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OHIO Archaeological and Historical PUBLICATIONS.

THE OHIO WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW.

BY H. R. MENGERT.

FOREWORD.

Because the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law has been looked upon as the very embodiment of what Col. Theodore Roosevelt called "social justice;" because it is being copied in other states of the Union; because of the praise bestowed upon it by King Albert, of Belgium, who, upon the occasion of his visit to Ohio, pronounced it one of the greatest pieces of legislation upon the statute books of any country; because it has immensely improved the relations between employers and employees; because the praises of its authors and friends have been sung by the injured, and by the widow and the orphan; and, finally, because the law itself stands as a vindication of the great principle that the plastic instrument of democratic institutions can be remoulded to suit changing needs and conditions, this contemporary history of the Workmen's Compensation Law in Ohio, for the period from 1910 to the end of 1919, has been attempted.

The law is vindicated. Watchfulness over it, however, is doubtless yet the concern of those who desire to see great social and industrial questions settled in the American spirit of fair play. Ohioans must watch to see that it does not fall the prey of designing interests, akin to those who have brought into question a similar partial experiment in New York. Eternal vigilance is the price of other things than liberty.

For the information of the future men and women of Ohio this account of the manner in which the enactment and operation of the workmen's compensation, or industrial accident, law were brought about is written. It is the aim to make it a repository for the central facts, which should be recorded where the too rapidly obliterating hand of time may spare it.

Ohioans should, in the humble judgment of the author, preserve the inward facts about the act which the heroic King of the Belgians, Albert I, said on his visit to Ohio in October, 1919, is one of the most progressive laws to be found on the statute books of any country, and one of those institutions which will make "industrial justice" a reality. The statute marked the definite turn of the road from the old to the new. Directly and indirectly it probably affects a larger number of people than any other piece of legislation on the statute books.

GENESIS.

In the last years of the nineteenth century there swept through Ohio one of those hidden currents of sentiment that was sooner or later certain to be translated into governmental action. The discontent — for such it clearly was — quite naturally took long to express itself in definite form, and for long years was subordinate to agitation of other sorts. Basically, the discontent was present because, in a broad way, there confronted men the proposition that while they lived in an age of steam and electrical transportation and machinery their laws were framed on the basis of the hand loom and the stage coach. It is scarcely to the credit of the vision of the statesmen and legislators of a democratic state that nations with autocratic rule saw this discrepancy between fact conditions and statute conditions a score of years before, and that they had set aside the petty interests and objections of those who directly or indirectly profited by the continuance of this bit of legal atavism and had adjusted their legal principles to existing facts. For this tardiness there may be possibly several explanations. State questions were, in this period, entirely subordinate to others. Again, the forces that gave expression to discontent centered in the agrarian element and not in the industrial. The city workers had passed

through the terrors of lean, hard years of the early nineties, and if given a "full dinner pail," or steady work at reasonable wages, there was no disposition on the part of the masses to press claims that the laws under which they worked reeked with brutal and shameless injustice. That they did operate inhumanly no man now doubts. Cases in which there was a legal right to recovery dragged through the courts interminably. It is of record that one such case continued through the courts of Ohio for nearly a generation, until those for whose interest it originally was brought had died, and dismissal followed because there was no longer a party in interest. While the instance cited was extreme, it may be said that there were many others in which the evil circumstances were no less marked.*

Ohio, in common with her sister states, had adopted, through her courts, the basic principles of the English common law. Judges, as in other states, had added modifications of the common law, which, in the judgment of enlightened people, did violence to the good old English traditional principles. It is scarcely necessary to delve deeply into these legalisms, but it may be set down as a foundation that rights of mankind were painfully sacrificed to the rights of property, and out of society as a whole were being squeezed those humane principles which must be the safety and security of the state. Long before definite plans for a remedy had been discussed, thoughtful men saw that an end must be made of the festering injustice which was proving itself destructive of citizenship. Respect for the courts decreased. In every city, and in every county, victims of the cruel injustices of the hard legal formulas cried aloud. Attacks on the courts multiplied, and the judicial ermine lost the respect in which it was once held. The distrust of the courts and the attempts to modify the rules of law led, naturally and logically, to the formation of plans to confine the claimants for justice to still more harsh rules. It became the aim of attorneys, who had this sort of cases to conduct, to exert the

*Doyle, Admx., v. B. & O. R. R. Co.—81 Ohio State, 184.

Accident November 8, 1888.

Final judgment, Supreme Court, November 30, 1909.

Opinion by Price, J., all concurring.

strongest influence over the courts by filling the benches with men of their own stamp. The era was one in which the courts sank to the lowest levels, bringing to the bench in too many instances the type of jurists best described by the term "extreme reactionaries."

It is hardly to the credit of lawyers that not they but laymen saw clearly the pass to which things were drifting, and made efforts to correct the evils.

The case-hardened legal mind clung to the olden ways. One of the evidences of this was the ferocity with which, in 1913, the improved Workmen's Compensation Law was attacked. One of those who was loudest chanced himself to have been a Supreme Court justice during the unfavorable years of the "nadir of the judiciary." When attention was called to the fact that one of the personal injury cases in which he concurred was in the courts for about twenty-one years, or nearly a generation, and was finally dismissed because all parties in interest save the corporation had passed into eternity, his criticisms ceased.

FIRST STEPS.

Search of the bill books of the General Assembly for the late nineties and early years of the twentieth century does not show that the successful operation of workmen's accident insurance in Germany and Austria made as much impression in Ohio and other states as it did in other countries. It was not until England had acted in the early part of the new century that the American public became interested, although ever since the mechanical industrialization of the nation it had seen the victims of the heartlessness and indifference of those times on the streets begging charity, or dependent upon the labor of wives, or in charitable wards, or in almshouses. That a remedy was in operation was known to advanced students of economics, but not to the general public. The political leaders of this same public were indifferent to things which the public did not know, and in which the public had not learned to take an interest.

The compensating idea in all of this is the fact that when the Ohioans set themselves in motion they evolved a plan which made the much-vaunted German efficiency seem clumsy by com-

parison. The Ohio plan might stop business at any time and find itself able to discharge all obligations by reason of the fact that it had built up surpluses, while that of the German Empire made annual levies to meet the needs of past accidents. In a word, theirs is an improvisation levy, and the American is a scientific actuarial plan, paying for its accidents as it goes along.

Tinkering with the inadequate system of employers' liability was the first manifestation that evidenced very profound dissatisfaction with the fundamentally barbaric idea that industry and organized society could be indifferent to and neglectful of the woe and misery they caused. After many futile attempts, the General Assembly on April 23, 1904, enacted the Williams bill, which was "An Act qualifying the risks to be deemed as assumed by employees." It was the first nibble into the three common-law principles known as "assumption of risk," by which it was assumed that the employee, or, as then legally and commonly termed, the "servant," took virtually all the risks of employment, and the employer, or to use the mediæval term, the "master," substantially none; "fellow servant," by which all injuries inflicted by the negligent act of another employee were not to be charged to the employer; and "contributory negligence," by which the slightest deviation from the rules of prudence, caution and safety, was held to throw the blame and the loss entirely on the employee.

Although the Williams measure, so named from its author, W. J. (Jack) Williams, was a model of conservatism, it aroused the fiercest opposition, which did not cease when it had been voted upon.

The act provided that "in any action brought by an employee, or his legal representative, against his employer, to recover for personal injuries, when it shall appear that the injury was caused in whole or in part by the negligent omission of such employer to guard or protect his machinery or appliances, or the premises or place where said employee was employed, in the manner required by any penal statute of the state or United States in force at the date of the passage of this act, the fact that such employee continued in said employment with the knowledge of such omission, shall not operate as a defense;

and in such action, if the jury find for the plaintiff, it may award such damages not exceeding, for injuries resulting in death, the sum of five thousand dollars, and for injuries not so resulting, the sum of three thousand dollars, as it may find proportioned to the pecuniary damages resulting from said injuries; but nothing herein shall affect the provisions of Section 6135 of the Revised Statutes." Section 6135 was a statute applying generally to actions for wrongful death and limiting to ten thousand dollars the amount that might be recovered. It continued to be lawful until 1912, when it was annulled by a constitutional amendment.

As stated, the very acme of moderation, the bill was not suffered to become a law without every sort of delay. While the bill was in the transition period, following its enrollment by the General Assembly and signature by the presiding officers, it suddenly disappeared. Stolen, say some; but, merely lost, said others. What the truth really is can be recorded only in the books unseen by human eyes, for if a preacher-lawmaker-politician-lobbyist really did steal it, as believed by those of his period, it is idle to record his name since he is no longer present to defend himself against the charge. But, at all events, the scheme to lose it was foiled. Mr. Wade H. Ellis, then attorney general of Ohio, (and this is a bit of unrecorded history,) is said to have arrived at the conclusion that the bill might be reconstructed from the records. To the public the information was given that the bill had been found. Whether the original one was really found, or whether the presiding officers of the two branches of the general assembly signed a reconstructed bill, does not matter now. They did a patriotic duty in foiling the supposed theft, and with the Ohio penitentiary gates yawning for him, the man with the guilty property in his possession was estopped from complaining. At all events, the antiquarians, musing through the statute books, will see the names of Warren G. Harding, then Lieutenant Governor, now United States Senator from Ohio, and Hollis C. Johnson, Speaker pro tem of the House of Representatives, over that of Governor Myron T. Herrick, who, as a man of humane instincts, was glad to give his approval. The story of the theft is more or less a legend in legislative circles,

but it is positively known that quiet trips to the capitol were made by the presiding officers after the legislative session.

No other headlight appears in the story until 1910.

PROGRESS AND THE COMMISSION OF STUDY.

