yielded to persuasion. The daughter of Governor Trimble set the example of prayer, which was continued day after day, in front of or in the places visited. At Washington Court House, a movement of the same kind immediately followed. There, on the third day of visitation and prayer, one of the saloon-keepers yielded, making a present of his stock of liquor to the women, who rolled the barrels into the street and burned them. Following his example eleven of the thirteen saloons in the town went out of business.

The "Crusade," as it was called, rapidly spread over southern Ohio, and thence into various parts of the United States. About a month later it was reported that in twenty-five towns in Ohio over a hundred saloons had been closed, and twenty-two drugstores pledged not to sell intoxicants. It was no uncommon thing to see a group of the best women of a town in a saloon, praying and singing sacred hymns, or, if they had been refused admission, clustered about the outside of some disorderly place, sometimes on their knees in the snow and mud. But the enthusiasm of the initial movement, that brought women out in midwinter, was lost in time, and it was demonstrated that there is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous. In the cities, where such a strong sentiment against the saloons and unauthorized places of sale could not be created, no effect was produced, except riots that put the women in danger, and, in Cincinnati,

brought forty-three of them to the ignominy of confinement at the police station. In a few months the "crusade" had ceased, and the former conditions were pretty generally re-established. But, in conventions at Cincinnati and Springfield, the Ohio Women's Christian Temperance Union was formed, and the national organization of that society was established in the same year. This society, growing out of the Crusade, has had great influence in the promotion of temperance on both sides of the Atlantic.

Among the notable laws of the Allen administration were those changing the control of the benevolent and penal institutions, giving rise to the long continued dispute regarding "non-partisan" and "bipartisan" management. Another that became important in politics was the "Geghan bill," permitting sectarian instruction in the penal and reformatory institutions.

In 1875 occurred at Xenia the first meeting of the Ohio state grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, an organization of farmers founded in Ohio in 1872.

Governor Allen, in his message, urged the old-fashioned policies of economy, retrenchment, and payment of debt. He rebuked the previous legislatures for temporarily invading the sinking and school funds to meet emergencies. In brief, he bore himself with the dignity and expressed the sentiments of a man desirous of promoting the essentials of good government. In 1875 he was renominated for governor, and gave all his power to win success for his party, which had espoused the cause of inflation of the paper money and opposition to the resumption of specie payments. Conspicuous in the campaign as his ally was Samuel F. Cary, of Cincinnati, who was the most famous man of the West in the oratorical field in support of the proposition to issue paper money without any promise to pay. Rutherford B. Hayes was nominated a third time for governor by the Republicans, and he was bold enough to declare unqualifiedly in favor of resumption of specie payments by the United States treasury, a policy depending almost entirely in Congress upon the energy and determination of John Sherman. The campaign was very closely contested, with a spirit of bitterness, but Hayes won by a plurality over Allen of 4,450 in a total vote of nearly 600,000, and had a small majority over all, Odell, the Prohibition candidate, receiving but 2,593 votes. This victory made Governor Hayes a candidate for the presidency of the United States.

Governor Hayes, in his third inaugural address of January, 1876, called attention to the rapid and dangerous growth of local indebtedness, and cited statistics showing that in 1871 thirty-one of the principal cities and towns, levying annual taxes of nine million dollars, were in debt seven millions, and in 1875 the same cities and towns were levying over twelve millions taxes each year, and had increased their debt to over twenty millions. At the same time the cities were

complaining of bad administration of public affairs. "Profligate expenditure," said the governor, "is the fruitful cause of municipal misgovernment," and he urged the legislature to restrict the powers of municipalities to go in debt as the constitution restricted the State. The legislature acted on the suggestion, and prohibited special improvements by cities until the money to cover the expense had been obtained by special assessments on property to be benefited. Other laws were also passed tending to restrict the extravagance of municipal governments. Notwithstanding this, however, Ohio has, in recent years, furnished an instance of a city government going into the hands of a receiver.

The main topic of talk and thought in Ohio in 1876 was the great exposition held at Philadelphia, in commemoration of the declaration of independence. Among the most interesting things on exhibit were the new machines called typewriters, made at Cincinnati by G. W. N. Yost, one of the owners of the patents obtained by Sholes, Soulé, Glidden and Densmore. It was in this year that the first patent for a telephone was taken out by Elisha Gray, a native of Belmont county, who had obtained his education at Oberlin college, and had been working toward the perfection of telegraphy for eight years. Bell's telephone, patented almost simultaneously, was exhibited at the Centennial fair. Thomas Alva Edison, a native of Milan, Erie county (1847), who had grown up as a newsboy in Michigan, and afterward spent some years at Cincinnati as a telegraph operator, had established himself in importance by inventing duplex telegraphy, and in this same year founded his establishment at Menlo Park, N. J., itself one of the wonders of the world, and began working on the invention of the incandescent electric lamp and the phonograph. Charles F. Brush, another Ohioan, born near Cleveland, in the same year patented his dynamo, the basis of the modern system of lighting. Thus it will be seen that the year 1876 was an epoch of vast importance and Ohio was at the front.

Governor Hayes urged the legislature, early in the year, in consideration of the theory of economy that was pressing very strongly upon the minds of the members: "Let your session be short, avoid all schemes requiring excessive expenditures, and your constituents will cheerfully approve an appropriation for the Centennial." Many thousands of the citizens of Ohio attended the exposition, and the State made a very creditable display of its products, participated in by a thousand exhibitors, of whom a fourth received awards, a greater proportion than in any other state. The showing of school methods and the work of pupils was particularly excellent, the exhibit of one Ohio city receiving mention as the best that had ever been made in any country. Ohio also took pride in the fact that this first great international fair in America was under the successful

direction of Alfred T. Goshorn, who had received his training for the place in the management of the annual Cincinnati exposition.

Early in 1876 Judge Alphonso Taft, of Cincinnati, was called to the national cabinet as secretary of war, and a little later he was made attorney-general. Afterward Judge Taft served with ability as minister of the United States at the courts of Austria and Russia.

Looking to the old world, it is to be noted that in 1876 an Ohio man rose to great prominence in international affairs through his work as a newspaper correspondent. This was Janarius Aloysius MacGahan, a native of the same county (Perry) as Philip Henry Sheridan; son of an Irishman, who died and left his boy to be reared by the mother in a cabin among the hills. He prepared himself in the district schools to become a teacher, afterward was a writer for St. Louis newspapers, and in 1868 went to Europe and became the war correspondent of the New York Herald during the invasion of France by Germany. After traveling in Asia, going through the Spanish war with the army of Don Carlos, and sailing to the Arctic regions, he went into Bulgaria and in 1876 wrote letters of remarkable power exposing the atrocities of the Turkish government. MacGahan's letters forced Disraeli to withhold the support of England from the sultan, and Russia was free to wage a war that liberated a large region from Turkish control. Dying at Constantinople in 1878, MacGahan's body was brought home in an United States war ship in 1884, and interred at New Lexington.

On June 25th of the Centennial year Gen. George A. Custer, native of Harrison county, descendant of a Kuster who was one of the Hessians who came over to fight against Washington and became citizens—Custer, the "Yellow Hair," as the Indians called him, met his death with near three hundred of his men, in a wild charge upon a camp of hostile Sioux in Montana.

In the same year, it may be noted, Matthew Simpson, born at Cadiz in 1811, then in the prime of his manhood and famous as a great orator and the foremost bishop of the strongest Protestant church in America, published his "Hundred Years of Methodism."

Near the close of 1876, on the bitterly cold and stormy night of December 29th, a westward express train on the Lake Shore railroad, running at the rate of forty miles an hour, broke through the iron bridge over the Ashtabula river, and eight cars were thrown into the chasm. Trains were in that day heated with coal stoves, and the wreckage, in which over a hundred and fifty people were entangled, was soon in flames. Eighty people perished in this terrible accident, but not entirely in vain, for the dangers of railroad traveling, of which the Ashtabula disaster was for a long time the most famous example, have since then been greatly decreased by the improved construction of cars, bridges and tracks, which were shown, by such horrors, to be necessary.

The presidential campaign of 1876 was opened by a movement of independent Republicans, of which General Cox was one, demanding a candidate pledged to civil service reform. A national Prohibition convention met at Cleveland and nominated Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, for president, and Gideon T. Stewart, of Ohio, for vice-president. The national Greenback party was organized at Indianapolis and its ticket was Peter Cooper and Samuel F. Cary, the latter a Cincinnati man famous as a lecturer on temperance and a political orator, who had once been elected to congress to succeed General Hayes. Next, the national Republican convention met at Cincinnati. It was memorable for the enthusiastic support given James G. Blaine, of Maine, who was born in western Pennsylvania, and in youth had made his home for a time with his kinsman, Thomas Ewing, and attended school at Lancaster, Ohio. Ohio supported in the convention her governor, Rutherford B. Hayes, and General Noyes presented his name in a manner that was creditable in a convention never surpassed in oratory. By a concentration of the opposition to Mr. Blaine, Governor Hayes was nominated for president on the seventh ballot. In the national Democratic convention at St. Louis, Ohio voted for William Allen for president and Allen G. Thurman for vice-president, but Gov. Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, was chosen as the candidate for president.

Governor Hayes and Governor Tilden both declared for reform of the civil service and the resumption of specie payments, and both promised the South generous treatment. The real issue was the removal or continuance of that support that the national government had so far continued to give the negro voters of the South in their attempts at voting and controlling public affairs, aided by numerous Northerner who were called "carpetbaggers." One of the Northern men, who because they made their homes in the South, were classed indiscriminately with some who were less worthy, was William Burnham Woods, born at Newark in 1824, a graduate of Western Reserve college and Yale, a Democratic legislator and speaker of the house (1858–59), who went into the army as a staff officer of the Seventy-sixth Ohio, commanded a brigade of Sherman's army and received the brevet of major-general. He was appointed from the South to the United States supreme court in 1880. Another was Maj.-Gen. James B. Steedman, who for some time was collector of the port of New Orleans. Another was Albion W. Tourgee, a native of Ashtabula county, who became a judge in North Carolina, and described the experiences of the "carpet-baggers" in books he significantly entitled, "A Fool's Errand," and "Bricks without Straw," which were the greatest literary successes of the day.

Before the election, General Sherman, at that time in command of the United States army, was directed to hold as many troops as possible in readiness to protect citizens without regard to color in the

exercise of the right to vote, and assist in the punishment of all who should attempt to nullify the Fifteenth amendment. Attorney-General Noyes instructed the United States marshals to preserve peace at the polls and guard against fraud and intimidation. In the South, particularly, the issue was based on this exercise of national authority, and a general impulse to overthrow the political power of the colored people, while in the North there was general apathy as to the result, with a rather predominating notion that the military power had been used long enough. The result was that the South was revolutionized politically, generally by more or less active intimidation of the negroes, and New York, New Jersey, Indiana and Connecticut gave majorities for Tilden. The plurality for Hayes in Ohio was only 7,500. The election was at first supposed to have been carried by Tilden, but the Republican committee claimed a majority of one, by the votes of Florida, Louisiana and South Caroline, where the vote was very close. Committees of prominent men were sent South by both parties to be near during the official counting of votes. A brief account of the contest cannot be given that would be just and altogether truthful, because in the case of each of the three Southern states the circumstances were complicated. But it may be said, as Senator Sherman wrote to Governor Hayes regarding Louisiana, that Tilden had a majority on the face of the returns, but under the State laws many of the county returns were rejected on the showing of fraud and intimidation of legal voters. The other side could not seriously deny intimidation, but charged fraud upon the county and State returning boards. The two houses of Congress, divided in politics, after facing for a while the danger of a civil war that some excited partisans threatened, referred the counting of the state returns, of which there were two sets from four states, to an electoral commission, in which Senator Thurman and Congressmen James A. Garfield and Henry B. Payne were among the members. Said Mr. Blaine afterward: "If we are to believe the earnest speeches made in 1876, we were right on the crater of the volcano, right where the yawning gulf of chaos and dissolution confronted us, and we escaped it by a makeshift, and a pretty rickety one it was." The members of the commission acted as would have been anticipated from their known political convictions and by a vote of eight to seven accepted those returns that assured Governor Hayes of a majority of one in the electoral college. He was inaugurated peacefully in 1877, and began an administration that is an epoch in the restoration of fraternal relations between the people who fought the battles of 1861-1865.

Throughout his term he was denounced by political opponents as the beneficiary of fraud, and his chilly attitude toward office-hunters and job-promoters in his own party did not add to his popularity. But history will record that he did his duty in accepting the presi-

dency, and in his administration of that office showed himself one of the wisest and best of American presidents. One of the earliest of the verdicts is that of E. Benjamin Andrews, in his "History of the Last Quarter Century." He says: "His administration was in every way one of the most creditable in all our history. He had a resolute will, irreproachable integrity, and a comprehensive and remarkably healthy view of public affairs."

To his cabinet Mr. Hayes called Senator John Sherman, who as a member of Congress had secured the passage of an act for the resumption of specie payments by the United States treasury. As secretary of the treasury he was successful in bringing about this resumption, and raising paper money to par with gold, the crowning act of his great public career, in 1879. This, and the general overthrow of the political power of the colored race in the South, permitted by the president's policy of non-interference, are the most memorable features of the period of his administration at home, and the opening of friendly relations with China by a former Seneca county boy, Anson Burlingame, and the arrival of the first Chinese minister at Washington, the great events of foreign affairs.

When Governor Hayes left his State office to become president, his place was taken by Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Lowry Young, who came to the United States, a poor Irish boy, in 1847, was a soldier in the Mexican war and afterward went to school in Cincinnati, read law and practiced his profession at that city until the war of the rebellion, when he went to the front as a first lieutenant in his regiment, won the rank of colonel of the Hundred-and-Eighteenth Ohio and was given the brevet of brigadier-general for gallantry at Resaca. After his return to Cincinnati he had served twice in the legislature. The place of Senator Sherman in Congress was filled by the election of Stanley Matthews, of Cincinnati, who had been at one time a supporter of Salmon P. Chase in abolition days and later judge, legislator and United States district attorney. He went into the war as one of that famous trio of field officers of the Twenty-third Ohio, Rosecrans, Matthews and Hayes, and afterward became colonel of the Fifty-first. In 1876 he was defeated as a candidate for Congress by Henry B. Banning, mainly because of a remarkable instance, already noted, of his enforcement of the fugitive slave law before the war, and early in 1877 he was the main counsel for General Hayes before the electoral commission. Senator Matthews' most important part in national legislation was the introduction of a resolution which was adopted, declaring the United States bonds legally payable in silver.