Through the years various attempts were made in the general assembly to modify the law of employers' liability. Two forces were at work in this direction, with far different motives. The first was the personal injury attorneys, who saw a promising field of operation in the constant addition of dangerous machinery and the constant expansion of industry. The second was the labor men and charity workers, impressed by the number of injured men and women who had no chance for speedy and adequate recovery at law, save in exceptional cases. Students of the subject, in a broad way, saw that there was no prospect for cure save by a major operation, if it may be so called; that the danger to the institutions of the state in the archaic liability laws must be entirely removed, and a modern functioning organ chosen in their place. Each piece of legislative patchwork applied merely emphasized the deficiencies of a system that belonged to the era of the flail and the sickle, the hand spinning-wheel and the hand loom, and not to the era of the steam shovel and mechanical spinner.

Save for a few students of social sciences, the strides that had been made in the sciences of accommodating government to the changes in the social and industrial world attracted no general interest, and there doubtless were present in those days the same variety of ignorant bureaucrats as now delight in taking upon themselves, although in complete darkness of everything happening around them, the task of passing upon the policies of the state.

One of the laws enacted by an Ohio legislature two decades after scientific means had been found for dealing with the subject in lands abroad is found in 95 Ohio Laws, a product of 1902. Whoever will compare this statute with that of 1913 must be struck by the profound nature of the changes in our public life.

The statute is a feeble attempt to weaken one of the favorite defenses in the causes under discussion. The act reads:

"An employer shall be responsible in damages for personal injury caused to an employee, who is himself in the exercise of due care and diligence at the time, by reason of any defect in the condition of the machinery or appliances connected with or used in the business of the employer, which arose from, or had not been discovered or remedied owing to the negligence of the employer, or of any person in the service of the employer, entrusted by him with the duty of inspection, repair or of seeing that the machinery or appliances were in proper condition."

After prolonged efforts, in 1910, the Norris and Metzger acts were made laws. The principal point established in the Metzger act was the fact that an employee who had recovered in a suit against an employer "shall be subrogated to all the rights of the employer under any contract or policy of insurance." In case of insolvency of an employer this was a partial aid, of small general consequence. The Norris act attempted to write a sort of code of employers' liability, with regulations designed to cover the defects and shortcomings previously disclosed.

On May 17, 1910, there was approved an act the beginner of larger things. It was a provision for the appointment of a commission of five "known to possess knowledge and training in the subject of employers' liability laws and compensation of employees for injuries received in the course of employment." Two of the commissioners were to be representatives of employers of labor, two to be representatives of labor, and one an attorney at law. The State Commissioner of Labor was directed to co-operate with the commission. The commission was instructed to find a means, through appropriate legislation, of securing to employees a "speedy remedy" for injuries "as will be fair, just and reasonable both to employers and employees."

Under the provisions of this act Governor Harmon appointed James Harrington Boyd, of Toledo, as the attorney member, who was subsequently made chairman, Mr. George W. Perks, of Springfield, and Mr. John P. Smith, of Cleveland, as the employer members; and Mr. William H. Rohr, of Cincinnati,

and Mr. William J. Winans, of Galion, as the labor members. Perks was made vice-chairman and Rohr secretary.

Whether by design or accident, the records do not disclose, the General Assembly failed to furnish funds, and Governor Harmon advanced them, being subsequently reimbursed. Being familiar with the law, Governor Harmon took a keen interest in the subject-matter disclosed, and in the details of the commission's work, writing letters to aid in its researches.

The commission was fortunate in securing the services of three experts who had rendered good service in the Illinois investigation, Mr. E. E. Watson, now the internationally famous actuary of the Industrial Commission, Mr. William P. Harms, and Mr. William R. Peacock. The principal work undertaken was an intensive study in Cleveland of the economic effects of injuries in industrial accidents for the five previous years.

With the exception of Mr. Winans the members of the commission agreed upon a bill, the draft of which was made in large part by Mr. George B. Okey, of Columbus. It provided among other things for the collection of 75 per cent. of the workmen's compensation fund premiums from the employers and 25 per cent. from the employees.

Mr. Winans presented his own bill, differing in some respects from that of the majority.

It is not desirable here to enter upon the details of the measures. They may be found set out in the report of the commission, which was published in 1911 in two large volumes. This report contains transcripts of hearings and fairly abounds in legalistic quotations compiled and arranged by Mr. Boyd. This legal framework proved essential in later tests of the law.

There was, perhaps, a needless bit of cruelty in the report. It carried copies of letters written in regard to the workmen's compensation law by certain business, industrial and commercial leaders. The delver into recent history may well be astonished at the statements contained in the letters, but surely no one would be inhuman enough to drag them out to public gaze. On the other hand, many employers — perhaps a majority — were fully cognizant of the injustices of the then existing system and longed for the day when it should be no more.

Some of the letters assailed the entire plan as "a scheme of politicians and labor skates," and one letter, from a gentleman of atavistic tendencies, announces that he (in his wisdom?) has "regarded the laws of this state as being fair to employees for the reason that they are predicated on the common law rule, which, I believe, is supposed to represent the best sense and judgment of past ages."

One of the complaints of the employers was that the cost of protecting themselves against the Norris act liability was excessive. This in addition to the real evils which many professed to perceive.

THE ELECTIVE LAW.

Helpful efforts of Governor Judson Harmon did not stop with the advancing, out of his own personal pocket, money for the commission to conduct its investigations, which act is one of the few recorded in Ohio where a chief executive has so done, and evidenced his anxiety to see Ohio make a beginning in the reform of the treatment of those injured in industry.

Early in the year there had been prepared a bill embodying the ideas of the majority of the commission. The measure was largely the workmanship of Mr. George B. Okey, of Columbus, who had been retained as counsel for the Ohio Federation of Labor. With the labor group were working the manufacturers, through the Ohio Manufacturers' Association, which had been led to take a progressive stand on the issue by Mr. Daniel J. Ryan, of Columbus, whose researches had led him to the conclusion that a new departure must be undertaken if the state was to meet the obligations imposed upon it.

In the drafting of the tentative bill for introduction into the general assembly, Mr. Okey took the various acts in effect on the continent of Europe, adapting them to the conditions obtaining here.

It would be a labor of too much detail to trace in detail the intricate processes of legislation with respect to the bill. It passed both branches practically unanimously, but in substantially different forms. This made necessary reference to a conference committee to adjust the differences. It was here that Governor Harmon was able to exert a decisive influence.

The outstanding contributions to the final result were made by Governor Harmon himself, the provisions being written in his own hand. These sections were known as 20-1, 21-1 and 21-2. They were counted as typifying the legal genius of the Governor.

While the general assembly was considering the measure, the New York Court of Appeals, the highest judicial tribunal in the Empire State, handed down the *Ives case*, which declared unconstitutional and invalid the act passed as the result of the work of the Wainwright Commission. The New York act was compulsory in character and the decision was a blow to the friends of the new plan. It remained for Governor Harmon and his associates to work out a plan to make an elective law effective. This was accomplished by giving to contributors to the fund certain advantages.

By Section 20-1 it was provided that any employer of five or more workmen, who had paid the premiums required under the law, should not, save in certain excepted cases, "be liable to respond in damages at common law or by statute" for injuries to or death of an employee, provided the employee remained in the service after notice of the employer's contribution to the fund, the continuance to serve as a waiver.

While the section above noted gave a large share of immunity to those employers who had contributed to the fund, the complement to this provision was found in a penalization of those who failed to contribute.

By Section 21-1 it was provided that employers of more than five who had not contributed to the fund should not in the event of personal injury litigation on the part of an employee "avail himself of the following common law defenses:

"The defense of the fellow-servant rule, the defense of the assumption of risk, or the defense of contributory negligence."

The alternative to the provision was found in Section 21-1, and also constituted the exception noted in Section 20-1. By Section 21-2 it was provided that the civil liability to damages for injuries should not be cancelled if the employer, or any of such employer's officers or agents, were guilty of any "wilful act" or the injury resulted "from the failure to comply with any

municipal ordinance or lawful order of any duly authorized officer or any statute for the protection of the life or safety of employees."

It was a comprehensive and consistent program which was contemplated. To the employer was offered freedom from vexatious litigation if he would subscribe to the state fund, and the threat of a penalty if he did not. On the other hand the injured employee was assured of an award; or could sue, at his option, if the employer had been guilty of gross dereliction of duty in failing to provide him a reasonably safe place to work.

In general the act provided for the creation of a State Liability Board of Awards, to be composed of three members, with six-year terms, to be appointed by the Governor, to be paid \$5,000 salaries, and to devote themselves exclusively to their duties. Offices were to be in Columbus. The board was to name a secretary, actuary and other employees as necessary. Section 8 gave it the right to make reasonable and proper rules for procedure, and succeeding sections conferred needful power upon it.

Section 17 authorized classification of employments with reference to the degree of hazard and required establishment of rates sufficient to pay the awards to injured workmen and to the dependents of those killed, and to create a surplus to carry forward the fund from year to year.

Section 18 established the fund from premiums collected, of which the Treasurer of State was to be the custodian. Section 20-2 provided that the first payments should be made on or before January 1, 1912, and authorized the employers to take 10 per cent. of the premiums from their employees. Section 21 authorized the board to disburse the state insurance fund to employees of subscribing employers "that have been injured in the course of their employment, wheresoever such injury has occurred, and which have not been purposely self-inflicted, or to their dependents in case death has ensued."

Section 23 also required the payment of medical, nurse and hospital services, not exceeding in any one case two hundred dollars. This provision was the cause of some dissatisfaction in operation, and the amount was subsequently left unrestricted

by legislative enactment, approval of the state administering board being required.

Funeral expenses, in the event of death, were limited to one hundred and fifty dollars. Awards in money dated from the eighth day of disability. The monetary award was to be two-thirds of average weekly wage for temporary or partial disability, between the minimum of five dollars a week and the maximum of twelve; in case of permanent total disability two-thirds of the weekly wage, between five and twelve dollar limits, was to be paid for life.

The death award to dependents was to be a maximum of three thousand four hundred dollars, paid during a period of six years, and a minimum of fifteen hundred dollars.

Section 31 provided the average weekly wage at the time of the injury should be taken as the basis of benefits.

The board was given continuing jurisdiction, and was also given authority to commute payments in a lump sum.

Under Section 36, if the board denied any award upon any grounds, appeal might be had by the plaintiff to the common pleas court of the county in which the injury was inflicted, the board becoming the defendant. Final judgments were to be paid from the fund.

Along with other provisions the board was directed by Section 36-1 not to be bound by "the usual common law or statutory rules of evidence or formal rules of procedure."

For the first year the board was given a fund of one hundred thousand dollars exclusive of the salary of members. It was allowed twenty-five thousand dollars as a preparatory fund.

UNDER THE ELECTIVE LAW.

It was at once apparent that obstacles would confront the administration of the law. With great care Governor Harmon selected the board, naming Mr. Wallace D. Yapple, of Chillicothe, as chairman, Mr. Thomas J. Duffy, of East Liverpool, and Mr. Morris Woodhull, of Dayton. Mr. Woodhull represented the employers, Mr. Duffy the employees, and Mr. Yapple the general public interest. The board elected Mr. William C. Archer, of

Lancaster, as secretary. Mr. Herbert T. Weston became rating actuary and Mr. E. E. Watson actuary. Of these men Messrs. Duffy and Watson have continued until this time in service.

It was soon apparent that no progress would be possible until the constitutionality of the law could be established. Hence, early in 1912 a suit was arranged by agreement. Treasurer of State D. S. Creamer held up a warrant, and the board brought an action in mandamus in the supreme court to compel him to honor it. Creamer pleaded the alleged invalidity of the law. Attorney General Timothy S. Hogan and his able staff, assisted by Mr. Yapple, defended it. The case was notable, too, in that the private liability insurance companies, whose interests were seen to be in jeopardy, appeared to oppose the law. Their losing battle was to continue for years. The court, in an exhaustive opinion, written by Justice James G. Johnson, sustained the act. The decision was, in effect, later sustained by the United States Supreme Court, thus establishing a landmark in social legislation. Now began the efforts to secure subscribers. It was found that there was no accurate information on which rates could be predicated. It is true that the state had industrial accident statistics and employers were under penalty of law to report the number to the State Department of Workshops and Factories, but the law was not enforced and the number of accidents reported annually was less than 40,000 as against the 150,000 average annual number now recorded. Actuary Weston's services were of questionable value — the state had not yet found the right field for its expert Watson. It was speedily developed that the premium rates of the private insurance companies had been fixed either by chance, or on the basis of what the traffic would bear. The tentative rates submitted by Mr. Weston were reduced extensively by the board, at the suggestion of Mr. Yapple, until they were less than those of the private liability insurance companies for liability insurance. That they would be lower was inevitable, since the state paid the overhead expense, which is a forty-five per cent. factor in private insurance.

Under these conditions, the contest between the old and the new began, to continue until the death of the old.

One of the early contributors to the state fund was The Firestone Tire & Rubber Company, of Akron. Other progressive companies followed, and, by the time the compulsory act succeeded the elective, the fund had 3,937 subscribers protecting perhaps 300,000 employees, and was attracting favorable comment wherever it was impartially discussed.

The premium receipts under the elective law were \$1,262,099.37, and in the first year of operation of the fund it was \$219,544.30.

PUTTING THE IDEA INTO THE BASIC LAW.

Although the Ohio Supreme Court had rendered a decision sustaining the elective law of 1911, friends of the new system knew that it would not be possible to go to the extent they would wish until the principle was written into the basic law of the state by votes of the people themselves. From the point of view of federal questions involved, taking of property without due process of law, the state constitutional amendment would have only indirect effect. Still it would be an expression, and, as such, would have its reflex influence in the determination of the legal objections certain to be raised.

Notwithstanding the importance of the measure it received but scant consideration in the debates of the Constitutional Convention. There were two proposals presented on the matter, one by Delegate Harry D. Thomas, of Cuyahoga county, and the other by Delegate Henry Cordes, of Hamilton county. Mr. Thomas' proposal was considered too far-reaching and radical in its nature, as Mr. Thomas was an avowed Socialist. He was a man respected for patriotism and integrity.

In the numerous addresses given before the convention by leading men and candidates for President, the subject was mentioned incidentally, but stress was laid generally on the direct legislation reforms which were designed to give the people, through the ballot box, direct control of their laws and law-makers.

The details of the proposal for compulsory workmen's compensation were worked out in the Labor and Judiciary Committees, and when Delegate Cordes called up his proposal, No. 24, there was no debate on the proposition. Mr. Cordes explained

his proposal, and the vote was unanimous in its favor, not a voice being raised against it.

The proposal was listed as Article II, Section 35, reading as follows:

"For the purpose of providing compensation from a state fund, to workmen and their dependents, for death, injuries or occupational diseases, occasioned in the course of such workmen's employment, laws may be passed establishing a fund to be created and administered by the state and by compulsory contribution thereto by employers; determining the terms and conditions upon which payment shall be made therefrom and taking away any and all rights of action or defenses from employees and employers but no right of action shall be taken away from any employees when injury, disease or death arises from failure of the employer to comply with any lawful requirement for the protection of the lives, health and safety of employees."

It will be observed that two changes from the elective law were clearly intended. Under the elective law the employees paid ten per cent. of the premiums, while under the present constitutional amendment the way was paved for the payment by the employers of all. It may also be apparent that the element of choice was to give way to that of compulsion, the state now frankly adopting the theory that it could for the general welfare take property of private individuals, returning them compensatory benefits in the form of prospective industrial peace and contentment.

It was natural that in the special election on the proposed constitutional amendments, in which forty-two propositions were to be voted on, a single one would not receive great attention. Nevertheless friends of the plan succeeded well in arousing a certain amount of interest and bringing out a very heavy affirmative vote, so that the amendment won favor uniformly over the state and carried by 109,786 majority, the affirmative vote being 321,558, and the negative 211,772. The stage was set at last for a larger development.

THE COMPULSORY LAW.

Now, while at the beginning of 1913 there was a constitutional authority for a compulsory workmen's compensation law,

the greatest confusion existed as to plans. The propaganda of the opponents of the state insurance fund method was insidiously at work. The public sentiment in favor of the plan had not, so to speak, crystallized.

In his parting message to the General Assembly, Governor Judson Harmon had paid his respects to the men seeking to gnaw at the law, and had denounced in unmeasured terms the private liability insurance interests. His utterances upon the matter follow:

STATE BOARD OF AWARDS.

"I call special attention to the report of this Board. It has undertaken a novel and beneficent work which, when fully understood, must appeal to the judgment and hearts of all citizens.

"The law passed at the last session after many disputes and difficulties has proved to be, by general consent of the competent and impartial, the best in the country. And, considering the delicate and difficult task of putting it in operation, the Board has made most commendable progress.

"It has had to encounter from the start shrewd and vigorous opposition from the liability insurance companies. This was to be expected, but not of the unscrupulous character shown. The courts have upheld the law. Its administration has been well organized and employers in constantly growing numbers are joining the movement. It may safely be said that success is now assured.

"The Board recommends some minor changes in the law to make it more effective without changing its general scope, and I recommend that no further changes be made, at least until the light of further experience is thrown on the subject.

"While it is now within your power to make employers contribute the entire fund, I think this should not be done. The reasons which led me to advocate joint contributions when the bill was under consideration have not lost but gained in weight since the law has been in operation.

"Peace and good will between employers and employees are by no means the least of the objects in view. To these mutuality in the enterprise is essential. The 10 per cent. of the fund now contributed by employees is a mere trifle to each because divided among a large number. I have been told that in some cases it is too small to be worth collecting. And it is less than employees who formerly carried insurance paid in premiums.

"But these contributions by employees, small as they are to each, have a high moral value. Like the dues paid by members of benevolent societies, they do much to take from the benefits, when misfortune brings

them, the flavor of charity which is always distasteful to Americans. The benefits become well-earned dividends on an investment.

"And when the employees have an ownership in the fund they will help guard it against false and inflated claims."

Succeeding to the governorship in January, 1913, Mr. James M. Cox presented a clear idea of the entire plan, but was uncertain in statement as to the method to be pursued, even discerning some good in a competitive scheme. His inaugural message is, however, a landmark in the history of the law. He said:

"It would certainly be common bad faith not to pass a compulsory workmen's compensation law. No subject was discussed during the last campaign with greater elaboration, and it must be stated to the credit of our citizenship generally that regardless of the differences of opinion existent for many years, the justice of the compulsory feature is now admitted. Much of the criticism of the courts has been due to the trials of personal injury cases under the principles of practice which held the fellow-servant, the assumption of risk and the contributory negligence rules to be grounds of defense. The layman reaches his conclusion with respect to justice along the lines of common sense, and the practice in personal injury cases has been so sharply in conflict with the plain fundamentals of right that social unrest has been much contributed to. A second phase of this whole subject which has been noted in the development of the great industrialism of the day has been the inevitable animosity between capital and labor through the ceaseless litigation growing out of these cases. The individual or the corporation that employs on a large scale has taken insurance in liability companies, and in too many instances cases which admitted of little difference of opinion have been carried into the courts. The third injustice has been the waste occasioned by the system. The injured workman or the family deprived of its support by accident is not so circumstanced that the case can be contested with the corporation to the court of last resort. The need of funds compels compromise on a base that is not always equitable. Human nature many times drives sharp bargains that can hardly be endorsed by the moral scale. In the final analysis the cost of attorney fees is so heavy that the amount which finally accrues in cases of accident is seriously curtailed before it reaches the beneficiary. These three considerations clearly suggest the lifting of this whole operation out of the courts and the sphere of legal disputation. And then there is a broader principle which must be recognized. There is no characteristic of our civilization so marked as the element of interdependence as between social units. We are all dependent upon our fellows in one way or another. Some occupations, however, are more hazardous than others, and the rule of the past, in compelling those engaged in dangerous activities to bear unaided the burden of this

great risk, is not right. The workmen's compensation law in this state, which, however, lacks the compulsory feature, has made steady growth in popularity. The heavy decrease in rates clearly indicates economy and efficiency in the administration of the state liability board of awards. The compulsory feature, however, should be at once added. I respectfully but very earnestly urge its adoption, amendatory of the present law, with such other changes as experience may dictate. There is some force and justice in the contention that the employers should be given the option of insuring either in the state fund under the liability board of awards or in liability companies which have met all the requirements of the state department of insurance. If the state board gives better service and lower rates it will be perfectly apparent that the liability companies are operating on the wrong base. If, on the other hand, insurance concerns yield an advantage both in service and rates, then it would be safe to assume that efficiency and economy of administration are lacking with the state board. The competitive feature may be wholesome. The objective to be sought is the fullest measure of protection to those engaged in dangerous occupations, with the least burden of cost to society, because after all the social organization must pay for it. The ultimate result of this law will be the reduction in death and accident, because not only the humanitarian but the commercial consideration will suggest the necessity of installing and maintaining with more vigilance modern safety devices."