The year 1877 was marked by strikes among the coal workers of Starke and Wayne counties, attended by riots and destruction of property, demanding the use of the militia to restore order. Partly in sympathy with mine workers, but mainly on account of a reduction in wages, the first general strike of railroad employees was begun

July 14th, on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad. The road was blockaded at Martinsburg, and, the trouble getting beyond the powers of West Virginia, with actual hostilities, United States troops were called out. The Ohio militia was called out on account of a blockade at Newark. The strike spread to the Pennsylvania railroad, and, a week later, at Pittsburg, after a battle between the militia and rioters, the torch was applied to the railroad buildings, which were all consumed, with a great quantity of freight, causing damage of nearly ten million dollars. The strike spread to all the roads, and there were blockades and riots at Toledo and Cleveland and other railroad centers. At Columbus and Zanesville mobs compelled factories and mills to close and turn their men into the street. The militia proving insufficient, volunteer bands of citizens were compelled to organize to maintain order, and the railroads remained in a crippled condition until the close of July, no trains running on some roads and few on any except under the protection of troops. The climax of the strike was at Chicago, where there were pitched battles of rioters and policemen, until quiet was restored with an iron hand by General Sheridan, with troops hurried in from the Indian frontier.

The governorship, in the political campaign of 1877, was sought, in behalf of the Democrats, by Richard Moore Bishop, of Hamilton county, who was born in Kentucky in the first year of the war of 1812-15, and since 1848 had been a prominent merchant at Cincinnati; while the Republican "standard-bearer" was William H. West, a native of Pennsylvania who had come to Ohio in 1850, and entered the profession of law in association with William Lawrence of Bellefontaine. He was a participant in the famous pre-Republican convention of 1854 at Columbus, afterward served in the legislature, and was attorney-general in 1868-70, and a justice of the supreme court until the failure of his sight. Retaining his remarkable power as a public speaker, he was known as "the blind man eloquent." In the campaign he favored the cause of the railroad strikers, which probably led to his defeat, as the strike was accompanied by so much disorder that it was bitterly condemned by the majority of the people.

Governor Bishop, who was elected by a plurality of 22,520 over West (Lewis H. Bond, the Workingmen's candidate, receiving 12,489; Stephen Jamson, Greenback, 16,912, and H. A. Thompson, Prohibition, 4,836), had the conservative views of a successful merchant. In his inaugural address he urged "such legislation as will help to restore confidence in financial affairs and bring activity and energy again to our business circles." Advising attention to the labor question, he deprecated any distinctively class legislation, and advised the legislators that if they would promote economy and good administration "very little if any other legislative action will be needed to restore harmony between labor and capital." Referring to the complaints regarding the laws of congress (particularly the

laws for resumption of specie payment and the abandonment of silver as a metallic standard), he said that, while not seeking to justify any congressional action, "It is a very common habit to refer our grievances to causes as far from home as possible, and consequently our willingness to hold our national Congress entirely responsible for the present financial condition of the country, is precisely what might be expected. . . Our real and permanent help must come from economical living and judicious legislation at home. We must begin the work of reform in our own State government." There were three public grievances to which he particularly directed attention: "Our unequal, unjust and therefore comparatively unproductive system of taxation; our clumsy, exceedingly dilatory and generally odious system of courts; and our confused, extravagant and badly managed system of municipal government." All these words of Governor Bishop are worthy of remembrance and application to the perennial imperfections of government, though matters have since his time been considerably improved.

Soon after the inauguration of Governor Bishop, the legislature, having a large Democratic majority, elected George H. Pendleton, of Cincinnati, to succeed Senator Matthews, the Republicans casting blank ballots. Senator Pendleton was one of the most popular and able men of the State, had eight years' congressional experience as a member of the lower house, and since the war had aspired with good reason to his party's nomination for the presidency. He served one term in the senate, and died in 1889 while minister to Germany. Notable among the representatives in Congress in the same period was Benjamin Butterworth, a native of Warren county, a brilliant orator who was elected in 1878, and three times afterward, and also held the office of United States commissioner of patents. Gen. J. Warren Keifer, who represented the Springfield district in 1877 to 1885, was speaker of the house in the Forty-seventh Congress (1881–83). The only other Ohio man who has held this important office is Milton Sayler, of Cincinnati, born in Preble county and educated at Miami university and Cincinnati law school. He was elected to Congress as a Democrat, in 1872, 1874, and 1876, and was speaker during a part of the Forty-fourth Congress.

During Bishop's administration, under the supervision of Adjutant-General Luther M. Meily, and with the financial aid of the legislature, the National Guard of Ohio was raised from an almost helpless and worthless condition to that of equality with the best in the United States, a station from which it has not fallen since that time, now being greatly advanced in efficiency beyond the condition reached in 1878–80. The great railroad riot had shown the necessity for such protection of property and life.

The year 1878 is to be remembered for the last of the dangerous epidemics in Ohio. Yellow fever, which since then has been more

and more closely confined to the lower latitudes of America, crept in that year up the Ohio valley, causing much sickness and alarm at the river towns. At Cincinnati there were seventeen deaths from the disease.

The years that followed the Centennial exposition, 1877, 1878, and the early part of 1879, are memorable as the era of "tramps," as all those were called who traveled about, some seeking employment and some apparently under the influences of a vicious spirit of idleness. Many manufactories were closed, the iron industry suffering especially, and a large number of men were thrown out of employment for participation in the railroad disturbances. Some of these wanderers indulged in lawless deeds throughout the country, and there was general alarm, particularly in the less closely inhabited districts.

In the midst of the trouble and commotion and fear and doubt of the period, Secretary Sherman predicted, in a speech in Ohio, that the contraction of the currency and the accumulation of a gold reserve in the treasury for the resumption of specie payments was certain to succeed before the time set, January 1, 1879. Actually, before that time, the United States returned to a specie basis, a paper dollar became as good as gold, and the condition was reached which has ever since been maintained, of a currency of various kinds, circulating over the entire country, without any difference in purchasing power.

Toward the close of 1879 there was a great change in conditions. As Governor Bishop described it, early in the year numerous furnaces and mills were closed or running on part time, many men were out of employment, and so-called tramps were so numerous that the legislature passed a law for their suppression. But by the end of the year such conditions had passed, and industry was revived. At the same time the great era of speculative railroad building was at its culmination, as it had been thirty years before, and there began to be signs of a coming collapse, though credit continued to be unrestrained for a few years. In 1881 Ohio had 5,840 miles of railroad, almost double the mileage in 1860.

At the State election in 1878, the National party, organized at Toledo from the various parties opposed to banks and hard money, and the labor parties, cast nearly forty thousand votes, but the Republican ticket was successful by a small plurality. In 1879 the Democrats put in nomination for governor Gen. Thomas Ewing, a son of the Thomas Ewing of earlier days. He had been one of the fighters for free-soil in Kansas in 1857–60, the first chief-justice of that state, and active in command of Union troops in Missouri during the war. In 1870 he returned to Ohio, served in Congress in 1877–81, and was a prominent advocate of the remonetization of silver and opponent of the retirement of greenbacks. The Republican

nominee was Charles Foster, a native of Seneca county and commercial founder of the city of Fostoria, who had served in Congress from 1871 to 1879. He won the nomination by a close vote over Judge Alphonso Taft, who had also been supported for the nomination in 1875, and in October Foster was elected by a plurality of over 17,000, while the Greenback and Prohibition vote was reduced to a total of 14,000. Governor Foster was re-elected in 1881 by a majority of 24,000 over John W. Bookwalter, and served from January, 1880, to January, 1884.

The census of 1880 showed a population of 3,198,062. Cincinnati had increased in ten years from 216,000 to 255,000, but the most rapid growth was shown by Cleveland, under the influence of the new development of the iron and coal and oil industries. From 92,000 the city on the lake had grown to 160,000 in ten years, surpassing Pittsburg and Detroit. In the same period Columbus and Toledo had maintained their remarkable neck and neck race, the first growing from 31,000 to 51,000 and the second from 31,000 to 50,000. Springfield showed an increase from 12,000 to 20,000 and Dayton from 30,000 to 38,000. These six were Ohio's representatives among the hundred largest cities of the United States in 1880, a time when St. Louis had only 350,000 people and Chicago 500,000.

Ohio was the third wheat growing State, surpassed only by Illinois and Indiana; the fourth tobacco growing State, excelled only by Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee; second to Pennsylvania in the number of soft coal mines, and ranking next that state also in the iron and steel industry, with $25,000,000 invested.

With the decisive election of 1879 a majority was obtained by the Republicans in the legislature, which elected James A. Garfield, by a vote of 86 to 58, to succeed Senator Thurman. Garfield's early life has already been noticed. He had first taken a seat in Congress as the representative of his district, in December, 1863, after the battle of Chickamauga, where he was chief of staff, and since then he had been serving continuously, and with distinction. Devoting himself particularly to the study of finance, he gained reputation in that field of statesmanship, as well as in the debates over reconstruction and civil rights, and after Mr. Blaine had been transferred to the senate, he became in 1876 the leader of his party in the lower house of Congress. He was well described by Governor Hayes: "Beyond almost any man I have known, Garfield had the faculty of gathering information from all sources and imparting it to an audience in instructive and attractive oratory."

As the time for a choice of a successor to President Hayes approached, the main issue among the Republicans was the candidacy of President Grant for a third term. He had returned late in 1879 from a tour around the world, which was an epoch in the history of the United States as an influence in foreign countries. His friends,

powerful leaders like Senators Conkling and Cameron, urged that the foremost man of the world should be honored with another term in the presidency, but there was strenuous opposition. Ohio resolved to support John Sherman for the nomination, and in the Chicago convention he was faithfully supported by something more than ninety votes during twenty-eight ballots. Then he gained for a few ballots some votes from minor candidates, but did not succeed in rivalling the strength of Grant, for whom more than three hundred delegates voted immovably, nor of Blaine, who retained nearly as large and steady a support. Finally, there was a sudden throwing of fifty votes from Blaine and other candidates to Senator Garfield, for whom one or two delegates had been voting from the beginning and whose participation in the convention was so prominent as to commend him to favor. On the next ballot, the thirty-sixth, nearly all the opposition to Grant united upon Garfield, nominating him despite the unbroken column of Grant delegates.

In the national Democratic convention Ohio supported Senator Thurman, but General Hancock was nominated. A notable feature of the campaign that followed was the meeting of General Grant and Senator Garfield at the home of the latter, betokening a healing of the stubborn strife engendered in the Chicago convention. Ohio voted 375,000 for Grant and 340,000 for Hancock, and about 9,000 votes were given to Greenback and Prohibition candidates. A similar result obtaining throughout the North, Garfield was elected and inaugurated March 4, 1881. To the seat he would have occupied in the senate, the legislature elected John Sherman, who began his fourth term in that body. Ohio was not represented in the cabinet of President Garfield save by William Windom, secretary of the treasury, son of a Belmont county Quaker, who had studied law under Judge Hurd, of Mount Vernon, and removed to Minnesota in 1855. Samuel J. Kirkwood, secretary of the interior, a native of Maryland, had been a resident of Richland county in 1835–55, and a member of the constitutional convention of 1851, but had gone west and gained fame as the war governor of Iowa. One of the President's early acts was the renewal of the nomination of Stanley Matthews to the United States supreme court, which President Hayes had made and the senate had refused to confirm. Confirmation was now obtained by a majority of one vote, though the senate continued to have a majority of Democrats, who resented the connection of Mr. Matthews with the electoral contest of 1876. Other nominations of the president aroused opposition on the part of the senators from New York, who asserted the senatorial prerogative of recommending Federal appointments in their state, and the resignation of both these senators threatened a division in the president's party.

On the morning of July 2d, while President Garfield and Mr. Blaine, his secretary of state, were entering a railroad station in

Washington, to take the train for a trip to New England, the president was shot in the back by an individual of the class which from that time became known by the expressive name of "cranks." The man had been an applicant for appointment to offices for which he was quite unfitted, and his declarations indicated that a spirit of revenge and unbridled egotism had led him to perform the horrible act. Generally throughout the country the president was regarded as a victim to the "spoils" system of official patronage, which had been a factor in causing the fatal illness of President Harrison, forty years before. For a fortnight the president was expected to recover, but afterward he grew worse, and while the surgeons seemed confident of the location of the ball that had entered his body, their incisions did not give relief. Lingering thus, through the heat of the summer, General Garfield bore himself bravely, though in a very feeble condition, and on September 6th, at his earnest request, he was removed to a cottage at Long Branch, on the coast. There, after a further patient endurance of suffering, he passed away at 10:35 o'clock, in the morning of September 19th.

"Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage, he looked into his open grave.

"What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell? What brilliant broken plans, what baffled high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm manhood's friendships, what bitter rending of sweet household ties? Behind him a proud, expectant nation; a great host of sustaining friends; a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full rich honors of her early toils and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demand. Before him desolation and great darkness. And his soul was not shaken.

"His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound, and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the center of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above

the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the divine decree."*

The body of the president, brought to Cleveland on the 24th of September, lay in state under a pavilion erected in Monumental park, was visited by thousands on Sunday, and buried on the 26th with impressive ceremonies. A magnificent monument now marks Garfield's resting place, built by contributions from people of many states, and a large fund was similarly provided for the benefit of his widow and family.

At the state election of 1881 the Prohibition party polled over 16,000 votes, and the question of restraint of the traffic in intoxicating liquors became the most important question before the legislature of 1882, which had a large Republican majority. Amendments to the constitution, which had prohibited the granting of licenses since 1851, were adopted by each house, authorizing the granting of licenses, under which provision it was expected to control the business. But while one of these resolutions authorized local option of communities regarding prohibition, the other put the power of State prohibition in the hands of the legislature, and as the two houses could not agree, nothing was done, except to pass what was known as the Pond bill, providing for a high taxation of liquor dealers. This law was soon brought before the State supreme court and declared unconstitutional because it was in effect a license law. At the State election that followed in October, the governor and legislature were obviously rebuked, the Democrat ticket, headed by James W. Newman for secretary of state, being elected by nearly 20,000 majority. But Governor Foster again urged legislation regarding the saloons upon the adjourned session of the legislature in January, 1883. "When the present constitution was adopted," he said, "a clause was voted into it by the people, under the belief that through it would be secured a greater restraint to the traffic than had previously existed. Experience has shown that, instead of greater restraint, we have practically free trade in liquor, not only six days in the week, but Sundays also. In fact, in many localities, Sunday, instead of being, as the law and well-being of society demand, a day of rest and recreation, has become a day of rowdyism and carnivals; instead of being the most orderly it has become the most disorderly day of the week. It is a humiliating fact that we have in Ohio, today, more than sixteen thousand places where this unrestrained traffic is carried on, taking the hard-earned wages from many thousands of our citizens, whose families need the money thus thrown away. This entire traffic, the amount of which in round numbers will probably exceed $70,000,000 annually, much the larger portion of which is profit, contributes but a tithe of the burden it

*Memorial oration of James G. Blaine, February 27, 1882.

imposes upon the public through the crime and pauperism created by it."