The question really at issue not being settled, the conflict of the forces began. Of those who desired the obliteration of private profit in the ultimate system there were two distinct factors, those who believed that the course of time would eliminate the private interest and those who believed it should be done immediately by law.

It was largely to unite the forces on a definite policy that Governor Cox called a conference at his home late in January, 1913. Among those present were Attorney General Timothy S. Hogan, Chairman Wallace D. Yaple and member Thomas J. Duffy of the State Liability Board of Awards, Lieutenant Governor Hugh L. Nichols, Mr. James W. Faulkner, Columbus correspondent of the Cincinnati Enquirer, Senator William Green, of Coshocton, sponsor for the first law, Senator Carl D. Friebolin, of Cuyahoga county, and Mr. William L. Finley, of Kenton, chairman of the Democratic State Executive Committee. A dinner preceded the discussion.

It speedily developed that Mr. Yaple was the leader of the opposition to a state monopoly plan. He believed that the state

fund was the best, but that it should gain its way by disclosing this fact under the elective law, which he was confident it would do. He did not favor at that time the compulsory law.

What finally convinced him that there was a weakness, perhaps a fatal weakness, in his idea, was the analogy from the business world, typified by the Standard Oil history. This great corporation, in the days when monopoly was unchecked by any attempt to enforce the laws, had been able to deal with competitors one at a time by lowering selling prices to ruinous levels. Losses, subsequently, were easily recouped. Mr. Yaple accepted the decision in favor of the compulsory law.

Governor Cox, who at all times, leaned toward the state fund plan, now boldly came forth to champion a bill drawn on the lines indicated. The bigger battle had begun.

Great aid was rendered by men like Daniel J. Ryan, of Columbus, general counsel of the Ohio Manufacturers' Association, and W. H. Stackhouse, of Springfield, and others, who might be mentioned were the list to be prolonged. Representing the employing interest, these men had the good of the state and of the people so much at heart and saw so clearly the larger wisdom that they did not hesitate to work in behalf of the enactment of the law.

But the liability insurance agents were also at work, and at work justifying the description of Governor Harmon as to "unscrupulous character". They preyed upon the prejudices and fears of the employers, more particularly the small town employers who were made to fear that the law would impose such obligations on them as to drive them "into ruin and bankruptcy". Floods of protesting letters and telegrams poured in upon the Governor and members of the General Assembly. Some of the assemblymen, not inured to these methods, became panicky. On the Governor these methods produced no impression.

Then special train loads of men were sent to call in person upon him. They were invariably met with the question, "Have you read the oil?" Most of them had not.

But there was no disposition to rush it through. On the contrary every legitimate interest was heard, and the Governor

himself attended the committee sessions in order that he might cooperate in its decisions. An amending section was inserted giving financially responsible employers the option of paying benefits direct, which neutralized a large part of the opposition. But objection of the liability insurance company sort continued. It took the form of proposed amendments that were hostile to the spirit of the act, but when time for action arrived they were voted down. Into such shape at last was the act brought that on final passage it received the vote of every member elected to the General Assembly in both branches, a circumstance almost without parallel in the history of the state.

THE LAW REVIEWED.

Notwithstanding the agitation, and the passage, even, of the first elective workmen's compensation act, the lack of knowledge of the law and its purposes was quite general. Illustrative of this is the recital of the opponents of the act, who brought many men to Columbus to oppose the passage of the compulsory act in 1913. Among the manufacturers was the late Mr. David Tod, of Mahoning County, himself a former State Senator. Mr. Tod was heavily engaged in the iron and steel business and in other industries and enterprises. When he was apprised of the real purposes of the proposed measure, he became a very enthusiastic worker for it.

Thus, from lack of information, there was much indifference, which was readily crystallized into opposition through the work of shrewd propagandists. Students had delved into the European systems, but the general public largely lacked knowledge of the real purposes of the law until it was in actual operation and its benefits could be seen.

The law, thus unanimously approved, was a substitution for the elective law of 1911. It was to go into effect on January 1, 1914. New provisions were, of course, necessary to give effect to the legislative purpose of bringing all employers under its provisions. These included, in Section 4, a requirement for filing semiannually a statement of the number of men and women employed and the wages paid.

There were provisions for semiannual re-adjustment of rates, and a direction to establish a substantial surplus and finally maintain the rates at as low a level as possible. In order to secure good investments for the fund, the board was given the option of purchasing at par and accrued interest bonds of local political subdivisions of government, the new bond issues to be first offered to the board.

One of the comprehensive provisions of the act was to be found in Section 13, which said:

"The following shall constitute employers subject to the provisions of this act:

"1. The state and each county, city, township, incorporated village and school district therein.

"2. Every person, firm and private corporation including any public service corporation that has in service five or more workmen or operatives regularly in the same business, or in or about the same establishment under any contract of hire, express, or implied, oral or written."

By Section 14, all publicly employed persons, save public officials, were classed as 'employees'. Thus, the state, striving to make other employers apply the great principle of industrial justice, by this stroke also became itself subject to the same fair law. The provisions have been criticised at times and certain refinements have been necessary, but there has been no demand for repeal.

The Contributions from the state and the political subdivisions were enforced by appropriate provisions.

Section 22 required contributions from employers as premiums to sustain the fund, with a proviso, however, permitting employers to give a bond to assume their own risks. Fewer than one thousand employers, albeit some of the largest, have taken advantage of this provision. The self-insuring employers were required to contribute to the "catastrophe" surplus, upon which no serious strain has ever been laid.

An exemption-from-liability provision, similar to that of the original act, was included, and by Section 24 employers of fewer than five employees were given the option of coming into the fund. By Section 26 employers who failed or refused to comply with the law were stripped of the three common-law defenses,

'fellow servant', "assumption of risk" and "contributory negligence", and in addition were to be subjected to the provisions of Sections 27 and 28.

Under section 27 the board is authorized to make an award in the case of an employee injured in the service of an employer who has failed to comply with the law, and, if the employer fails to pay the award, the board sues for the amount and a fifty per cent penalty added. The section proved very useful, and many cases under it were successfully prosecuted, until delinquents came to have a very healthy respect for the law.

Section 28 gave the right to sue for delinquent premiums. This section has rarely been invoked.

Section 29 is the so-called "open liability" section of the law, being quite similar in scope to the corresponding section of the elective law. Employers, however, were not permitted to plead the "assumption of risk" defense, this being considered too barbarous. Claiming compensation, as under the elective act, waives the right to sue at common law for damages.

Section 33 provided a detailed schedule of awards by which the loss of a thumb called for compensation for sixty weeks; first finger, thirty-five weeks; second finger, thirty weeks; third finger, twenty weeks; fourth finger, fifteen weeks. Loss of a hand called for an award for one hundred and fifty weeks, and an eye for one hundred weeks. The other injuries set out carry compensation in proportion. Other provisions of the law followed the original act with such improvements and amendments as time and experience had shown necessary.

The signing of the act was an improvised function in the Governor's office.

Scarce was the act filed with the Secretary of State, awaiting the referendum period of ninety days, when the attack began. The so-called "Equity League" was organized, with Mr. Charles S. Gongwer, of Cleveland, as secretary. Mr. Gongwer set out to get signers to the petition for a plebiscite upon it, but the circulators were chased out of some factories by the workmen, and had little success in others. It was then that many of the unscrupulous ones, who had imposed themselves on Mr. Gongwer, manufactured petitions by writing in fictitious names

and by the forging of others. It was established that Mr. Gongwer had not knowingly been a party to this abuse, but had himself been made the victim of it.

Investigation of the petitions disclosed the frauds, and led to a decision by Secretary of State Charles H. Graves that the petitions were so permeated with fraud that the good and valid names could not be separated from the bad and that the entire body of documents must be rejected. The supreme court subsequently decided that he had not abused the implied discretion vested in him in thus finding, which accorded with the legal contentions of Attorney General Timothy S. Hogan.

During the investigation many petition circulators detected in questionable practices were arrested but none of them could be prosecuted because their acts had not been specifically defined as crimes by the statutes of Ohio.

The investigations, however, had collateral consequences of interest and importance. One of them was the enactment of laws designed to protect the initiative and referendum from fraud, and these have worked so well that no similar charges have ever been made. A second grew out of libel suits brought by one of the men arrested against newspapers which printed the news of the arrest. The newspapers successfully defended themselves and thereby established the constitutionality of the Bader Act of 1911, making fair accounts of public proceedings, in the absence of actual malice, privileged so far as *bona fide* publications were concerned.