The result of the legislative debates was the submission to the people of two amendments, one authorizing the legislature to regulate the traffic, and the other forever prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the State. Another tax law was also passed, called the Scott law, which the supreme court sustained as constitutional. It aroused the earnest opposition of the liquor dealers and manufacturers, who had a strong influence in the October election, when the amendments were submitted. A powerful opposing influence was exerted by a great many women of the State, who for the first time took part in the work of a political campaign. Led by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, committees were organized, literature published and distributed, and women were at the polls on election day, to urge the adoption of the amendments. A large majority, over eighty thousand, was given in favor of general prohibition, but it appeared in the final returns that the majority vote was not a majority of the total cast at the same time for governor, and consequently the amendment failed of adoption. The candidates for governor were George Hoadley, for the Democrats, and for the Republicans Joseph Benson Foraker, a native of Highland county, who had gone into the Union army at sixteen years of age and come home a captain at the age of nineteen after marching with Sherman to the sea. Afterward he had attended college, studied law and practiced his profession at Cincinnati, holding a judgeship for three years. Judge Hoadley was elected by a plurality of 12,500 votes, over 8,000 being cast for Ferdinand Schumacher, the Prohibition candidate, and about 3,000 for Charles Jenkins, Greenback.

Governor Hoadley, who was inaugurated in January, 1884, was a native of Connecticut, reared and educated in the Western Reserve, and had been admitted to the practice of law at Cincinnati in 1847, afterward becoming a partner of Judge Chase. For a considerable time he sat upon the bench of the city courts, declining a membership in the supreme court offered him by Governors Chase and Tod. During the war he was in opposition to the Democratic party, but in 1872 he returned to it through the Greeley movement. In 1876 he was one of the counsel of Governor Tilden before the electoral commission. In his first message he took occasion to say that "the great monument of victory, the enduring assurance that the blood was not spilled, the treasure not spent in vain, is the restoration of the Union upon the basis of the abolition of slavery and the enfranchisement of the slave." His recommendation that the legislature provide laws to enforce the civil rights of white and black alike, further indicated the general acceptance of the ideas that were the ground of party contention in 1865–70. This matter had been given new interest by the decisions of the United States supreme court in 1883, invalidating

the "supplementary" congressional civil-rights laws. After the legislature had passed civil-rights bills, the governor urged in his message of 1885 that the colored and white schools be consolidated for the better education of the colored children.

In January, 1884, the Democrats, having a majority in the legislature, retired Senator Pendleton, who was a candidate for re-election, and chose Henry B. Payne, of Cleveland, who, it will be remembered, was the candidate of the same party for senator in 1851, when Benjamin F. Wade was elected after thirty-seven ballots, and candidate for governor in 1859, when Chase won by a majority of 1,500. For fifty years he had been one of the able lawyers of the State, for over thirty years a leader in railroad and manufacturing enterprises. He had also served in Congress one term, during the crisis of 1876–77, and was chairman of the house committee that joined in recommending the plan of an electoral commission. In 1876 and 1880 and again in 1884 he was considered among the men of his party worthy of the nomination for president.

Two political events, early in the year 1884, profoundly agitated the State, one being the repeal of the congressional apportionment as made by the previous legislature, and the other the ruling of the supreme court, which had been changed in membership, that the Scott liquor tax law was unconstitutional, reversing the ruling of the year before. In February there was a great flood of the Ohio river, causing great damage, particularly at Cincinnati, where the water rose to the unprecedented height of 71¾ feet.

In the latter part of March a serious riot occurred at Cincinnati, which had its origin in the methods that then prevailed in the judicial treatment of criminals. The country had been disgusted by the farcical trial, for several weeks, of the assassin of President Garfield, and nearly every trial of an alleged murderer was similarly the occasion for displays of the brilliancy of lawyers who made a specialty of clearing criminals, rather than an example of the swift and impartial administration of justice. A murder of unusual atrocity had been committed in Cincinnati, and one of the participants, Berner, being put on trial and "brilliantly" defended, after he had admitted his guilt, was virtually acquitted by a verdict of manslaughter. This, and the fact that about twenty men were in the jail accused of murder, and untried, provoked popular indignation, and furnished the excuse for a mob that attacked the county jail, forced the door and sought to wreak speedy vengeance upon Berner. It was found that he had been secretly removed by the sheriff, who brought a company of militia into the jail and ordered the rioters to disperse. Upon their refusal firing began, and several men were wounded before the mob left the jail, which they then attemptd to set on fire, but failed. Next day two regiments of troops were ordered to the city, but before their arrival, a mob of several hundred besieged the jail at

night, and set fire to the courthouse, which was badly injured, but not totally destroyed. Several stores were broken into and robbed, and Captain Desmond, of the military, while attempting to extinguish the fire in the courthouse, was shot and killed. In other encounters with the militia and police on this terrible night, others lost their lives or were wounded. On the next day, Sunday, when several regiments of troops had arrived, barricades were built in the streets to protect property and guard the main business streets. These barricades were attacked in the night by the rioters and many volleys fired, and it was not until Wednesday, the sixth day of the disturbances, that it was judged safe to remove the obstructions and dismiss the greater part of the troops. The casualties of this memorable riot were estimated at 45 killed and 138 wounded.

In May there was a demand for State troops in Ashland. Two murderers were to be executed, and the public demanded view of the performance. Three hundred and fifty militia, under Col. A. L. Conger, were required to restrain the mob from breaking down the fence that surrounded the gallows. Later in the year some State troops were called out to suppress disorder accompanying the introduction of foreign labor in the Hocking valley coal region, the miners having disagreed with the operators regarding wages. During the course of the trouble, through the summer, seven mines and three railroad bridges and much other property were burned, and at least two armed attacks made upon the guards.

In the national conventions of 1884, Ohio presented the names of her sons, John Sherman and Allen G. Thurman, for presidential honors, but the selections of the parties were Mr. Blaine and Governor Cleveland, of New York. The latter was elected, though Ohio gave a plurality against him of nearly 32,000. Previously, the Republicans had carried the State election, electing James S. Robinson secretary of state. One of the principal features of the congressional elections was the success of William McKinley in the Twentieth district, although it had apparently been arranged to insure his defeat. McKinley, then forty years of age, was a resident of Canton, and remarkably popular. He was a native of Niles, had enlisted in the Union army at seventeen years of age in 1861, and after a good record had come home a brevet major in that remarkable school of famous men, the Twenty-third Ohio volunteers. First elected to Congress in 1876, he had been regularly re-elected, and wisely made himself a specialist in legislation, the interests of his district naturally suggesting the tariff protection of home industry as the most valuable field of work. He had already been recognized as a master of this subject, concerning which theory is easy, but the interpretation of facts most puzzling and difficult. With the beginning of Cleveland's administration, the tariff became the main issue, and he rapidly rose to the leadership of the lower house

of Congress, though his modesty kept him from any showy assumption of importance.

Another Ohio man of prominence in this field was William Lawrence, a distinguished lawyer, already mentioned as the author of the Free Banking law, who had been colonel of an Ohio regiment in 1862, a congressman from 1865 to 1875, first-comptroller of the United States treasury in 1880–85, and as president of the National Wool Growers' association a constant contributor to the arguments for high tariff.

Eminent upon those who maintained the opposite doctrine were Frank H. Hurd, of Toledo, a native of Mount Vernon, who was elected to Congress three times and defeated as often in 1876–86; Michael D. Harter, twice elected to Congress, a native of Canton and head of a great manufacturing establishment at Mansfield; Lawrence T. Neal, of Chillicothe, who had been three times elected to Congress and was an able lawyer as well as politician; and Tom L. Johnson, who was elected from one of the Cleveland districts in 1890 and 1892, and was also conspicuous as an advocate of the "single-tax" doctrine.

The year 1884, full of events, was also marked by a serious financial stringency, following the rapid progress of railroad building, beyond the possibility of immediate profitable returns. The State of Ohio had doubled its mileage since 1869, in the latter year having 3,324 miles, and in 1883, 6,897. In 1869, so far as statistics showed, the railroads in Ohio moved 15,000,000 tons of freight, and in 1883, 64,000,000. In 1869 the local freight was only a little over half the business, and in 1883 it was two-thirds, indicating the rapid development of the State that accompanied the growth of railroad lines. Furthermore the charge per ton per mile in 1869 was about 2½ cents, and in 1883 it was less than 1 cent.* The actual freight charges in Ohio in 1883 were $67,000,000, while, if the rates of 1869 had been maintained, they would have been over $200,000,000 showing a saving to Ohio in local freight alone of $60,000,000 a year, as a result of the somewhat reckless investment of money in new and competing roads.

Though it had been found impossible to adopt a new constitution for Ohio, an important amendment was adopted in 1883, for the benefit of the judicial system. Under it twenty-one judges of the circuit court were elected in 1884, three judges in each of seven circuits, to act as an intermediate court between the common pleas and supreme court.

In the summer of 1884, General Grant, bankrupted by the failure of his sons in the financial crisis of that year, undertook the writing of his memoirs, in the hope of providing for his family, and he

*Report of Commissioner Sabine, discussed in American Encyclopedia.

carried it to completion, though in the midst of his work he was attacked by a painful and fatal disease. His death, July 23, 1885, near Saratoga, was an event of mournful importance in every community that had sent a soldier into the war for the Union.

"Johnston and Buckner on one side of his bier, Sherman and Sheridan on the other, he came to his tomb a silent symbol of the conquests of liberty, patriotism and peace." For him, in 1864, the high rank of lieutenant-general had been revived, and after the war he was given the rank of general, before bestowed only upon George Washington. As William Dean Howells has written: Grant was not only "one of the greatest captains of all time," but "one of the purest patriots, one of the best and gentlest of men." "In the war he had but one motive, and that as intense as life itself—the subjugation of the rebellion and the restoration of the broken Union," said the greatest preacher of that day in pronouncing his eulogy. "He embodied the feelings of the common people. He was their perfect representative. He never wavered, turned aside or dallied; never lost courage or equanimity. With a million men, for whose movements he was responsible, he yet carried a tranquil heart, neither depressed by disasters nor elated by success. Gentle of heart, familiar with all, never boasting, always modest, Grant came of the old, self-contained stock, men of sublime force of being, which allied his genius to the great elemental forces of nature—silent, invisible, irresistible."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE RECENT PERIOD.

Governors Joseph B. Foraker, 1886–90; James E. Campbell, 1890–92; William McKinley, 1892–96; Asa S. Bushnell, 1896–1900; George K. Nash, 1900–

Nearly fifty years before the great natural gas discoveries in Ohio, people in some localities had been familiar with the bubbling of a subterranean gas from springs, and its appearance when wells were bored for the salt water that was one of the important natural sources of wealth. In fact burning gas was used in at least one place for the evaporation of the salt. Its discovery at East Liverpool in 1860 has been noticed. Probably the most noted appearances of gas were at Findlay, where it collected in wells and cellars and by its explosiveness was an annoyance and danger. At this place, in 1838, Daniel Foster had capped a well, and conducting the gas into his house by a wooden pipe, burned it for year after year from the orifice of an old gun barrel. Cleveland and Painesville were using gas obtained from the shales, in small quantity, about 1870. A pamphlet of 1865 states that gas had been used before that time at McConnellsville. Coming from a salt well it was used as fuel to drive the necessary machinery. In October, 1873, a well was bored at East Liverpool in the hope of obtaining enough gas for the needs of a pottery, and with considerable success, as such a use of the natural fuel soon became common there, though the supply was small. After the discovery of gas wells in Pennsylvania, where gas was piped as early as 1875, and in West Virginia, gas was piped to these potteries, and all other forms of fuel were abandoned.

In 1883–84 there was drilling of wells at various points in Ohio, mainly in the east, it being the accepted theory then that gas and oil could be found only in the sandstone and shale between the coal measures and strata of the Silurian period. One of these experimental wells was bored as far west as Bucyrus, however, and Dr. Charles Oesterlin, who had for some years been urging an exploration of gas possibilities at Findlay, led in the organization of a com-

pany that drove the drill down, with gradually failing confidence, to the depth of about eleven hundred feet, and into the Trenton limestone. Then, early in November, 1884, a pressure was opened, that blew a column of gas into the air, and when it was lighted, a gigantic candle flame, thirty feet high, was the result. Great excitement resulted, and people came on railroad excursions from distant points to view the phenomenon, and study the conditions in the hope that similar results might be attained at other localities. No geological discovery ever made in the United States, except the original discovery of petroleum in western Pennsylvania, says Dr. Orton, has exerted such a powerful influence upon the interior states. Other wells were soon bored at Findlay and in that vicinity and at Bowling Green, and the people in every county in western Ohio, within a few years, made thorough explorations, at considerable expense, in the hope of finding this natural supply of illumination and heat. Ten wells were yielding at Findlay, though not in such abundance as in the Pittsburg region, when, in January, 1886, the great Karg well was opened, with a daily flow of twelve million cubic feet. As was common at that time, the temptation to light the gas and see it burn could not be resisted, and the enormous torch of this well was seen for forty miles round about. Enough of its product was wasted to suffice for the uses of a manufacturing city for several years. In the same year two other great wells were opened, both of which surpassed the Karg, one of them yielding a fourth more. About the same time there was a considerable development of gas in the upper Ohio valley, all the way from Bellaire to East Liverpool.

With the gas, in many wells, oil was found, demonstrating the existence of that substance also in the Trenton rock, or below it, but it required some time to prove to practical oil men as well as geologists that the oil could be found there in paying quantities. The main oil field of the State was then the Macksburg district, in the region of Marietta. This district, with a number of new wells bored in 1884, was yielding about 600,000 barrels a year, quite eclipsing the product of the Mecca district. In 1885 a paper mill company at Lima drilled a well, hoping for something useful, and struck a fair supply of oil in the Trenton limestone at the depth of 1,250 feet. This, it appears, was not such a decided success as to inspire the confidence of oil men, though the demand for oil was just then exceeding the supply. An organization of citizens of Lima bored a second well, that yielded forty barrels a day, and established beyond a doubt that petroleum was abundant at a depth of a thousand feet or more, in northwestern Ohio. The number of wells was soon greatly multiplied, until the Lima, Findlay and North Baltimore fields were defined, and it was made apparent that this was the most important oil discovery, so far as the possibilities of production are concerned, on the American continent up to the year 1901. The wells at first

did not yield more than 150 barrels a day, each, but toward the close of 1886 some were opened that produced much larger quantities, one being reported at 1,500 barrels. The price fell off from 40 cents a barrel early in 1886 to 15 cents in 1887. The product of the Lima field in 1886 was over a million barrels. "If second to any field in the world," said Professor Orton in 1888, "it is only to the wonderful fountains of Baku, on the shores of the Caspian."

The discovery of gas and oil in northwestern Ohio revolutionized that region, long backward on account of those swamps that were a barrier to travel in the early days. The wet condition of the land was yielding to tile drainage and ditching, and to supply the need of tile, Ohio, and particularly the Zanesville region, was becoming the greatest producer of drain tile in America.

The discovery of gas produced rapid increases of population in several towns, and brought in new and unfamiliar industries, like glass works and potteries, but the gas production has fallen off rapidly in later years. The consumption was five million cubic feet in 1889, and only a million and a half in 1893. Yet, despite the falling off of gas, Ohio was the fourth state in its production in 1899, and in addition to what was obtained at home, gas was piped in from Pennsylvania, Indiana, West Virginia, Kentucky and Canada.

President Cleveland, at the beginning of his first administration in 1885, did not call any Ohio man to his cabinet. The most important honors allowed the State were the ministry to Germany, to which George H. Pendleton was appointed, and the ministry to Italy, which was given to John B. Stallo, of Cincinnati, a distinguished jurist and philosopher. S. S. Cox, at that time a resident of New York, was appointed minister to Turkey.

The State election of 1885 resulted in the return to power of the Republican party. Governor Hoadley, a candidate for re-election, was defeated by 18,450 majority by Joseph B. Foraker, who had been the unsuccessful candidate of two years before. At the same time the people adopted a constitutional amendment consolidating the elections of State and county officers and legislators, on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, simultaneous with the election of congressmen and presidential electors. Ohio had for many years enjoyed the distinction of being looked to for an indication of the presidential result by her majorities in October, but had wearied of the honor, and feared the danger of corruption of voters by the party managers who bent all their energies to secure a favorable result for the encouragement of their parties in other states. Governor Hayes had urged such a change in 1876 and Governor Hoadley had renewed the recommendation in 1885, and the State ratified the amendments by a vote of ten to one.

The legislature, elected in 1885, was to choose a successor to John Sherman in the senate, and it appeared that one party had a small

majority in the senate and the other in the house, but the ultimate result was involved in doubt by a contest in Hamilton county, where the face of the returns showed the election of the entire Democratic ticket, four senators and ten representatives. When the legislature met in January, 1886, the house refused to seat the representatives whose seats were contested, but in the senate, which had a Republican presiding officer, Lieut.-Gov. Robert P. Kennedy, and a Democratic majority if the Cincinnati delegation were seated, the fight was more stubborn. On account of the rulings of the lieutenant-governor nineteen senators left the State for Kentucky, breaking the quorum. But the remainder proceeded, after waiting several days, to seat the Republican contestants from Cincinnati to make a quorum, and the Supreme court afterward decided that as the journal of the senate did not show the absence of a quorum when that was done, the court could not make further inquiry, and the legality of the organization was sustained.

This affair is an indication of the political strife at the beginning of Governor Foraker's administration. He said in retrospect in his last message, that the elections in the chief city of the State were "criminal farces." "By the common consent of all parties the municipal government of Cincinnati had become the worst ever known in this country." In his message to the second session of the legislature elected in 1885 he called on that body to purge itself of the results of "open, notorious and conceded fraud at the polls and in the returns."

The evils of an unrestricted and untaxed traffic in intoxicating liquors annoyed and shamed the State. General hard times prevailed in the United States, marked by a fall in prices of farm land to a fourth or half of what they had been five or six years before. Many industries were suspended, and the strikes of 1885 and 1886 were among the most threatening in the history of the country.

Half the funded debt of the State fell due in this year, but the bonds, bearing interest at six per cent, were taken up with new bonds at three per cent, falling due at annual intervals, the purchasers paying a premium of $21.35 per $1,000 for the new bonds, a gratifying demonstration that the credit of the State was above reproach, although it had been necessary to borrow money to pay expenses of the government, on account of the lack of correspondence between the appropriations of the legislature and the tax levies. The financial outlook of the State was improved by the assessment, in 1886, of over $2,000,000 taxes under the Dow law, but Auditor Emil Kiesewetter said at the end of the year that unless provision were made for larger revenue, or the expenditures greatly reduced, the State would have to suspend payment before the close of the fiscal year. This condition was not peculiar to Ohio, but was apparent in nearly all states and was probably due partly to the tendency of legislatures to

extravagance in expenditure while the political clamor for economy made the tax levies too low.

The legislature of 1886, after spending much time in organization of the senate, made a memorable record of legislation, passing laws to establish a state board of health, to create a dairy and food commission, and fish and game commissioners, to guard against contagious diseases of animals and adulteration of food, to reorganize the National guard. The Pugsley election law, applicable to the four principal cities, and a registration law for Cleveland and Cincinnati, promoted, as the governor said, "quiet, decent and honest elections." The Police bill was passed, which put the police of Cincinnati under the control of the mayor and a board of commissioners to be appointed by the governor. This, in a measure, deprived the city of management of its own affairs, and the governor, in his next message, admitted that, "as local self government is the very genius of American institutions, complete control of their government should be restored to the people of Cincinnati as soon as it may be found safe to do so." The liquor question was practically settled by passing the Dow law, which taxed retailers $100 to $200 a year and gave municipalities the right of voting prohibition. This was sustained by the supreme court, and is the basis of existing legislation on the subject.

In the fall the Republicans carried the State by a plurality of about 12,000, though the Prohibition vote was 29,000. This election, at which James S. Robinson was chosen secretary of state, was the first Ohio state election in November.

The strikes of 1885 and 1886 were complicated by political organization among the wage-workers, and the effort for the formation of a new party culminated on Washington's birthday, 1887, in a convention at Cincinnati, which formed the Union Labor party, combining various wage-labor and agricultural organizations. This party put a state ticket in the field, and polled nearly 25,000 votes. Governor Foraker was renominated by his party, while the Democrats named Thomas E. Powell, of Delaware county, son of Judge Thomas W. Powell, in his day one of the eminent lawyers of the State. The campaign was a very exciting one, involving the national issues of currency and tariff, as well as local issues. The spirit of 1861–65 was also revived, notably expressed in the defiant utterance of Governor Foraker, when President Cleveland proposed to return the old Confederate battleflags at Washington to the Southern states. Though the governor was criticised severely by many for the tone of his remonstrance, he was heartily supported by the Union veterans, and the president was compelled to admit that Congress alone had power to dispose of the captured banners. On the side of Mr. Powell, conciliatory speeches were made in Ohio by Senator John B. Gordon, of Georgia, a Confederate general in 1861–65. The result was the

re-election of Governor Foraker by a plurality of over 23,000, but the Prohibition and Labor parties each polled about 30,000 votes.

The year 1888 was a period of historical reminiscence in Ohio. One hundred years before, the settlement at Marietta had been made, beginning the marvelous transformation from a vast region of forest, ruled by wild men and wild animals, to a wealthy state, the home of over three million people, ministered to by the powers of steam and electricity and the mysterious forces of the under world. It is not surprising that the children of the pioneers could not confine their enthusiasm to one jubilee. There was a Centennial celebration at Marietta, April 7th, to commemorate the landing of the colony of the Ohio company, and another there in July in honor of the organization of civil government. At Cincinnati the Centennial Celebration of the Ohio Valley and Central States was opened July 4th, and the Ohio Centennial exposition began at Columbus September 4th.

Governor Foraker, in his inaugural address at the beginning of the centennial year of settlement, asked, after alluding to the past: "What now of the century upon which we are entering? Only God knows. It does not seem possible that there can be wrapt up in the next hundred years so much of development as has been made in the last, and yet there may be more." Of the work in the future he said: "We must not fail; and we shall not, if we but adopt for our guidance the lessons of the past. They teach us that we have succeeded because we have been governed by the great ideas of morality, education, equality and a determination to take care of our own country. . . . The flag of our nation must mean absolute protection in the enjoyment of all his rights to every man who looks with allegiance upon its folds. It must mean more. It must continue to represent to all, wherever it may be carried, a people who have sense enough and patriotism enough to take care of their own country in a business way. . . . In so far as God has blessed us with natural resources and ability to use them we must decline to depend upon others."

These words are quoted here to present the general argument on one side of the political question which was now foremost, though by no means a new question. The administration of President Cleveland had been devoted, aside from reform of the civil service by putting minor officials beyond the power of partisan removal, to the teaching of the doctrine that a tariff upon imports, so arranged as to discriminate against foreign manufactures, was not only unauthorized by law but actually an injury to the country. This position was taken, under the guidance of Mr. Cleveland, by the leaders of the Democratic party, while, on the other hand, the Republican party defended the protective tariff as essential to the prosperity of the United States. A new tariff schedule proposed, called the "Mills bill," was the special object of denunciation by the Republicans. It

was pointed out that the number of sheep in Ohio, five million in 1883, had fallen off nearly a million in 1886–87, and the value of the wool clip decreased $5,000,000 on account of the fall in the price of wool, and this shrinkage was ascribed to the movement for "tariff reform," which was called a menace to industry. A new tariff, based upon the changes in conditions of industry, was promised by the Republican party, which should revive industry from stagnation.

In this war of tariffs, William McKinley, of Ohio, through his many years of study and preparation, was able to take a position of leadership in his party. He presented the Republican platform of 1888, unusually outspoken for a protective tariff, to the Chicago national convention, with such effect that he was honored, over his protest, with a few votes for nomination as president. Senator Sherman had been making a vigorous campaign for the nomination for several months, had secured a large number of delegate votes, notably from the South, and was the leading candidate when the balloting began, with a total of 229. But he did not materially gain in strength, and after a few ballots in which various states supported their "favorite sons," Wisconsin, New York and Iowa went to the support of Indiana and nominated Benjamin Harrison, a native of Hamilton county, Ohio, and grandson of Gen. William Henry Harrison, Ohio's candidate for president in 1836 and 1840.

At the other great national convention, held at St. Louis, Mr. Cleveland was renominated, and Ohio's famous son, Allen G. Thurman, was nominated for vice-president by the Democratic party, on a platform strongly opposing a protective tariff, which, it was alleged, created an immense and unnecessary surplus in the treasury, that had "debauched" the opposition party in its administration of the finances. Senator Thurman greatly strengthened his ticket with those of his party not much pleased with Cleveland's un-Jacksonian ideas of tenure of office. Certain quaint survivals of the ancient time, such as his bandana handkerchief, that the Ohio statesman clung to, became famous in the campaign. His ability was real; indeed, he was quite worthy of the first place on the ticket. In the campaign he was the most prominent figure on the side of his party, as Blaine was on the other. The battle was close, but resulted in the defeat of Senator Thurman and his associate, Ohio giving Harrison a majority of 20,000.

President Harrison did not call a resident of Ohio to his cabinet, but there were more men of Ohio birth and rearing in it than in any other in history. Ohio was represented again in the treasury department by William Windom; in the department of the interior by John W. Noble, of St. Louis, a native of Lancaster and graduate of Miami college; and in the department of agriculture by Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wisconsin, a native of Morgan county. Another of Harrison's appointments was that of Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, a native of

Jefferson county, who had been for some time an eminent teacher of physics in Ohio, Indiana and Japan, as superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey.

August 5, 1888, was the date of the death of Gen. Philip Henry Sheridan, who was born at Somerset, Ohio, March 6, 1831. He first became famous in the civil war by gallant conduct as a cavalry commander in Mississippi when he was little over thirty-one years of age, and by the time he was thirty-four no man's name aroused more enthusiasm in the United States than his. He was the Northern ideal of a dashing cavalry general, but he was more, for he owed his opportunity for great fame to gallant conduct in command of infantry under the eye of General Grant at Chattanooga. After the war, the three Ohioans, Grant, Sherman and Sheridan, held successively the high rank of lieutenant-general, revived especially in their honor, and that of general, previously the exclusive honor of George Washington. Sheridan was made lieutenant-general in 1869 and general June 1, 1888.

In the fall of this year (1888) the Republicans had a plurality of 22,000, electing, as secretary of state, Daniel J. Ryan, a native of Cincinnati, prominent in politics and author of a book on strike arbitration and an admirable short history of Ohio.

In 1888 the legislature began an investigation of the property rights of the State in lands adjoining the canals, and Governor Foraker appointed a commission, composed of Gen. W. H. Gibson, Col. Charles F. Baldwin and Judge A. L. Latty, to begin the work. The board since then has made extensive surveys, and established hundreds of monuments, and the long neglected titles to about a million and a quarter acres of land, owned at one time or another by the State, have been put on record.

Governor Foraker was a candidate for governor for the fourth time in 1889, and against him the Democratic party nominated James Edwin Campbell, a member of one of the prominent families of the Miami valley. He was born at Middletown in 1843, had served in the Union navy in the civil war, afterward gained prominence as a lawyer and was three times elected to Congress before his nomination for governor. The campaign was exciting and personally bitter. Near its close the Cincinnati Commercial printed a document that appeared to implicate Mr. Campbell in a scheme for personal profit in congressional legislation, but the paper turned out to be a forgery and the effect of the publication was favorable to the gentleman it was intended to injure. Campbell was elected, while the rest of the Republican state ticket was successful, except perhaps, for the office of lieutenant-governor. For this, E. L. Lampson, Republican, had an apparent majority of 22 votes, but the senate, being Democratic,

awarded the election to the candidate of that party, William V. Marquis.

In the latter part of 1889 and early part of 1890 occurred the deaths of three famous Ohioans, "Sunset" Cox, Pendleton and Schenck. Cox had removed to New York and was elected to Congress from that city. He had a national reputation as a brilliant public speaker. It was said of him by John Sherman: "I doubt if there was a single measure placed on the statute books during his time which appealed to sympathy, charity, justice and kindness for the poor, the distressed or the unfortunate, which did not receive his hearty support." Pendleton, whose popular title of "Gentlemen George," hardly did justice to his intellectual ability, died as minister to Germany. General Schenck had been minister to England, and, at his death, was a lawyer at Washington.