In the constitutional time after its enactment, then, the compulsory workmen's compensation act became the law of Ohio.

THE FIRST YEAR'S EXPERIENCE.

One of the important measures that was developed during the first administration of Governor James M. Cox was the act creating the Industrial Commission, which body took over the work of the State Liability Board of Awards and that of various other boards and bureaus that had been created to supervise the relations of capital and labor and enforce the safety laws. Mr. Frank Davis, Jr., of the Attorney General's office, drew the act, modeled largely after the law in force in Wisconsin.

Under it Governor Cox appointed Messrs. Yapple and Duffy, and, as the third member, Prof. M. B. Hammond of Ohio State University. They took office on July 1, 1913, and made ready to put in operation the provisions of the new workmen's compulsory compensation law on January 1, 1914.

Important decisions of policy had constantly to be arrived at, and the office force expanded to meet the increased work. Moreover, the employers had to be educated in the provisions of the law, this being no small task.

In the application of the law earnest and thoughtful help has always been given by the Attorneys General of Ohio, all of whom, without exception, have sought to give it effect and application and have been willing to strain a legalistic formula or two to be able to do it. This assertion applies to Messrs. Timothy S. Hogan, Edward C. Turner, Joseph McGhee and John G. Price. Honor to them for able and conscientious efforts!

At the very outset there was much for employers to fear, especially so with respect to the so-called "open liability." The constitutional provision and the federal constitution forbade the closing of this gap entirely, for not only the amendment, but also the bill of rights of the state, provides that courts of the land shall be open, and any person for an injury done him shall have remedy by due course of law. Senator William Green, of Coshocton, author of the first and second acts, was entirely willing to go the entire distance in stopping personal injury litigation, restrained only by his power to do so. This, indeed, was the view of all labor men of the best judgment, although personal injury attorneys, contemptuously known as "ambulance chasers," would have had it appear otherwise.

When the General Assembly came back in special session at the beginning of 1914, a meeting between employers' representatives and employees' representatives was held to determine upon possible changes in the law of 1913.

The labor men had no special demand, but the employers were anxious to have "wilful act," as used in the law, defined. Lawyers felt there was grave doubt as to its meaning. Accordingly an act was drawn and passed, defining the term in such a way as virtually to make it an assault in violation of law, or such

as would lead to a verdict of manslaughter, or a higher degree of murder, if death should result. The effect of the provision was to narrow the field of liability by making it impossible to hold an employer for some trifling circumstance which had escaped his notice, and to free him from the menace of unjustified litigation. The provision worked well, so well that out of 170,000 claims fully adjusted at this time no suits have resulted on the "wilful act" score. It was to be regretted that a few labor men, from motives quite un-understandable, sought to oppose the amendment.

The year 1914 was a period of industrial depression, notwithstanding in that year premiums to the amount of \$2,801,162.78 were collected from 15,436 employers.

The policy of bringing together workers and employers to deal with needful changes in the law became a fixed policy of the state.

THE LAW IN PERIL.

The years 1915 and 1916 proved periods of great trial for the newly installed system. It had as stated become effective as a compulsory law on January 1, 1914, and a period of only twelve months was not sufficient to educate all of the workmen and all of the employers into the benefits of a scheme, basically new and strange to their comprehension. As their knowledge of it grew, there grew also their favorable sentiment toward it, but the months of trial were difficult and demanded the utmost faith and courage.

At this time the medical element was a troublesome one. The physicians and surgeons had been but little consulted in the formulation of the law. They paid but little attention to this great law, although their association was busy enough with other things of far less interest to the general practitioner and surgeon. The first months of its application were full of vexatious delays in settlements, of lack of system in making payments for medical and surgical services, and of those petty annoyances which, while they may not greatly impress the men in charge of administration, are nevertheless certain to be keenly felt by individual members of the profession.

As the members of the profession who had extensive deal-

ings with the commission in charge of the system naturally received a certain number of unfavorable impressions, and talked of those impressions in their county, district and city meetings, it was natural and inevitable that a degree of hostility to the system should arise among the profession. And this symptom was promptly seized upon by those with special motives to serve as a pretense for launching an attack for the destruction of the entire law.

The paragraphs that have gone before must not be construed as an attack upon the medical profession. As the work has been brought to a higher state of development, errors have been corrected, wrong methods have been replaced by better ones, and the fees have been standardized to the improvement of the service. Then, too, the commission has been enabled to be slightly more liberal in its allowances. Today there are few physicians and surgeons who are hostile to the intents and purposes of the system, although they are not unanimous in approving the state's policies. In a recitation of the situation, historical accuracy demands an alignment of the perils conquered and the causes for those perils.

But the situation with respect to physicians and surgeons was as nothing compared to other attacks, legal, political and actuarial. As all bore upon the same general facts, it is difficult to separate and follow the individual threads through the tangled skein in which the system was enmeshed. The political difficulties were a heritage of the canvass for Governor in 1914. The Governor under whose administration it was passed had naturally to bear the hostility of the private liability insurance companies and their agents. This hostility Governor James M. Cox did nothing to diminish, but on the contrary even increased it by stating frankly that he did not desire their support at the price of sacrifice of the law.

Added to this was the fact that there was a community of interest between certain employers and the insurance interests whose elimination from the business of workmen's compensation was sought, even though the Ohio Manufacturers' Association had never succumbed to this influence. Moreover, it was clear then to far-sighted men what has since become very clear to all,

namely, that the establishment of a state insurance fund ultimately will mean the end of private profit from the miseries of those who are killed or injured in industry.

Upon the other hand, the character of the supporters of Mr. Cox's successful antagonist in 1914, then Congressman Frank B. Willis, was bound to have its influence upon the subsequent administration. There is no intention to assert, that, as Governor, Mr. Willis was intentionally hostile to workmen's compensation; but, on the contrary, its humane purposes probably appealed to his sense of justice and right. But the public opinion of the state never quite formed this notion, as, indeed, it was a notion quite difficult to form from the things that were done or omitted to be done during his administration.

In the light of the appeal of Mr. Cox and the nature of things Mr. Willis had said or failed to say in the canvass, the victory of Mr. Willis at the polls was interpreted to mean a repudiation of the state insurance fund policy. The interests which had contributed their support to the result indicated naturally felt there was a moral obligation, regardless of the Governor's personal feeling, to realize their hopes.

Scarcely was the General Assembly convened in January, 1915, when the attack was begun from this quarter, and it developed later in other theaters where the question arose. In the General Assembly it took the form of a resolution, which, through some agency never clearly revealed, was presented by a labor delegate, Representative Henry Ott, of Hamilton County. It was a demand for an actuarial audit of the state fund, and, though doubtless the fund could have shown undoubted solvency, was a premature effort to bring it to a test, when by every rule of good judgment and fair play no such demand should have been made. Suffice it to say that the resolution was never passed and that in the end Mr. Ott was glad it did not pass. It was his first experience in legislation and it was not surprising that his feet were caught in a net spread for the unwary.

Then came the demand of Governor Willis for the resignations of Chairman Wallace D. Yaple and Member Thomas J. Duffy of the Industrial Commission, and this, too, in the face of the well-known wish of both capital and labor that these mem-

bers be left undisturbed in their tenure. In Mr. Willis's behalf it may be stated that similar demands were made upon the other commissioners whom he found in office as an inheritance from the administration of Mr. Cox, still there was an articulate demand that this particular institution be separated from the remainder of the places because of the important nature of its work.

The demand for the resignations being rejected, there arose a demand for places under the Industrial Commission, in recorded instances without regard to the services that were rendered. Mr. Duffy, in this respect, was able to exercise a strong influence in retaining pivotal men. There was a quiet effort to secure the position of Emile E. Watson, actuary of the commission, upon whom much of the most arduous work in establishing the state fund plan devolved. Whence arose this demand can be but the subject of conjecture. For the most part, though, the disruptive efforts were frustrated, whether they originated in mere desire for political spoils or with other ends in view.

It was not a pleasant task that the commissioners faced, and the worry incident thereto has been felt by his friends to be one of the reasons for the breakdown in the health of Chairman Yaple, subsequently resulting in his death in office in 1917. He died a martyr to his efforts to make the experiment of the state a success.

But the nibbles which the policy of the administration permitted were as nothing compared to the interpretation of the law by Judge Frank Taggart, who became Superintendent of Insurance. This interpretation became known as the "Taggart ruling," and through various phases occupied the attention of the courts for a long period, a final phase being at the time this is written in the United States Supreme Court for final adjudication. A recital of facts will make clear this layman's statement of the matter at issue.

Section 9510 of the General Code was the section which generally authorized insurance companies to insure persons, firms, companies and associations from the hazards of life. In this general authorization was a provision which enabled companies to "make insurance to indemnify employers against loss

or damage for personal injury or death resulting from accidents to employees or persons other than employees," etc.

There was in the original Workmen's Compensation Law a section known as Section 54, which, in the general structure of the law, appeared to have been overlooked and to have slipped into the measure without a thorough consideration. Its terms were quite ambiguous, as a perusal of its provisions here quoted will show:

"Section 54. All contracts or agreements entered into by any employer, the purpose of which is to indemnify him from loss or damage on account of the injury of such employee by accidental means or on account of the negligence of such employer or such employer's officer, agent or servant, shall be absolutely void, unless such contract or agreement shall specifically provide for the payment to such injured employee of such amounts for medical, nurse and hospital services and medicines, and such compensation as is provided by this act for injured employees; and in the event of death shall pay such amounts as are herein provided for funeral expenses and for compensation to the dependents of those partially dependent upon such employee; and no such contract shall agree, or be construed to agree, to indemnify such employer, other than hereinbefore designated for any civil liability for which he may be liable on account of the injury to his employee by the wilful act of such employer, or any of such employer's officers or agents, or the failure of such employer, his officers or agents, to observe any lawful requirement for the safety of employees."