A quite notable figure in the public mind in this period was George Kennan, born at Norwalk in 1845, who had gone into Siberia with the surveying party of a telegraph line in 1865–68, and afterward published a book and lectured regarding his experiences. In 1885–86 he made a tour of Russia and Siberia, and his magazine articles and lectures on the subject of the Siberian exiles were widely discussed and probably had an international influence.

Governor Foraker, in his farewell message of January, 1890, congratulated the State upon the advancement made, in the four years of his administration, in regard to the reform of election laws and methods; in the government of Cincinnati, which he said had been made "one of the best governed cities of America;" and in the revival of industry. The people of the State generally, he said, were never more prosperous or better satisfied.

The Congress, elected in 1888, passed in 1890 a new protective tariff law, which became known as the McKinley bill, from the leading part taken by William McKinley in its preparation and passage. Upon it his political future was staked, and it seemed for a year or two that his career was closed. The passage of the law was soon followed by advances in prices of various manufactured goods, and the common explanation of every sort of increased price over the United States was "on account of the McKinley bill," recalling the time, ten years earlier, when bankruptcies were ascribed to the financial policy of another Ohioan, John Sherman. While the period is not yet so far remote that these subjects can be referred to without exciting partisan feeling, it may be noted that the two laws that were the main features of national direction and party discussion, in the last third of the Nineteenth century, owed their enactment to two Ohio men, John Sherman and William McKinley.

McKinley suffered defeat for Congress in the fall of 1900, though his party carried the State by a plurality of eleven thousand for secretary of state, and this defeat was mainly due to another re-district-

ing of the State by the legislature, which threw him into a strongly Democratic district. This repeated rearrangement of districts, one of the great political evils of that period, was indulged in by both parties.

The census of 1890 showed a population of 3,672,316 in Ohio, an increase of 474,000. It was a creditable gain, and Ohio showed in no respect a real retrogression, but the phenomenal growth of the city of Chicago put Illinois in the place among the states long held by Ohio, which now became fourth in the array of figures, though yet third in importance. Chicago owed its growth to the marvelous development of the lake commerce, in which Ohio shared. Cuyahoga county had increased in population in ten years from less than 200,000 to more than 300,000, while Hamilton county, with its metropolis on the Ohio river, had to be content with an increase from 313,000 to 374,000. Columbus and Toledo, in twenty years, had almost tripled their population, while that of Dayton was doubled. Thanks to gas and oil, Findlay had grown from 3,000 to 18,000, and Lima from 4,500 to 16,000.

The growth of manufacturing since 1880 was shown by an increase in total value of products of nearly three hundred million dollars, by far the greatest of any period in the history of the State. Cincinnati retained its supremacy as a manufacturing city, with a total value of products estimated at $196,000,000 annually, while the value of the Cleveland manufactures was put at $108,000,000. The great diversification of industries at Cincinnati is remarkable. It is one of the foremost cities of the Union in the production of boots and shoes, clothing and furnishing goods, saddlery and harness, printing and publishing, tobacco and cigars, slaughtering and meat packing, soap and candles, furniture, malt liquors, and jewelry. The great industries of Cleveland are shipbuilding, oil refining and steel and iron work. The foundry and machine shop products of Cleveland in 1890 were valued at $11,000,000, and of Cincinnati, $10,000,000; the lumber products of Cincinnati were $3,000,000 in value, and of Cleveland $2,250,000.

In smaller cities there were other remarkable developments of manufacturing. Next to Minneapolis, New York and St. Louis, the greatest investment of capital in flouring and grain foods was at Akron, a city of 27,000 people. The value of the product at that city was estimated at $3,000,000 annually. The investment of $23,000,000 in the manufacture of agricultural implements was reported at Springfield, Akron, Canton, Columbus and Dayton, and the annual product of these cities was estimated at over $10,000,000.

The coal product of the State was estimated at ten million tons annually, figures that are practically incomprehensible. There were 2,640 oil wells in the State, yielding 12,500,000 barrels of crude oil annually, a product second only to the combined product of New

York and Pennsylvania. The capital invested in this industry was estimated at $18,000,000. Besides the great investments of capital in coal and oil, $13,000,000 was invested in gas wells, which yielded an annual product valued at $1,120,000.

The wonderful growth of Cleveland, based mainly upon lake commerce and iron and steel manufacturing, suggests the fact that while Ohio is one of the foremost states in iron and steel products, her iron ore resources are inconsiderable. The Hocking valley region was the scene of much excitement in 1877-78 on account of the apparent abundance of valuable iron ore, coal and flux, in nearly horizontal layers, but investigation proved that the iron ore did not hold out its promise. So it is rather the accessibility of northeast Ohio to the iron mines of upper Michigan and the coke of Connellsville and West Virginia, that have contributed to the success of Ohio in this field. In 1886 Ohio made as much pig iron as the entire product of the United States in 1859.

In the production of salt from salt wells Ohio had lost the second place among the states, held in 1860. The Hocking valley fields, that had produced 50,000 barrels a year, were abandoned, and the continuance of the industry at Pomeroy and Canal Dover was largely due to the manufacture of bromine. This misfortune was on account of the opening of the abundant salt deposits of Michigan.

The legislature of 1890 elected, as the successor of Senator Payne, Calvin Stewart Brice, the Republicans casting their vote for Charles Foster. Senator Brice was a native of Morrow county, born in 1845, son of a Presbyterian minister who had come to Ohio from Maryland. He had no financial advantages in his boyhood, worked his own way through school, and when sixteen years of age enlisted as a soldier of the Union. In the intervals of his service he completed his studies and was graduated at Oxford, and after winning the rank of lieutenant-colonel in Sherman's army at twenty-one years of age, he came home and prepared himself for the practice of law, locating at Lima. But he gave more time to railroad projects than to law, and was the leading spirit in building a trunk line railroad, familiarly known as the "Nickel Plate," paralleling for a considerable distance the Lake Shore system. This road, owners of the Lake Shore were constrained to purchase, assuring the ambitious country lawyer of considerable wealth and national fame as a promoter and manager of railroad enterprises. At the same time he had risen to prominence in politics, as a manager, and after various honors bestowed in Ohio, was chairman of the national Democratic executive committee in the campaign of 1888. His election as senator followed, crowning one of the most remarkable political careers in the history of the State. His business interests were already mainly in New York, where he was very conspicuous, as well as in railroad enterprises in Ohio, until his death in 1898.

Governor Campbell called an extraordinary session of the legislature in October, 1890, "on account of the deplorable condition of public affairs in Cincinnati, which, it is believed, can be partially remedied by enabling the people of that city to choose certain important boards at the November election." The legislature failed to act promptly, however, and finally abolished the then existing board of public improvements, and authorized the mayor to appoint a new board of city affairs. This act the supreme court annulled in the following year as special legislation. While Cincinnati was thus hampered by conflicting legislative action, Cleveland obtained, in 1891, an admirable law, framed in that city, through the labors of the Committee of One Hundred, headed by James Barnett. The movement for better government in Cleveland began in 1887, and what was called the Federal plan was devised. Under this plan the legislation of the city is confided to a council of twenty members, and all executive duties, including the appointment of officers, are the exclusive business of the mayor and six department heads appointed by him, with the approval of the council. The department heads are removable by the mayor at pleasure, while good cause must be shown for change in any inferior office or employment.

While Cleveland has made this advance toward better municipal government, Cincinnati remains, according to a writer on the subject,* under an "antique, cumbrous and irresponsible form" of administration. The most important part of its government is in the hands of the Board of Administration, which, in accordance with a former panacea for municipal ills, is composed of members of both political parties. This board has full control of waterworks, streets and street franchises, sewers, parks, and the like. The scheme of government which now appears to be in highest favor with economists is the concentration of responsibility in the mayor without regard to what the political composition of the boards may be. It seems to be the opinion that "one man power" in administration is safer than too much dependence upon town councils or even councils and legislatures combined.

Governor Campbell urged the legislature to give those cities which the State government had interfered with, entire home government. "When they can no longer sit supinely waiting for the general assembly to perform miracles for their benefit," he said, "they will reform and purify their own municipal affairs." Legislative interference, by what were popularly known as "Ripper Laws," he believed should be prohibited by constitutional amendment, and the cities should have conventions of delegates to construct their own charters.

"Ripper legislation" finds its authority in a provision of the constitution of 1851: "The general assembly shall provide for the

*S. P. Orth, "The Municipal Situation in Ohio," in The Forum, June, 1902.

organization of cities and incorporated villages by general laws, and restrict their powers of taxation, assessment, borrowing money, contracting debts and loaning their credit, so as to prevent the abuse of such power." The requirement that such legislation shall be "general" has been avoided, practically, by an artificial division of cities into classes. The legislature of 1852 created two classes of cities, those over 20,000 population in the first class, and those under that figure in the second. Later legislatures have made other provisions until there are now four grades of cities in Class 1 and eight grades in Class 2, and two classes of incorporated villages, and below them the class of hamlets—towns under two thousand population. By means of this classification the legislature is enabled to pass laws applying to two or three or even one city, and give it the form of general legislation for a class. Thus, when it was desired, in 1890, to put the government of Youngstown in the hands of a board appointed by the mayor and probate judge and apparently irresponsible, a bill was passed providing for a form of government for cities having a population of not less than 27,690 or more than 27,720. This had the form of a general law, and the supreme court sustained it as such, though it carries the method of evasion of the constitution to the limits of absurdity. At the end of the first century of Ohio as a State, there are one and three-quarters million people living in cities of over 5,000 population. A general code under which all these people shall enjoy self government, with such restrictions against extravagance as the constitution requires, is recognized as one of the most urgent needs in the way of legislation. In 1898 the legislature authorized the preparation of such a code, and two years have been given to the subject by a commission composed of David F. Pugh, of Columbus, and Edward Kibler, of Newark. If their recommendations are adopted, all classes will be abolished but the simple ones of cities and villages; power of appointment and responsibility will be centered in the mayor, and elections will be freed as much as possible from the influence of national politics.*

To return to the administration of Governor Campbell, it is due to that able and popular executive to note that he recommended the adoption of the "Australian" ballot and a law compelling political parties to make nominations by primary elections. The legislature

*In June, 1902, the supreme court of Ohio, having the question before them in an action to oust the members of the board of control of Cleveland on the ground that the Cleveland charter law was special legislation, held that the charter, though ostensibly general in form, was applicable only to Cleveland, and therefore obnoxious to the constitution, and void. A similar ruling was made in a case brought to test the constitutionality of a "ripper" law for Toledo which removed control of the police from Mayor Samuel M. Jones. As this ruling of the court applies to the entire class of special legislation above described, the legislature will be compelled, perhaps before the publication of this work, to provide a new code of municipal government.

of 1891 adopted the Australian system of election, including the blanket ballot and privacy in casting the vote, a law that excited much prejudice at the time, but which is now so firmly fixed in public favor that it will probably endure with little modification except in the use of voting machines. Other important acts of this memorable legislature were the Pennell school book law, a step toward economy in text-books for the common schools; an act forbidding the employment of children under fourteen years of age in factories; the Holliday law to prevent the frequenting of saloons by youths; a law for the regulation of insurance and building-and-loan companies, and the first appropriation toward the building of an asylum for epileptics at Gallipolis.

In the early part of 1891 there was general mourning in America over the death of Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, February 14th. His body was followed to the grave by President Harrison and ex-Presidents Hayes and Cleveland, and an immense procession, and the dead general's old antagonist, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, was one of the pallbearers. General Sherman was born at Lancaster, Ohio, February 8, 1820, graduated at West Point in 1840, served in California during the war with Mexico; from 1853 to 1861 was successively banker in San Francisco, lawyer in St. Louis with his brothers-in-law, Hugh and Thomas Ewing, and superintendent of the Louisiana military academy. At the close of the war he was next to Grant in the popular admiration, and Grant, his faithful friend, called him "the greatest soldier living." He was made lieutenant-general in 1866, and general in 1869.

In 1891 the Republicans of Ohio nominated William McKinley for governor. The event is of importance in the career of an Ohioan who, after the deaths of Blaine and Thurman, was the most popular man in national affairs. The Democrats of Ohio renominated Governor Campbell, and in their platform, "denounced the demonetization of silver in 1873 as an iniquitous alteration of the money standard in favor of creditors and against debtors, taxpayers and producers, and which, by shutting off one of the sources of supply of primary money, operates continually to increase the value of gold, depress prices, hamper industry and disparage enterprise." But the "McKinley bill" was the principal issue that year. The campaign was remarkable among the campaigns of latter years, both for its vigorous prosecution by Mr. McKinley, and for the courteous relations between him and Mr. Campbell, whom he met once in joint debate at the town of Ada. The Union Labor party having already lost importance, the new People's party entered the field, having its formal beginning in a national convention at Cincinnati, May 20, 1891. The main demands of this party were for the free and unlimited coinage of silver money, the abolition of national banks, unlimited

national paper money to be loaned at two per cent a year. What strength it might have was the puzzle of the campaign, but it polled only 24,000 votes, while 20,000 remained faithful to the Prohibition cause. McKinley received a plurality over Campbell of 18,500 votes in a total vote of nearly 800,000, again demonstrating that remarkable hold upon public favor that had brought about his election to congress seven times consecutively. Of his earlier career mention has already been made. As governor of the State from January, 1892, to January, 1896, he added to his popularity with the men of all parties, but beyond this had little opportunity for achievement.

William Windom, who had been called a second time to the secretaryship of the treasury by President Harrison, died at New York, in 1891, at the close of a speech in which he declared that a debased or fluctuating currency must paralyze all kinds of business and bring disaster to all classes of people, as surely as poison in the blood must bring paralysis or death to the individual. These last words of Windom's were the most impressive utterances of statesmanship in that period. To succeed him President Harrison called Charles Foster, of Ohio, to the cabinet, and he ably administered the affairs of the national treasury until March 4, 1893.

In the legislature which had its first session in January, 1892, there was an exciting contest between the friends of Senator Sherman and Governor Foraker for the Republican caucus nomination to succeed Sherman for the term in the United States senate beginning in 1893. Sherman, winning this fight, was elected over James E. Neal, the Democratic nominee, his party having an overwhelming majority in the legislature.

In the fall of the same year Ohio came very near to giving her electoral vote, for the first time in forty years, to a Democratic candidate. President Harrison was opposed for re-election by ex-President Cleveland and defeated, Ohio contributing to the result one electoral vote, while the other twenty-two, by a majority of one thousand in the popular vote of 835,000, were given to Harrison. By practically the same majority Samuel M. Taylor was elected secretary of state, over his Democratic opponent, William A. Taylor. The division in the electoral vote was undoubtedly due to errors in stamping the "Australian" ballot. The issue in this campaign in Ohio, as elsewhere, was mainly the tariff. The national Democratic platform contained a "plank," introduced by Lawrence T. Neal, of Chillicothe, who had been elected to Congress in 1872 and 1874, and was recognized as one of the leading champions of low tariff, which denounced the protective tariff in the strongest terms, denied the power of Congress to impose a tariff except for the purpose of "revenue only," and denounced the McKinley bill as "the culminating atrocity of class legislation." The victory of Mr. Cleveland seemed

to set the seal of condemnation upon Mr. McKinley's policy, but it soon appeared that other causes had contributed to the result of the elections, and that the Ohio governor was not losing popularity.

The candidate for vice president, defeated with General Harrison, was Whitelaw Reid, an Ohioan, born at Xenia in 1837, and graduated at Miami university, who succeeded Horace Greeley as editor of the New York Tribune in 1872, and in 1889–92 was United States minister to France. He is one of the most eminent sons of Ohio, with well earned distinction as a journalist, author and diplomat.

The Ohio man was not represented in Mr. Cleveland's second cabinet, except that toward the close of his administration Judson Harmon, of Cincinnati, was called to the office of attorney-general of the United States. He creditably occupied a position that has been held by Edwin M. Stanton, Henry Stanbery and Alphonso Taft.

The World's Fair at Chicago, in 1893, was the occasion of a very creditable exhibit by Ohio, which was the only state, except Pennsylvania that was able to make exhibits in every department and section, and the only State with an exhibit from every one of its public institutions. In the famous "White City" on the shore of Lake Michigan, not very far from where the noted Indian scout of early days in Ohio, Captain Wells, was massacred among the lonely sand dunes in 1812, Ohio required ten thousand square feet of floor space to make a showing of her industrial, social and educational achievements in 1893.

Before the Columbian exposition closed the country was afflicted with a great collapse of financial credit. Many banks were forced to close, merchants failed, and manufacturing institutions shut down or ran on short time. The United States treasury itself, no longer burdened with a surplus, was in danger of losing the gold reserve necessary to maintain the parity of the national currency. In the midst of these conditions, Governor McKinley was a candidate for governor a second time, with Lawrence T. Neal as the Democratic nominee, and was re-elected by a plurality of nearly 81,000. Deducting the aggregate Prohibition and Populist vote of 38,000, his majority was 43,000. This decisive victory foreshadowed McKinley's nomination for the presidency, and the popular approval of his tariff policy.

In his message of 1894 Governor McKinley addressed the legislature thus: "Your honorable body meets at a time when the State is suffering from prolonged industrial depression, from which, unhappily, there appears no immediate prospect of relief. Communities throughout the State are generously responding to the wants of the unemployed who are in need. . . The people have resting upon them the duty to see that none of their fellow citizens are without food, shelter or clothing. . . A short session and but little legislation would be appreciated at a time like this." He urged upon the legislature the propriety of obeying the spirit of the constitution of

1851, which provided for biennial sessions. Every legislature since 1851, except that of 1854, had held adjourned sessions, so that the meetings were in fact annual instead of biennial. Probably on account of the financial conditions, the recommendation was adopted, and the legislature of 1894 adjourned *sine die* at the close of its first session, an example that has since been followed.

In the spring of 1894 occurred the great railroad strikes about Chicago, and the use of United States troops and writs of injunction to restore order, which, with his demand upon Congress for the repeal of the Sherman law for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month as a basis for silver notes, made President Cleveland very unpopular with a large part of those who had given him their suffrages. About the same time the country was more or less agitated by news of "Coxey's Army." Various "armies of the unemployed" were organized to march to Washington and petition Congress for aid. The leader of this remarkable movement was Jacob Coxey, of Massillon, whose proposition was that the government should issue half a billion dollars in greenbacks and spend it in making roads. Large parties had started from California, using the railroads without compensation. In their course eastward they occasioned trouble at various places, including Ohio towns, but were generally kindly treated and cared for, as the number of men suffering for want of employment was ominously great. "General" Coxey, with a few hundred men, marched to Washington, and attempted to enter the capitol grounds May 1st, but was arrested for violating the rule to "keep off the grass," and nothing serious came of the movement.

A notable feature of Ohio legislation in 1894 was an act extending to women the right to hold office in school administration and the right to vote at elections of school officers.

In the state election of 1894, for secretary of state, the People's party cast a vote of 50,000, and the Prohibition party 23,000, but the Republican candidate, Samuel M. Taylor, received the unprecedented plurality of 137,078.

In 1895 the State board of arbitration, established in 1893, had dealt with twenty-eight strikes and lockouts. The Hocking valley coal mines were idle throughout 1894, and collections of food and supplies were sent to the men early in 1895.

In the campaign for the election of a governor in 1895 the dangerous condition of the country was shown by the polling of over fifty thousand votes for Jacob S. Coxey, the visionary candidate of the People's party. Seth H. Ellis, the Prohibition candidate, received over 20,000 votes. But the main contest was between James E. Campbell, nominated a third time by the Democratic party, and the Republican candidate, Asa S. Bushnell, of Springfield. Mr. Bushnell was elected by a plurality of 92,622. A few days after his inauguration, the legislature, which was about four to one Repub-

lican, elected ex-Governor Foraker to the United States senate, to succeed Senator Brice.

Governor Bushnell was of a pioneer family, born in 1834, at Rome, N. Y., of Connecticut parentage, was educated at a Cincinnati district school, and went into business life at Springfield in 1851, as a drygoods clerk. Fifteen years later he was the junior partner in a company for the manufacture of agricultural implements that became one of the most successful in the West. In the course of his administration, which continued for four years, he found opportunity for distinction as the last war governor of Ohio, and was so active and generous in his efforts for the good of the soldiers that he deserves a place among those earlier war governors who have a secure place of honor in the history of the State.

On December 12, 1895, occurred the death of Senator Allen Granbery Thurman. On his seventy-seventh birthday, in 1890, he had been honored with a banquet at Columbus, presided over by President Cleveland. The popular appreciation of his distinguished services which he was then permitted to witness, was yet more strongly manifested upon his death. William McKinley, speaking at the memorial meeting held at Columbus, quoted the words Garfield had used when the late president had been elected to succeed Thurman in the senate: "Ohio has had few larger-minded, broader-minded men than Allen G. Thurman. I recognize him as a man high in character and great in intellect. . . Many years ago, in the storm of party fighting, when the air was filled with all sorts of missiles aimed at the character and reputation of public men, Senator Thurman said in public, in the campaign, on the stump, where men are as likely to say unkind things as at any place in the world—a most generous and earnest word of defense and kindness for me that I shall never forget as long as I live." "He was an admirably disciplined debater, fair in statement, logical in argument, honest in his conclusions, always direct and manly," wrote James G. Blaine. Perhaps the best brief statement of what Thurman was is given in the words of his friend, George F. Edmunds, of Vermont: "He was a man of extraordinary learning, both in law and literature. He was easily the recognized chieftain of his party during his career in the senate. He was a clear, concise and powerful debater. Although we differed radically upon subjects that are called party politics, I always felt absolutely safe in relying upon his powerful co-operation and patriotism in respect to all business affairs of the nation, and when we differed I could not but respect the intensity of his conviction and his pure earnestness of purpose. He was a man of absolutely upright character and honor." The memory of such a man should remain forever inseparably associated with Ohio, as an example for all generations.

The city of Cleveland, in 1896, celebrated the founding of the town

by the Connecticut pioneers. But while it was pleasing to claim an antiquity of a hundred years, the city, in its essential modern elements, is not older than the railroad epoch, and its growth all the more wonderful on that account. From little beginnings of schooner building in 1808 and steamboat building in 1827, Cleveland had now, in 1896, attained a position next to the Clyde of Great Britain as one of the greatest ship building ports of the world. A great part of this wonderful advancement was in the building of steel vessels, a class of property in which tens of millions were invested at Cleveland. In the parade that was a feature of the celebration there was a line of five thousand riders of bicycles, testifying to one of the phenomena of modern life that would excite the amazement of the pioneers of Marietta.

In the national Republican convention of 1896 Governor McKinley was nominated for president on the first ballot, his interests in the convention being ably cared for by Marcus A. Hanna, of Cleveland, who at this time first attracted the general attention of the nation. Mr. Hanna, a native of New Lisbon, Columbiana county, reared at Cleveland and educated in the Western Reserve college, had been in business life at Cleveland since 1862, and prominent among the men who led in the remarkable development of shipping and iron manufacturing at that city. Upon the nomination of Mr. McKinley, he was made chairman of the national committee of his party, and soon demonstrated a notable strength in political management. At the national convention of the Democratic party, Ohio presented for presidential nomination the name of John R. McLean, famous as the owner of the Cincinnati Enquirer, probably the strongest Democratic newspaper in the United States at that time. He received 54 votes, but after a few ballots the nomination went to William J. Bryan, of Nebraska. The campaign that followed was one of the most hotly contested in the history of the country, but entirely without attacks upon the personal characters of the candidates, the topics of discussion being the tariff and money. Never, since 1864 and 1868, had there been such intense conviction among the people that the result of the election must seriously influence the fate of the nation. At the election Mr. McKinley carried twenty-three states, with 271 electoral votes, by a popular majority of 1,565,000, and Mr. Bryan carried twenty-two states, with an electoral vote of 176, by a popular majority of 968,000. The popular vote of Ohio was 525,991 for McKinley and 474,888 for Bryan.

Upon the inauguration of President McKinley, March 4, 1897, he called to his cabinet Senator John Sherman, then seventy-four years of age, as secretary of state. Sherman had been elected four times to the national house of representatives, and six times to the senate, and this was his second time in the cabinet. No other Ohioan had enjoyed such repeated and continuous proof of the popular esteem.

Yet his great and entirely reasonable ambition, to crown his public life with the presidency, was denied him, as it was denied Clay and Webster, Calhoun and Thurman.

To take Mr. Sherman's place in the senate Governor Bushnell appointed the victorious chairman of the Republican national committee, Marcus A. Hanna, to hold until the legislature met in January, 1898, when Mr. Hanna was elected for the remainder of that term and the full term following, by a majority of one, after an exciting preliminary battle within the ranks of the Republican legislators. Six Republican members voted with the Democratic members for Robert E. McKisson, mayor of Cleveland.

The dean of Ohio's congressional delegation during the administration of Mr. McKinley was Gen. Charles H. Grosvenor, of Athens, who has been a resident of the State since he came to it from Connecticut, at the age of five years, in 1838. In the civil war he won the brevet of brigadier-general, and he was a legislator before his first election to Congress in 1884. Since that year he has been re-elected continuously, with but one exception, and has gained a conspicuous place among the statesmen of the nation.

Governor Bushnell was re-elected in 1897 by a plurality of 28,000 over H. L. Chapman, the Democratic candidate. Six parties were in the field, besides the two leading ones; namely, the Prohibition regular, the irregular Prohibition, or Liberty party, the People's party, the National Democratic (gold money), the Socialist Labor, and the Negro protection party, which was formed to protest against the lynching of a negro for a brutal crime at Urbana. There was a further change of parties in the following year, when some of the political elements coalesced in what was known as the Union Reform party, demanding the introduction of the system of legislation called the initiative and referendum. This left three minor parties, Prohibition, Union Reform and Socialist Labor, in the field, but they altogether cast less than twenty-five thousand votes in 1898, when Charles Kinney was elected secretary of state by a plurality of 61,139.

From the beginning of the revolution in Cuba against Spanish government in 1895, intense interest in the struggle was manifested by a large part of the people of the United States, and there was a loud, if not unanimous demand that the United States should interfere. After the beginning of President McKinley's administration remonstrances were addressed to Spain regarding what seemed to be unnecessary cruelties in the war, and steps were taken by Spain to conform to the suggestions and to give Cuba some sort of self government. But the spirit of intervention grew more and more active, and after the battleship Maine and her crew were blown up in Havana harbor February 15, 1898, war became inevitable. This tendency was resisted as long as possible by Secretary Sherman; the Ohio senators did not encourage it, and President McKinley was accused of failure

to act with proper spirit. But before the first results of action were history, his deliberation and carefulness were sufficiently justified, and he was accepted, with remarkable unanimity, as the trusted representative of the whole people in the settlement of the new problems that arose.

On April 11th the president submitted the Cuban question to Congress with the words: "I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the constitution and the law, I await your action." Within ten days Congress asserted the freedom and independence of the people of Cuba, and authorized him to use the military power of the United States to enforce the demand that Spain withdraw her troops and relinquish her authority. This was a declaration of war, and in preparation for it the regular army of the United States was already being concentrated on the gulf and the navy was made ready for battle. On April 23d the president called for 125,000 volunteer troops.

Ohio, fortunately, had a well-organized National Guard, which had been recruiting almost to the maximum under the State law, in anticipation of war. When needed, there was a force of drilled soldiers, nine thousand strong, more than enough to fill the quota of the State. The call was received by Governor Bushnell and Adjutant-General Henry A. Axline at 5 p. m., April 25th, orders were sent out to every command within an hour and a half, and within twenty hours every organization had reported readiness for movement. General Axline was put in command next day, the troops were brought together at Camp Bushnell, near Columbus, and on the 29th were organized in brigades. The entire quota of the State was mustered in as soon as Federal officers were ready, May 7th to 14th. Before the regiments were transferred to the United States service the general staff on duty was Gen. Henry A. Axline, commanding; William P. Orr, quartermaster-general; Joseph E. Lowes, surgeon-general; Clarence E. Burke, chief engineer, and Henry D. Knox, aide-de-camp. Under the first call Ohio furnished 428 officers and 8,052 enlisted men, the National Guard regiments going in mainly as they were, with their accustomed officers, and under the second call recruits were mustered in to fill the infantry companies from 69 to 106 enlisted men, and the Tenth regiment was formed from the engineers, naval brigade and light artillery companies, which had been unable to find a place in those arms of the United States service. The total enrolled under the two calls was 15,354. Besides, many enlisted in the regiments of the regular army for this war and the following war in the Philippine islands.