It was presumed by friends of the law that this section was a part of the plan contemplated for the benefit of those employers who wished to form mutual associations of employers for insurance, a proposition at which other sections of the law might be said to squint, without fully regulating and defining, as would be necessary to put them into effect. Nevertheless it was the peg upon which the Taggart ruling hung. Under this section, taken in conjunction with Section 9510, licenses or permits were issued to insurance companies to write indemnity insurance for employers who proposed under the authority granted in Section 22 of the law to carry their own risks, thereby bringing back into new form the liability insurance company business. By further strain of the provisions authority might be found for actually insuring employers against so-called "wilful act" or against failure to observe lawful requirements

Under the administration of Mr. Cox the statement had repeatedly been made from the Governor's office that no insurance company would be permitted to write insurance that had any connection with workmen's compensation, the presence of any interest seeking the element of profit being held to be eliminated by the new system.

The new ruling was not long in effect before the insurance companies began in deep earnest their efforts to secure the cream of business, leaving the state fund to carry the poorer risks and to make it a very travesty of a state fund comparable to those which at the time this is written exist in New York, Pennsylvania and other states. Then arose a spirited protest from labor, organized and unorganized. If the state fund were to be ignored and self-insured employers were to be permitted to buy indemnity policies from insurance companies, the element of profit once more would enter into the equation. It would become to the interest of those who made settlements with injured workers, and with dependents of those killed, to beat down those settlements to the lowest possible level, and the old, evil story of liability insurance settlements in the days of legal employers' liability would be back with only a small change. Indeed, the fears entertained upon this point were realized in a few settlements that were made, and it is recorded that in a few of these cases facts brought to the attention of the Industrial Commission induced it to demand and receive a readjustment in the interest of beneficiaries.

Taking up the cudgels in behalf of those who complained of the interpretation of the law, Mr. Edward C. Turner, then Attorney General, filed suit in ouster in the Ohio Supreme Court against upwards of a score of companies then engaged in this business. Joining him were counsel of labor organizations, Mr. George B. Okey and Mr. Timothy S. Hogan, former Attorney General. The labor attack was largely diverted into a challenge of the constitutionality of Section 22, while the employing interests, represented by the Ohio Manufacturers' Association, preserved an attitude of neutrality, save only to defend the right of self-insurance.

The case was presented to the court at great length and

with a wealth of argument upon every possible phase of the situation. To the hearing came labor representatives from all sections of the state, selected by local conventions especially to bear mute witness to the interest felt in the outcome. The presence of the representatives of the men most vitally affected by the law was not displeasing to the court, although somewhat disconcerting to those seeking to sustain the assailed Taggart ruling.

The consideration of the Supreme Court occupied weeks, from the early spring, when the arguments were heard, until July 1, 1916, when an informal announcement was made of points upon which a decision had been reached and points upon which argument was still to be heard. The court agreed, so the statement said, that Section 22 was valid and constitutional, that Section 9510 was not repealed by implication, and that contracts of indemnity might be written for straight compensation, where the elements of negligence or of wilful act or of failure to observe lawful requirements were not involved. Upon these points it desired further enlightenment in new arguments at the fall term.

THE LAW SAVED.

Public sentiment, founded on facts, has ever been a solvent for many issues, a proper solvent, too, as our history has come to show.

Gradually, the general public came to know that a proper attitude toward a great reform was not shown in the public offices having to do with the workmen's compensation system; but too late was this impressive fact realized in the head of the administration in office during the years 1915 and 1916.

Attacks on the Industrial Commission, sorely tried during this period, ceased in the early months of 1916, and the continuity of the actuarial force in the critical period was assured. From outside Ohio originated many efforts to deceive the Ohio employers as to the condition of the fund, but these efforts mostly failed to make a deep and lasting impression. There was, it is true, a certain amount of trouble created by the publication of false reports affecting the fund in Ohio, but the Ohio Manufacturers' Association and the Ohio Federation of Labor were alert in assuring the respective interests which they rep-

resented that the attacks were without substantial foundation. In disseminating this information, the press of the state cooperated, with the result that the canards were destroyed as fast as they were issued. Confidence in Actuary Emile E. Watson grew as results began to speak for themselves, and his disclosures of the immense savings of Ohio employers and of the true reason for the attacks, which was the fear that other states would follow the Ohio example, completely discredited them. Gradually, the people of Ohio failed to see any other side to the controversy than the side of the state law.

On July 1, 1916, the Supreme Court handed down a semi-official statement in which it covered some points of the controversy raging about the Taggart ruling. It held that Section 22 of the law, by virtue of which employers were privileged to carry their own insurance, that is, to pay minimum awards to injured employees and the dependents of those who were killed, together with a small sum into the general reserve for catastrophes, was constitutional. This section had been attacked by the labor representatives as a short means of arriving at the result they sought, which was the exclusion of any agency save the state fund in the operation of the law. It was likewise the finding of the court that there was no authorization for liability insurance companies to write policies to indemnify employers against the so-called "open liability" of the law, that is the liability arising out of the failure to observe lawful requirements, prescribed by the statutes and orders of the Industrial Commission for safety of employees. The extent of liability was passed upon in another case which will be mentioned in a subsequent chapter.

The decision as to Section 22 eliminated the interest of the employers and they promptly announced their withdrawal from the case, since they had appeared only to maintain their right to operate under Section 22.

As to other points the court announced an intention of hearing further arguments at a later period, fixed for some time in the fall. The points included the right to indemnify self-insuring employers for awards paid to injured employees and the

dependents of those killed while in the course of their employment.

Upon the state at large this statement, of which apparently nothing but a newspaper clipping has been preserved, had a far-reaching effect. It immediately injected the workmen's compensation issue into the canvass for Governor, and former Governor James M. Cox, then running for re-election, at once announced his intention of standing for a law that would in every way eliminate the feature of liability insurance company participation.

Upon their part, the labor organizations declared, in effect, a position of harmony with his views, which amounted to a sort of alliance for the fall campaign. To supplement this, they immediately announced their purpose of proposing to the General Assembly, by initiative petition, as the Constitution gave them the right to do, a bill to make the expulsion definite and certain. Should the General Assembly refuse to enact the law it would be taken by referendum petition to the people of the state for their approval at the following November election.

While these facts obtained, the rehearing before the Supreme Court was held. It was without special incident, the questions being of a very technical nature.

The election in November, 1916, gave a definite indication of the popular mind, and it was assured that a General Assembly would come into office which was committed to the labor program. The initiative petitions which were circulated secured tens of thousands of signatures, in quarters far outside the labor organizations which originated them.

The final decision in the ouster suits brought by Mr. Turner was handed down by the court on January 31, 1917, in the form of a "per curiam" opinion, one hundred days being given for the carrying into effect of the order.

It was held that Section 54 of the Workmen's Compensation Law did not repeal by implication Section 9510 of the General Code, which gave the general power to license insurance companies, but, on the contrary, "does define, limit, and declare the nature and extent of the contract of indemnity that may be written." There are then set out three qualifications which every

insurance contract written under it must contain insuring to the employees of the self-insuring employers payment of the minimum benefits of the law, inhibiting indemnifying of an employer for wilful act or failure to observe lawful requirements, and inhibiting generally other indemnity policies outside of those for straight workmen's compensation.

It was plain that the decision did not do all that the labor group desired, and the passage of the initiated bill in the General Assembly was pushed, interest being lost in the decision of the court. As might be anticipated the bill carried easily and on February 19, 1917, the Governor signed House Bill No. 1, which was filed in the office of the Secretary of State and became the law of the land in 90 days, no referendum being filed against it.

The new section, replacing the doubtful verbiage of Section 54, follows:

"All contracts and agreements shall be absolutely void and of no effect which undertake to indemnify or insure an employer against loss or liability for the payment of compensation to workmen or their dependents, for death, injury or occupational disease occasioned in the course of such workmen's employment, or which provide that the insurer shall pay such compensation, or which indemnify the employer against damages when the injury, disease or death arises from the failure to comply with any lawful requirement for the protection of the lives, health, and safety of employees or when the same is occasioned by the wilful act of the employer or any of his officers or agents, or by which it is agreed that the insurer shall pay any such damages. No license or authority to enter into any such agreements or issue any such policies of insurance shall be granted or issued by any public authority."

The new section was admitted to be "horse-high, bull-strong and hog-tight", as its authors intended it should be.

In effect, the long battle was over and Governor Cox and those who had stood by him in the trying days of heavy struggle rejoiced with the employers and employees who had devoted their efforts to make the system a success.

There remains but one issue. The claim was made that the new act of the General Assembly violated the obligation of con-

tracts in that it canceled existing contracts. To test this point an employer named Thornton was secured to bring a suit in the Franklin County Common Pleas Court. The law was sustained in that court, and the decision was affirmed in the Court of Appeals and in the Supreme Court. It was then carried to the United States Supreme Court on the constitutional claim, and there it is pending as this account is written. Ohio officials have the utmost confidence in a favorable decision of their claims issuing from this most august of tribunals. The case originally affected some six hundred odd contracts, but the number has probably dwindled since then. As the contracts expire, even if they are held not liable to the law, there may be no more issued.

The beginning then of the World War period found the Ohio law in good operation. To the friends of the system sadness was brought by the death of Wallace D. Yaple, of Chillicothe, chairman of the commission, whose labors in behalf of the law had undermined his health. He died a virtual martyr to the success of the system which has meant so much for the great army of toilers. His death was lamented on all sides.