The people responded with enthusiasm to the first call for troops, and the unanimity of feeling was unparalleled in the history of the wars of America. Adjutant-General Herbert A. Kingsley, who suc-

ceeded General Axline, reported that although the National Guard was sufficient to fill all the demands upon the State, he received 1,051 petitions for authority to organize other companies, many of these petitions being signed by enough men to form a company, and twenty-five companies were organized without authority in the hope of getting into the service. From the applications received this officer believed that a volunteer army of a hundred thousand men could have recruited in a short time.

After the troops had been for some time in camp in the South, the sickness to which they were subject brought forth ready sympathy and aid from the home State. Col. E. C. Brush and a party brought home forty-six artillerymen from Chickamauga Park, and on September 2d a special hospital train left Columbus under charge of Surgeon-General Lowes, called the "Bushnell Relief Train," to visit the Southern camps and bring home the sick. More than two hundred men, in critical condition, were thus cared for and probably saved from death by the change of climate.

Following is a list of the Ohio commands and a brief statement of their service:

The First regiment Ohio volunteer infantry, headquarters Cincinnati, was organized as the First regiment Ohio national guard in 1875, and reorganized for the war with Spain April 25, 1898, and mustered in May 6th, with Charles B. Hunt as colonel. It was in camp during the war, at Chickamauga, Tampa, Fernandina and Jacksonville, and was mustered out at Cincinnati, October 25, 1898, having lost ten by death from disease.

The Second regiment, headquarters Cincinnati, was organized as the Second regiment Ohio National Guard in 1878, reorganized as the Second Ohio volunteer infantry April 25, 1898, and mustered in May 10th with Col. Julius A. Kuert commanding. It was in camp during the war at Chickamauga, Knoxville and Macon, and was mustered out at Macon February 10, 1899, having lost fourteen by death.

The Third regiment, headquarters Springfield, was organized as the Third regiment Ohio National Guard in 1875, reorganized as the Third Ohio volunteer infantry April 25, 1898, and mustered in May 10th, Col. Charles Anthony commanding. It was in camp during the war at Tampa, Fernandina and Huntsville, and was mustered out at Columbus October 26, 1898, having lost ten by death.

The Fourth regiment, headquarters Columbus, was organized as the Fourteenth Ohio National Guard in 1877, reorganized as the Second Ohio volunteer infantry April 25, 1898, and mustered in May 9th, Col. Alonzo B. Coit commanding. The regiment was first in camp at Chickamauga, and afterward was with the army for the occupation of Porto Rico, under General Miles, participating in a

skirmish on that island. The loss by sickness was twenty-six. The regiment was mustered out at Columbus January 20, 1899.

The Fifth regiment, headquarters Cleveland, was organized as the Fifth Ohio National Guard in 1884, reorganized as the Fifth Ohio volunteer infantry April 25, 1898, and mustered in May 11th, Col. Cortland L. Kennan commanding. It was in camp at Tampa and Fernandina, and was mustered out November 5, 1898, having lost twenty by sickness.

The Sixth regiment, headquarters Toledo, was organized as the Sixteenth Ohio National Guard in 1877, reorganized as the Fifth Ohio volunteer infantry April 25, 1898, and mustered in May 12th, Col. William V. McMaken commanding. It was in camp at Chickamauga, Knoxville and Charleston, and formed part of the army of occupation of Cuba upon the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, being sent to Cienfuegos. It was mustered out at Augusta, Ga., May 18, 1899.

The Seventh regiment, headquarters Chillicothe, was organized as the Seventeenth Ohio National Guard in 1877, reorganized as the Seventh Ohio volunteer infantry, April 25, 1898, Col. Arthur L. Hamilton commanding, and mustered in May 13th. It was in camp in Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio, and was mustered out November 6, 1898, having lost nine men from sickness.

The Eighth regiment, headquarters Wooster, was organized as the Eighth Ohio National Guard in 1877, reorganized as the Eighth Ohio volunteer infantry April 25, 1898, and mustered in May 13th, Col. Curtis V. Hard commanding. The regiment was encamped in Virginia, afterward was ordered to Cuba, reached Siboney July 10th, and as soon as possible was put in the trenches on the line around Santiago, between General Lawton and General Wheeler. Santiago was then being bombarded, and the surrender soon followed. The regiment suffered severely from the exposure of the tropical campaign and the fevers, losing 72 officers and men. It was among those transferred to Montauk Point, N. Y., and was mustered out at Wooster, November 21, 1898.

The Ninth battalion, colored infantry, was organized as part of the Ohio National Guard in 1877, reorganized as the Ninth Ohio volunteer infantry April 25, 1898, and mustered in May 14th, with Maj. Charles Young commanding. It was in camp in Virginia, Pennsylvania and South Carolina, had five deaths from sickness, and was mustered out in January, 1899.

The Tenth regiment Ohio volunteer infantry was organized July 1, 1898, under Col. Henry A. Axline, and was in camp in Pennsylvania and Georgia, remaining in the service until March 29, 1899.

The First cavalry, organized April 25, 1898, comprised Troop A of the Ohio National Guard, headquarters Cleveland, and Battalion B, First light artillery, headquarters Cincinnati, in all 350 men,

under Lieut.-Col. Matthias A. Day. They were in camp at Chickamauga and in Florida and Alabama, lost eight by sickness and were mustered out in October, 1898.

The First battalion, Ohio light artillery, headquarters Zanesville, organized in the National Guard in 1886, was mustered in for the war May 11, 1898, with 727 officers and men, Maj. Charles T. Atwell commanding. They were in camp in Georgia and Ohio, lost 13 by sickness, and were mustered out at Columbus October 21, 1898.

It will be observed that the greater part of the Ohio soldiers did not reach the islands that were the seat of war, but because they were ready for duty the war was brief. In the words of President McKinley, they were part of that "mighty army in camp, ready and eager for the field, that should be given equal credit with those who participated in the short but decisive contests in Cuba. It was their presence, ready at an hour's notice for any emergency, that taught the enemy that further resistance would be in vain." It might be added that their prompt and loyal response to the call of their country, their ready efficiency for war, and enthusiastic spirit, saved the nation from wider complications. That is the most effective service of any army that prevents war by a demonstration of strength and spirit at the critical time when war is brewing.

Secretary Sherman, in the midst of the preparations for war, found himself unfitted for the emergency by reason of his advanced age, and retired to his home at Mansfield, where, after writing the memories of his life, which was published under the title of "John Sherman's Recollections," he died October 22, 1900. His name had been familiar in every part of the Union, and he had been in the center of political combats, ever since the year 1856. Through forty years he had been a grim and sturdy warrior for the rights of man, the solidarity of the Union and a financial system which meets the approval of the majority of practical business men, and he had the satisfaction of living to see the fruits of his labor applauded. His death was formally announced by proclamation by the president of the United States, who said of him: "Whether in debate during the dark hours of our civil war, or as the director of the country's finances during the period of rehabilitation, or as a trusted councilor in framing the national laws for over forty years, or as the exponent of its foreign policy, his course was marked by devotion to the best interests of his beloved land, and by able and conscientious efforts to uphold its dignity and honor. His countrymen will long revere his memory and see in him a type of the patriotism, uprightness and zeal that go to molding and strengthening a nation."

Mr. Sherman was succeeded as secretary of state by William R. Day, a lawyer at Canton, born at Ravenna in 1849, son of a judge of the supreme court of Ohio. He had served as assistant secretary of state under Mr. Sherman, and afterward administered that impor-

tant office with remarkable ability, introducing into diplomacy the simple and straightforward methods of business life. The very important place of minister to England was held at the beginning of the war by John Hay, a native of Indiana, who began his official career as assistant secretary of President Lincoln and in the European diplomatic corps, and had become a resident of Cleveland after his marriage in 1874 to a daughter of Amasa Stone. When Secretary Day retired and became a member of the commission to make peace with Spain at Paris (a commission in which another Ohioan, Whitelaw Reid, was associated), Mr. Hay became secretary of state, an office in which his success and honors have been second to none of those of any statesmen in the history of America.

Among the major-generals of volunteers appointed by the president was J. Warren Keifer, of Springfield, a native of Clark county (1836), who had served as colonel of the Hundred-and-Tenth Ohio and won the brevets of brigadier and major-general under Sheridan and Grant, and had afterward been speaker of the house in the Forty-eighth Congress. He was with the army in Cuba and on duty until mustered out in the spring of 1899, with the volunteer troops.

James F. Wade, a son of Senator Ben Wade, born in 1843, who went into the civil war with the Minnesota cavalry, and came out as brigadier-general, had that rank in the regular army in 1897, and being promoted to major-general commanded a corps in the war with Spain, and was the first military governor of the island after the Spanish evacuation.

In the actual fighting about Santiago no one won greater honor among the field generals than Henry W. Lawton, born in Lucas county, 1843, who had been in the military service since he went out as volunteer for the Union in 1861, and Adna R. Chaffee, born in Ashtabula county in 1842, who had also been in the army since 1861. Chaffee commanded a brigade under Lawton in July, 1898.

For the conquest of Spanish power in the Philippine islands, the first expedition that left San Francisco was commanded by Gen. Thomas McArthur Anderson, born at Chillicothe in 1836, and a graduate of the Cincinnati law school in 1858. He also had served in the United States army from 1861. He was the first American general to land in Luzon and was in immediate command of the attack that caused the surrender of Manila, August 13, 1898. In that field General Lawton afterward served with great distinction until he was killed, December 19, 1899, when about to be promoted to major-general in the regular army. General Chaffee, after worthy service in Cuba, commanded the expedition of troops to protect the United States legation at Pekin in 1900, leading the first American invasion of Asia.

One of the most important positions throughout the Cuban and Philippine wars, that of adjutant-general of the United States army,

was occupied by Henry Clark Corbin, born and reared on a farm in Clermont county, who entered the Union army in 1862 at the age of nineteen, and after three years in the South and ten on the plains had been detailed to duty at Washington. He demonstrated great ability in the emergency, and, through the confidence and favor of the president, was the effective head of the military organization.

Among the staff-officers at Washington was Gen. William Hoit Nash, a son of Judge Simeon Nash, of Gallipolis, member of the constitutional convention of 1850–51. He had been in the army since 1861, and was made commissary-general of subsistence of the United States army, with the rank of brigadier-general, in April, 1898, but retired on account of age, a few days later.

Following this war the Ohio National Guard was reorganized in eight regiments and one battalion of infantry, one battalion of engineers, four battalions of artillery, one troop of cavalry, and two battalions of naval militia. There is an effective and well drilled force of nearly five thousand officers and men, for the preservation of order, and as a nucleus for the organization of such volunteer troops as may be desired for the national service.

A large part of the National Guard was called into service in June, 1899, on account of the great strike of street railway employes at Cleveland. The men quitting work to enforce their demands upon the Consolidated company, the latter attempted to run cars with other help, but soon found it impossible. Cars were stoned, or thrown from the track or blown up with dynamite, and it became dangerous to make use of such service as the street car company attempted to give. After the serious disorder had been quelled by the troops and police and deputy sheriffs, a boycott was instituted against all people who rode in the cars, or sold anything to the company and its new employes, and this was maintained until the approach of cold weather made it necessary to use the cars.

Out of such troubles and the popular discussion of the street car business in Cleveland, has resulted a reduction of street car fare from five cents to three, and the fame of Cleveland as an example to other cities in the municipal control of street railways. One of the citizens of Cleveland most noted in this field of popular movement is Tom Loftin Johnson, a native of Kentucky (1854), who was elected mayor in 1901.

The political campaign of 1899 was marked by a strong non-partisan movement for better municipal government. Samuel M. Jones, of Toledo, who had twice been elected mayor of Toledo on the platform of "the golden rule," announced himself as a candidate for governor without nomination by any party. His principles of public policy, in general terms were: abolition of political parties, public ownership of all public utilities (railroads, waterworks and lighting

plants); union wages, hours and conditions, and an eight-hour day for unskilled labor; abolition of the contract system in public works, and public provision of work for the unemployed. He received the greatest vote ever given a third party candidate in Ohio, 106,721, and about sixteen thousand votes were cast for the candidates of the Union Reform, Social Labor, and Prohibition candidates, Seth W. Ellis, Robert Bandlow and George M. Hemmell. The Republican candidate, George K. Nash, was elected by a minority vote, 417,000 out of 900,000, but led the Democratic candidate, John R. McLean, by 49,000.

George Kilbon Nash, inaugurated as governor in January, 1900, and re-elected in 1901, was born in Medina county in 1842, and educated at Western Reserve and Oberlin colleges. While a student of law and a beginner in the profession he taught school, edited the Ohio State Journal for a time and held a clerkship in the capitol. Afterward he practiced law at Columbus and was for two years a member of the supreme court. He had long been active in state politics as chairman of the Franklin county and State Republican committees, and in this respect occupied a position of leadership among the men of the State. In 1901 he was re-elected by a majority of 67,567 over the nominee of the Democratic party, Col. James Kilbourne, a line and staff officer in 1861–65, and afterward a prominent manufacturer and financier of Columbus. He is a grandson of the pioneer, James Kilbourne, founder of the town of Worthington.

The census of 1900 showed a population of 4,157,545, an increase in ten years of 485,229. As the land area of the State is 40,760 square miles, this population is 102 to the square mile. Of the population about 99,000 are negroes or of negro blood, and eleven per cent are foreign born. The males are in excess of females, to the extent of one per cent of the whole number, Ohio in this respect occupying a position midway between the eastern states, where the females are largely in excess, and the West, where the opposite is true.

Cleveland, by a wonderful increase of nearly fifty per cent in ten years, reached a population of 382,000 in 1900, while Cincinnati had grown from 297,000 to 326,000. A comparison of populations of other cities in 1870 and 1900, covering the period between the Rebellion and the Spanish war, will be instructive as well as interesting. Toledo, a town of 31,000 in 1870, gained in thirty years 100,000 by reason of the great development of lake commerce and the discovery of oil and gas in northwest Ohio; Columbus increased almost exactly the same, becoming a great railroad and manufacturing center; Dayton, a city of 30,000 in 1870, grew to 85,000 in 1900, and four little cities of 1870 equalled the larger ones in percentage of increase, Youngstown growing from 8,000 to 45,000; Akron from 10,000 to 43,000; Springfield from 12,000 to 38,000, and Canton

from 8,000 to 30,000. These nine cities of over 25,000 inhabitants each, have a total population of nearly a million, and there are more than fifty towns of over 5,000 population and less than 25,000, that raise the aggregate city population to forty per cent of all the people in the State. Hamilton and Zanesville are cities of 24,000; Lima and Sandusky are over 20,000; Portsmouth, Mansfield, Findlay, Newark, East Liverpool and Lorain are over 15,000; and Steubenville, Marietta, Chillicothe, Ashtabula, Piqua, Massillon, Ironton, Marion, Tiffin and Bellaire are over 10,000.

The assessed value of the real estate of Ohio is 1,285 million dollars, four-fold the valuation of fifty years before. The farms of Ohio are yielding a hundred million bushels of corn annually, and forty million bushels of wheat. The coal product is 16,500,000 tons annually.

The oil production of the State rose from a million barrels in 1886 to seventeen millions in 1891, but since then has not been so great, but the price has increased. The State yielded in 1900 about 35 per cent of the oil production of the United States. The flow of the Mecca–Belden district was, in round numbers, 11,000 barrels; in eastern and southern Ohio 5,500,000, and in the Lima field 16,000,000 barrels. The average price per barrel was in the first named district over $5.00; in the second $1.35, and in the third a little less than one dollar. The dark and sulphurous oil of the Lima district, at first thought to be unavailable for the making of good kerosene, has yielded to improved methods a better illuminating oil than that from the sandstones of the Apalachian regions, and as early as 1893 it furnished most of the illuminating oil of the United States.

The total product of Ohio oil up to 1876 was estimated at 200,000 barrels. Since then two hundred and forty million barrels have been taken from the Ohio fields, the greatest annual production being one-tenth of that total in 1896. Since 1894 Ohio has produced more than any other state. The total product of the State from 1876, it is estimated, would fill a row of 30,000-barrel tanks, that, set as closely as possible, would extend for one hundred and forty miles. The petroleum refineries of Ohio, mainly at Lima, Cleveland and Toledo, distill four million barrels of oil annually, for the manufacture of illuminating oil, gasoline, naphtha, lubricants and paraffin, of the total value of $8,000,000.

The railroad systems of the State have increased to about ten thousand miles of main line and four thousand miles of side tracks. Street railways have been extended to 1,560 miles of electric roads and nineteen of cable, and there were in the year 1900 sixty-eight electric railroads between cities, the beginning of a new era of transportation.

The total tonnage of sailing vessels, steamboats and water craft of

all kinds owned in Ohio in 1900 was estimated at 461,286, the greatest of any state in the Union except New York. The tonnage of steam vessels built at Cleveland in 1900 was 42,119, one-fourth of the total of steamship building in the United States that year. The tonnage of the shipping of the Cuyahoga district in 1900 was 376,330, of the Sandusky district 49,000, of the Maumee district 19,000, the total closely approaching one-third of the aggregate tonnage of the shipping on the Great Lakes.

It is in manufacturing that the figures of the census of Ohio for the year 1900 are most impressive. The total value of the product of manufactories in 1850 was sixty-three millions. In 1900 it is eight hundred and thirty-two millions. The total wages paid increased in the same time from less than $14,000,000 to $154,000,000. The maximum number of wage earners at work in 1900 was 450,000. The main item in the great total of manufactures was steel and iron products, which had more than doubled and now had the enormous total valuation of $139,000,000. Foundry and machine shop products stood next with a total of $72,000,000, an increase of three-fourths. The total value of the flour and grist mill and grain food products, is $44,000,000. The value of the annual product of lumber and timber and milling of that sort is over thirty millions, and the value of the product of liquors is almost exactly the same. Carriages and wagons and parts of vehicles are manufactured to the amount of $23,000,000 annually; clothing for men and women, $24,000,000, and boots and shoes, $18,000,000, the latter item being double what it was in 1890. The meat packing business shows a gain of twenty per cent, and a total product of twenty million dollars in value, half at Cincinnati, and three-fourths of the rest at Cleveland. Twenty millions a year also represents the product of each of the industries of printing and publishing and the manufacture of tobacco. The production of pottery, terra cotta and fire clay products, has doubled in ten years and has a total value of twelve millions. Among the industries that do not show such large products the most rapid increase is shown in the manufacture of electrical apparatus, which has increased ten fold in ten years and now has a total of nearly seven million dollars. The production of soap and candles, mostly subsidiary to the meat industry at Cincinnati, is worth eight millions a year. The grinding and roasting of coffee and spices, largely at Toledo, though not increasing, has a total product of $6,000,000.

Other considerable items in the total of Ohio's manufactures are agricultural implements, $14,000,000; railroad car shop products, $13,000,000; furniture, $4,500,000; glass, $4,500,000; paper and wood pulp, $6,500,000; rubber goods, $7,000,000, a five fold increase; leather, $5,000,000, and tin plate, a manufacture that grew from nothing in ten years to an annual product of $6,000,000.

The manufacture of iron and steel is mainly at Youngstown (the leading city of the State in that industry), Cleveland, Lorain, Bellaire, Mingo Junction, Niles, Steubenville and Canal Dover, which together produce about two-thirds of the total of the State. Columbus and Ironton are other important centers.

The production of pig iron in Ohio in 1900 was about two and half million tons, second only to the product of Pennsylvania, and more than the entire product of the United States in 1875.

In 1900 there were forty-three blast furnaces and sixty-four rolling mills, in Ohio, the first producing a value of forty millions, and the second of nearly a hundred millions. So great is the development of this industry that the mines of the State do not produce much more than one per cent of the iron ore used, and the main dependence for coke is upon Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Since 1870 Ohio has occupied second place among the states in the production of iron and steel. She leads all the states in the manufacture of metal working machinery. She is third in flour and other grain products. Toledo, where the first grain ware house was built in 1817, is sixth among the primary markets of America in grain receipts and fourth in corn receipts.

In regard to liquor production it is of interest to note that the product of malt liquors in Ohio is thirty-seven times what it was in 1850, while the product of distilleries is only four times as great. In grape growing and wine bottling Ohio is third among the states, almost entirely on account of the industry on Kelly's and Put-in-Bay islands, where there are six thousand acres of vineyards. In the field of carriage and wagon manufacture Ohio is first. In agricultural implements the great centers are Springfield, Dayton, Canton and Akron. Car construction is centered at Columbus, Cleveland, Dennison and Toledo. Most of the rubber goods are produced at Akron, which is one of the most important seats of this industry in America. One of the largest plants in the world for the manufacture of carbon points for electric lights is at Cleveland. Dayton produces annually about $5,000,000 worth of cash registers, and is one of the chief centers of the manufacture. Glass is manufactured mainly in Belmont, Lucas and Licking counties.

One of the most interesting manufacturing cities of America is East Liverpool, where the making of yellow ware from Ohio clays was carried on from an early day. In 1872 the making of white ware was begun, and the industry has wonderfully developed in the last ten or twelve years, until four thousand wage earners are employed, and the annual product of white granite ware and semi-vitreous porcelain is nearly $3,000,000 worth a year, or nearly half the product of the entire United States. The art tiling of Zanesville and the art pottery of Cincinnati are also famous, as well as the sewer

pipe of Akron and other places, and pressed brick, the manufacture of which was begun at Zanesville in 1861, and the paving brick that has made a great change in street improvements.

The greater manufacturing cities of the State may be grouped in classes according to the annual value of products, which is given here in round numbers. First are Cincinnati, with $158,000,000, and Cleveland, $140,000,000. In the next class are Columbus, $40,000,000; Toledo, $37,000,000; Dayton, $36,000,000; Youngstown, $35,000,000; Akron, $24,000,000. In the next, Springfield, Canton and Hamilton, ranging from $12,000,000 to $13,000,000. Other cities having a manufactured product exceeding $5,000,000 in value are Lorain, $9,500,000; Zanesville and Mingo Junction, each about $7,500,000; Mansfield, $7,000,000; Lima and Middleton, each over $6,500,000; with a product between $5,000,000 and $6,000,000, Piqua, Niles, Ironton, and East Liverpool. Bridgeport's product is nearly $5,000,000.

The annual cost of the government of this great State is nearly eight million dollars, including payments upon the old debt, which is now practically wiped out. Two millions of this great expenditure are for the support of common schools, and a third of a million for universities. Three and a quarter millions are used in the maintenance of the State institutions, the list of which is imposing. There are the penitentiary, a state reformatory, and two industrial schools for the erring; six asylums for the insane, an asylum for epileptics, a state hospital, and four separate institutions for the blind, deaf and dumb, and feeble-minded. An admirable home for soldiers and sailors is maintained at Sandusky, and a home for the orphans of soldiers and sailors at Xenia. Certainly no State has surpassed Ohio in the munificence of her provision for those who have earned the gratitude or demand the charity of the people.

In thus recording the material progress of the State the work that has been done in the fields of literature, science and art should not be neglected. Some names have already been mentioned to exemplify the achievements of Ohio people in these directions. Many others might be given. But, as examples, attention may be called to the honors won by William Dean Howells, born at Martin's Ferry in 1837, son of a country editor; whose fame began after his return from the consulate at Venice in 1865, and grew until he is recognized as the foremost American writer in that field that tells the truth in the form of fiction; William Milligan Sloane, born in Jefferson county in 1850, since 1896 a professor of history at Columbia university and noted as an author; John Q. A. Ward, son of the first settler of Urbana, born in 1830, who has had a studio in New York since 1861, and has produced some of the most admirable sculptures in the United States;

Kenyon Cox, son of Gen. J. D. Cox, born at Warren in 1856, and one of the foremost American painters.

The presidential campaign of the year 1900 was in a general way a repetition of the struggle of 1896, with the same principal candidates for president. Seth H. Ellis being nominated for president by the Union Labor party, Ohio had two candidates in the field, but Mr. Ellis received less than 5,000 votes in the State. Cincinnati had one national convention, that of the "Middle-of-the-Road Populists," while the great development of the United States since 1856, when such national bodies first met in Ohio, was shown by the fact that one convention assembled as far west as Kansas City, and another in South Dakota. In the Democratic convention at Kansas City the Ohio delegates voted for A. W. Patrick as a candidate for vice president. The result of the November balloting in Ohio was that Mr. McKinley received 543,918 votes, Mr. Bryan 474,882, and the minor candidates 22,000 in all. McKinley's vote in the electoral college was nearly two to one, and his plurality of the popular vote approached one million.

President McKinley's administration was signalized by a general return of prosperity, which, after the impetus given by the short and successful war with Spain, reached a height hitherto unknown in the history of America. The volume of currency per capita in 1900 was greater than ever before, and all forms of the currency were of uniform value, "as good as gold." The exports to foreign countries increased to marvelous figures, and the United States became for the first time in history a lending as well as a borrowing nation in the finances of the world. The fleets and armies of the United States were seen all round the world, spreading the fame of the country as one of the great powers of the earth, and the invasion of older countries by American capital, organizing genius and manufactures, was no less impressive. In all this Ohio had an honorable and prominent part.

In 1900, President McKinley put at the head of the commission to establish civil government in the Philippine islands, the most western of the acquisitions of the United States, Judge William H. Taft,* of Cincinnati, and he was made governor of the islands, which have an area much more than twice as large as Ohio and a population three millions greater. Judge Taft was not in sympathy, so far as he had given the subject attention, with the policy of holding

*Governor Taft is a comparatively young man, born at Cincinnati in 1857, son of Judge Alphonso Taft, one of the notable lawyers and public men of Ohio for fifty years from 1840. After studying at Yale college and the Cincinnati law school he became a lawyer at Cincinnati, and before going to the Philippines enjoyed various honors in his profession, including the positions of judge of the superior court, solicitor-general of the United States, 1890–92, and United States circuit judge, 1892–1900.

this region under the dominion of the United States, but after an interview with President McKinley he yielded entirely to the influence of that persuasive leader of men, left his home and devoted his life to the task of giving good government and a worthy place in the affairs of the world to that long oppressed and largely savage region. In this work he is one of the prominent figures of the world, and success will make him one of the greatest of the great sons of Ohio.

After his re-election, sustained by the admiration and affection of a united nation, President McKinley could look forward to four years of peace, undisturbed except by the rapidly diminishing troubles in the islands of the sea, and he certainly hoped to see the prosperity of his country made permanent by a commanding place in the commerce of the world; peace and prosperity established in all regions under the control of America, and a great canal begun that should unite the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. Early in the year 1901, the first of a new century, in a speech at Memphis, he said: "Our past has gone into history. No brighter one adorns the annals of mankind. Our task is for the future. . . We will wisely and conscientiously pursue a policy of right and justice in all things, making the future, under God, even more glorious than the past."

In the same spirit he made a speech at the Buffalo Pan-American exposition, September 5, 1901, that appeared to embody the ripe fruit of his thoughtful participation in the affairs of the republic for a quarter of a century. But while this utterance was evoking the applause of the whole nation, the startling news was spread by the telegraph that he had been shot down, while shaking hands with the people, by one of that irreconcilable class of humanity known as anarchists. The efforts made to save his life, and his brave endurance of pain, were attended with intense sympathy by the people through the following days, but the hope of his recovery, for a time entertained, was disappointed, and with a nation in tears, he passed away in the early morning of September 14th. His funeral services at Buffalo and Washington and Canton were the subject of the mournful interest of all civilized nations, and the day that his body lay in state at Washington was observed by the United States as a day of mourning and prayer.

On February 27, 1902, Secretary Hay delivered before Congress an oration upon the life and public services of President McKinley from which a few sentences may profitably be quoted in honor of one of the men who have most honored Ohio:

"For the third time the Congress of the United States are assembled to commemorate the life and the death of a president slain by the hand of an assassin. The attention of the future historian will be attracted to the features which reappear with startling sameness in all three of these awful crimes: the uselessness, the utter lack of consequence of the act; the obscurity, the insignificance, of the criminal;

the blamelessness—so far as in the sphere of our existence the best of men may be held blameless—of the victim.

"The man who fills a great station in a period of change, who leads his country successfully through a time of crisis; who, by his power of persuading and controlling others, has been able to command the best thoughts of his age, so as to leave his country in a moral or material condition in advance of where he found it—such a man's position in history is secure. If, in addition to this, his written or spoken words possess the subtle quality which carry them far and lodge them in men's hearts; and, more than all, if his utterances and actions, while informed with a lofty morality, are yet tinged with the glow of human sympathy, the fame of such a man will shine like a beacon through the mists of ages—an object of reverence, of imitation and love.

"It should be to us an occasion of solemn pride that in the three great crises of our history such a man was not denied us. The moral value to a nation of a renown such as Washington's, and Lincoln's, and McKinley's, is beyond all computation. No loftier ideal can be held up to the emulation of ingenuous youth. With such examples we cannot be wholly ignoble. Grateful as we may be for what they did, let us still be more grateful for what they were. While our daily being, our public policies, still feel the influence of their work, let us pray that in our spirits their lives may be voluble, calling us upward and onward."

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