At the same time that the referendum petitions on the original compulsory workmen's compensation law were gathered, the Equity Association sought to employ the initiative in proposing a modified bill. It was presented to the General Assembly, under the constitution, at the beginning of the session in 1915, but no group of members could be found willing to champion it seriously enough to bring it even close to adoption. The measure proposed the continuation of the compulsory plan which was written into the 1913 statute, but carried the scheme of permitting liability insurance companies to participate in the carrying of the insurance under a system of state regulation.

Chances for the measure were entirely demolished at a hearing before the Labor Committee, when Member T. J. Duffy of the Industrial Commission exposed the bill. His arraignment of it was scathing, upsetting all the arguments which had been made in its behalf. His strictures on the measures left Mr. H. F. Weston, former rating actuary, with little defense for the proposal. From that time forward it was looked upon as a grave error to support the bill. Carrying out his later announced

policy to "sound the alarm every time the enemy approaches," Mr. Duffy kept the ears of members buzzing with the protests against the bill. It was, however, forced to a vote with the result that a bare 25 enrolled themselves for it and 75 against it. The number of supporters included Majority Floor Leader Frank E. Whittemore.

ANOTHER DANGER AVERTED.

Among the members of the legal profession there were men of two minds, generally speaking, with reference to the new act. There were some who had been profitably engaged in litigation growing out of accidents in industrial establishments, and who had been able to amass fortunes by carefully selecting the cases they presented and thus recovering huge sums in special cases. There was a very natural dislike on the part of these attorneys to give up this lucrative business, yet it must be said that men who had grown rich in this business saw the manifest injustice it worked. While a claimant with an especially good case might secure a large judgment, the result could only be that others with as good a moral right to claim compensation for the casualties in the industrial world, but with not quite so good legal basis, would be certain to be denied even a pittance. The lawyers who took the more humane view and banished the thoughts of personal profit were hopeful that a court decision would be rendered which would safeguard the law against a complete breakdown.

On the other hand, selfish motives and antiquated legalism coincided to produce an intense desire to break down the law and to return to the old ways in personal injury suits, even at the expense of reviving the dangerous tendencies that have been touched upon in the days of the decline of the judiciary. So the hunt was started for the instrument that would bring the matter squarely before the Ohio Supreme Court. It was found in a case from Lucas County, upon which all those who had uppermost in their minds the breaking down of the practical inhibitions against personal injury litigation united. Attorney General Joseph McGhee represented the law.

Fred W. Schorling, an employee of the American Woodware Company, was injured only seven days after the law of

1913 became effective. He had been an operator of a rip saw and had been ordered by his foreman to help transport a car of lumber. His claim was that the lumber was carelessly and negligently stacked so that it fell on him, inflicting serious injuries. Although his employer was a contributor to the workmen's compensation fund, and he had a clear right to an award without litigation, Schorling was persuaded to bring a suit, recovering a judgment in the lower courts. The wide gap which would have been torn in the law had the decision been permitted to stand, caused it to be brought to the highest tribunal for review.

Now the Industrial Commission Act had been enacted about a month after the enactment of the Compulsory Compensation Law. It contained a number of sections which were not intended to be substitutes for the numerous safety sections of the General Code, but which were designed to give the commission authority to make specific orders when its inspectors found that conditions in particular industries required them. Sections 15 and 16 were particular statements of the general direction that employers should furnish to their employees a safe place to work, and furnish and use safety devices and safeguards, and do everything necessary to protect life, health, safety and the welfare of employees, and should refuse to permit employees to enter upon places of employment which were not safe.

Having in mind that the constitutional amendment upon which the statute law was predicated contained a statement that "no right of action shall be taken away from any employee when the injury, disease or death arises from failure of the employer to comply with any lawful requirement for the protection of the lives, health and safety of employees," the mode of attack by the personal injury lawyers appears simple. They had secured a decision to their wish from the Lucas County courts, and if only it could be affirmed by the highest tribunal the personal injury cases would grow and multiply by the thousands. The state funds would be used to compensate those cases in which under the old common-law rules no judgment could possibly be obtained, while the attractive cases would be the means of extracting fantastic sums from the employers, who on their part would

be in the anomalous position of having paid premiums and still being subject to the greatest possible number of lawsuits. It was a game for big stakes.

Obliterating, in this review, the subsidiary questions raised, it was clear that the case would turn on the central question of whether the general requirement to provide a safe place to work was a "lawful requirement." To any but minds enmeshed in antiquated formalisms, the issue had simply to be carried to its logical conclusion, excluding all considerations of justice. If an accident occurred, naturally the place of employment would not be safe, although the employer had complied with every statute and every order of the Industrial Commission, this being untrue only if the injury were wilfully self-inflicted.

When stated in these understandable terms, the court was not long in finding the answer, clearly enunciated in the syllabus of the decision, in which it is stated that the term "lawful requirement *** does not include a general course of conduct, or those general duties and obligations of care and caution which rest upon employers and employees, and all other members of the community, for the protection of life, health and safety," but rather the state safety laws and local municipal safety regulations and the specific orders of the Industrial Commission.

In discussing the case, Justice James G. Johnson, who wrote the opinion of the court, says that if any other construction were given the act, the place of employment might have been inspected and made safe, in the view of the state's agents, at great expense, and yet the injured employee could assert in an action against such employer that the precaution ordered by the Industrial Commission was not reasonable and did not meet the requirements of the law. The case would then return to the tangled and technical questions of common law.

"The employer would, in such case," says the jurist, "be put upon his defense exactly as if the old common-law rule and the antiquated and unsatisfactory methods of dealing with accidents in industrial pursuits still prevailed, and as if no law had been passed and no effort made by the state to respond to the sentiment of the people, created by long and harsh ex-

periences, that a more humane and satisfactory system should be erected. On the other hand, if the construction we have indicated be correct, then, when an order of the commission has been made and complied with, the injured workman will receive at once the compensation provided by the law out of the insurance fund. This could result only in doing justice between the parties, because if the employer has complied with the orders of an impartial official commission, after having posted notice to the employee that he was proceeding under the law and subject to the commission's order, he has done all that in justice should be required. But if he has failed to obey the order or requirement of the commission, made under these general provisions, or has failed to comply with the requirements of any statute or ordinance defining safety devices or safeguards required to be used, he is by that act guilty of negligence *per se* and liable to the injured workman as provided in the act."

In passing, it may be noted that a skilful propaganda was employed to make workmen feel that the litigants were appearing for the laboring men. "Surely, in vain is the net set in the sight of any bird."

They refused to surrender their assured awards for the nebulous prospects of litigation, with which their experience had been so bitter.

To complete the recital one has only to mention that personal injury litigation on behalf of employees subject to the law against their employers has been so small as to be a negligible factor.

THE DEATH OF FALSE CLAIMS.

Upon taking the oath of office for the third time as Governor, Mr. Cox called for a show-down upon the condition of the fund. He knew it was safe. It had stood the war stress splendidly and the Industrial Commission had made such arrangements as to make it possible for the fund easily to assume to itself the added risk that arose from the compensation of those who, having been previously injured either on the battle-fields or in the workshop, might be made into permanent total disability cases on another injury. But he desired a showing by competent outside authorities. To this end he suggested a

committee to supervise the audit, to be composed of Mr. Malcolm Jennings, the secretary of the Ohio Manufacturers' Association, Mr. Thomas J. Donnelly, the secretary of the Ohio Federation of Labor, and Mr. A. V. Donahey, Auditor of State. The three men combined in their personnel authorized representatives of employers, employees and the general public, "the trinity of interests" kept in mind in the entire formulation of the law.

The addition of Mr. Donahey, especially, was a shrewd move, since the public confidence in him had grown by reason of his policy in attacking those of his own partisan affiliations as readily as he attacked those on the other side of the garden wall, if he felt it was called for, and of tossing bouquets, regardless of partisan considerations, with equal zeal.

The committee met as soon as it was appointed and selected two actuaries of undoubted ability and integrity, Mr. E. H. Downey, special deputy in the Pennsylvania Insurance Department, and Mr. Miles M. Dawson, noted New York actuary, and one of the most eminent men in his profession anywhere in the world. Mr. Dawson's ability in insurance is recognized wherever civilized man holds sway.

As might be expected, their work was exhaustive, thorough and comprehensive. They not only covered the actuarial condition of the fund, but they went into the details of its operation and made many practical suggestions for improvement. One of these suggestions was a simplification in operation, a detail which Mr. Robert S. Hayes, the secretary of the commission, has been enabled to carry into effect.

After weeks of research, the report was made public on July 28, 1919. It disclosed the following condition:

ASSETS.	
National, State and Municipal Bonds...	\$10,891,601 00
Cash in Bank:	
Time Deposits.....	\$5,087,000
Demand Deposits....	874,646
	5,958,846 00
	<hr/>
	\$16,850,247 00

Accrued Interest (estimated by the examiner at)		100,000 00
Premiums in course of collection.....	\$2,675,198 00	
Deduct. due over 90 days.....	96,423 00	
	<hr/>	2,578,775 00
		<hr/>
		\$19,529,022 00
LIABILITIES.		
Claim Reserves	\$12,490,535 00	
Outstanding claim warrants.....	255,182 00	
Unearned Premiums	3,000,834 00	
	<hr/>	\$15,746,551 00
Catastrophe Surplus	\$1,052,700 00	
Unassigned Surplus	2,729,771 00	
	<hr/>	3,782,471 00
		<hr/>
		\$19,529,022 00

Without going into detail as to what the two examiners said, this quotation is made from Mr. Dawson:

"The outstanding result of this thorough investigation of the Ohio State Insurance Fund is to demonstrate that it is, and has at all times been, strong and solvent; that it has been conducted with economy unprecedented even in state funds the world over and at about one-twentieth the expense in insurance companies conducted for profit; that the State Industrial Commission has administered the Workmen's Compensation Act through this public agency with care and in a most unusually beneficial manner, so as to subserve the public purpose of relief where relief is due under the law; that the only operative defect, viz: tardy and overformal handling of claims will easily be removed by simplifying the procedure; and that, all told, the greatest and most successful demonstration in this country of the possibilities of the largest benefits at the lowest cost, from a workmen's compensation law, has been achieved by the Ohio State Industrial Commission and the management of the Ohio State Insurance Fund, as is conclusively shown by the examiner's report."

The statement of Mr. Downey as to the "excessive economy" relates to the action of the General Assembly in following a rather narrow policy, resulting in giving no increases during the war period to employees, resulting in much dissatisfaction during and since the war period. His recommendation as to distribution of a third of the reserve has been accomplished. The summary of his findings follows:

"1. The Ohio State Fund, after deducting unearned premiums and setting aside ample reserves to carry all claims to maturity, had on March 1, 1919, a clear surplus of more than \$3,600,000. Owing to this highly solvent condition, the Fund can safely distribute about one-third of its surplus to its subscribers in the form of a cash dividend.

"2. Premium rates proved somewhat redundant under the very exceptional conditions of the past two years, but the general rate level is no more than adequate for normal industrial conditions. No general rate deduction can safely be made at the present time.

"3. The Industrial Commission manifests every disposition to pay the full legal benefits upon all valid claims. There is no evidence of unfair compromises, "short changing" or disallowance of claims on merely technical grounds. But there are instances of excessive delay in adjusting claims, and the average interval between date of accident and the first payment thereon is too long. These delays are due in part to an inadequate appropriation and in part to over-formal procedural requirements.

"4. The Fund has been managed with extreme, even excessive economy. The actual net cost of the Fund does not exceed 2½% of the average annual premiums over a five-year period. In part, this extremely low cost has been attained by unwise and unnecessary skimping of service."

The document was generously distributed and aroused general satisfaction.

Thus ended the cowardly attempts to undermine a great system.

May it be preserved as well as it has been founded!

OBSERVATIONS.

In conclusion two events worthy of record have occurred with reference to the workmen's compensation act.

The first was enactment of a bill prepared by Attorney General John G. Price and introduced by Senator Frank E. Whittemore, of Summit, to make more drastic the penalty for failure to pay the premium required from employers for the state insurance fund. It provided for receivership in the event that any employer subject to the law refuses to comply with it. The amendment was suggested by experience of the Attorney General in the application of the law as it stood prior to the amendment, he being convinced that it was inadequate.

The second was the admission from an actuary who never was considered friendly to the act and its operation that the fund is entirely solvent and a failure to find any substantial ground of criticism. The actuary was one S. H. Wolfe, of New York, who was brought on for the examination by the Joint Committee on Re-organization of Administrative State Departments and Institutions. The Wolfe report was bitterly attacked by minority members of the committee, Senator Howell Wright, of Cuyahoga, and Representative J. E. Foster, of Coshocton. They did not criticise Wolfe's admission that the fund is solvent, but they did severely arraign an alleged attempt to discredit the work of the Industrial Commission.

At this time it cannot be said that all of the problems of workmen's compensation have been settled. There are, perhaps, four major questions, quite apart from the mechanical and technical details of operation, which must be considered, and which must in time be solved, if the great system is to fulfill all the hopes that have been raised for it. Whether these hopes and ambitions are attainable is a question which rests in the good conscience and unselfishness of three factors, the body of workmen, the employers and the public.

The public's part will come in making suitable provision for carrying the burden of paying for the work to be done and of seeing the social wisdom in bringing the plan to its highest development. The part of the workers must come in being zealous in the protection of the fund against imposition, and the part of employers in looking upon it as a public duty and not as the payment of money merely as a means of settling for injuries which occur to workmen and of buying immunity from annoying litigation and claims.

If, in the judgment of the writer, viewing the matter as a lay observer, and not as an expert, the problems of the present may be summarized, they may be enumerated in the following order:

- I. Ample and workable provision for rehabilitation of the injured workman, so that impaired working and earning power may be restored, at least in part. This will involve skilled advice and skilled services of surgeons. Naturally, there must go with

this a service to retrain the man who cannot again resume the line of activity which he followed before he was injured. Other countries have made great strides toward rehabilitation of the men who were crippled in the Great War. From allied, and possibly from enemy countries, this experience, covering a term of years, will in time become available. The present somewhat disappointingly small results of the American efforts for retraining of those whose natural efficiency and usefulness were impaired by diseases suffered or injuries sustained in the military and naval army should not discourage renewed efforts in behalf of the maimed in the great army of industrial workers. The great dictum, "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou earn thy bread," is the law that must still govern, even for those who cannot again resume the places they once held. There is a sublime dignity of labor that cannot be lost without lasting injury to the race, and the injured man must look forward to a new, even if humbler part, in the army of workers toiling to make the world go forward.

II. There must be ample safeguards against the "raiding" of the fund from the attacks of the ambulance-chasing type of attorney. There must be instilled into the consciousness of courts, as well as of laymen, a conviction that the workmen's compensation fund does not exist to be assailed, and that the mere fact that \$20,000,000 in reserves is piled up is no excuse for nibbles from any quarter. This is a great fact, which is ever to be kept in mind, no matter how small or how large the threatened nibbles may be. As the matter now stands it seems that the principal danger comes from the suits which are filed against the commission after refusal of awards. To the author it appears that the interests which honestly oppose rectification of this danger stand in their own light.

There is no doubt a strong disposition in favor of the proposition that the right of trial before a jury shall not be abridged, but at the same time the "right" should never protect a wrong. The criticism now made of the present operation of the law is in reality a plea against the venality and dishonesty of those with schemes of their own to carry through. It is held, however, that when a claimant with an impossible case from the

legal standpoint is turned down, in a hearing before the commission, recourse is had to the courts, and in the courts a case is presented that is quite different from the case presented before the commission. The jury, which does not have before it the pleadings and testimony before the commission, will readily listen to arguments that a deep injustice was done the claimant by the commission, and will readily consent to award a verdict against the fund. It is even contended that hearings before the commission have served no other purpose than to establish what would be good and what would not be good evidence to present to a court. The verdict having been rendered, it is extremely hard to upset in the reviewing courts, unanimity being required in the Court of Appeals. The sum awarded may not seem large, perhaps a thousand dollars or so, but if improperly awarded, it constitutes nevertheless a raid upon the fund. Then, again, it is easy for courts to err, so runs the criticism, in favor of liberal allowances to the successful attorneys in the form of fees. Instances are on record in which the sums given to the advocates are equal to the sums allowed for the injured man, although the contemplation of the law was that all these industrial cases should be, so far as possible, removed from the domain of litigation. The sum given, it may appear, may not seem large, but the gross amount awarded will be sure to grow year by year until it becomes a profound abuse, reacting unfavorably upon the entire system of workmen's compensation.

To the author, writing of this as a mere layman and not presuming an expert's knowledge, it would seem that the proposal which has been made is entirely just and reasonable. substantially it is that the evidence adduced before the Industrial Commission in the original claim shall be the evidence adduced before the courts, it being preferable that it go in the form of a written record, so that access to the courts shall not be denied those seeking an appeal to judicial authority. If it be contended that the proposed system will deny substantial rights, that is, appeal to a jury of one's peers, the answer may be found in similar proceedings with reference to other matters involving property rights and claims, just as sacred in the contemplation of justice and equity as is the claim for damages or compensa-

tion for injuries. Appeals from administrative boards involving millions of dollars of property are vested in the courts upon the records established when the original case is heard, and there is no permission to search the field for new evidence, or statements, which might place the entire case in a different light.

III. There must come a better adjustment of the premium of the insured employer to the losses sustained in his particular industry. It is the criticism of some employers — and they have been charitable in not making much of their contention — that they pay for the losses incurred in other factories and establishments which do not exercise the same degree of care in providing most safe places for work. Examination of the theories of the advocates of the system will show that they contended that it would be possible to give the careful employer the benefit of his care and to penalize the careless and negligent for the exorbitant and needless toll which they took and continue to take in life and limb. It was a common expression of those who presented the subject that the aim was to penalize the indifferent man in his pocketbook and to punish him "where it would hurt." That lofty aim has not yet been fully attained, although the legislation of 1919 doubtless will aid in that movement. Probably, also, a penurious policy of hampering the Industrial Commission has been responsible for the delay in realizing the great aim of the entire system. There probably always will be trouble with the lawmaker, who does not understand the great reform that the law contemplates. His largest interest in life has been his small farm, or store, and he has failed to grasp the meaning of great humane movements that are designed to bring a fuller measure of justice to those who do the necessary work of the world. Ultimately, the problem will be solved as Mr. Watson has ably solved others more difficult.

IV. Hand in hand with the rehabilitation of the injured, and the substantial punishment of the employer who is to blame for injuring more men than should be injured in any given period, there must come a great expansion of the highly technical work of prevention of accidents. Here again the state is fortunate in the possession of the services of men like Actuary

Emile E. Watson, who can show the way. But there must be aid furnished them through ample funds to carry forward their tasks. So long as private employers are able to allure from his post of service every man who becomes proficient, with offers of nearly twice as much as the state pays for services, it may be impossible to secure and retain the experts needed in this great task. What has already been done in education on accident prevention gives a clue to the greater things to be attained when it is made clear that workmen's compensation came as a system to replace the wasteful, cruel, barbaric idea of legal liability, because it was demanded by sane, progressive and thoughtful men, and that its goals must be:

- To care for the injured until he can return to his place.
- To restore those whom accident has maimed.
- To care for the actual dependents of those killed at duty.
- To prevent the occurrence of needless accidents.



OHIO'S GERMAN-LANGUAGE PRESS AND THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

BY CARL WITTKÉ.

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Long before the conclusion of the armistice, all of Ohio's German-language newspapers that had survived the trials and stress of the first years of the war, had completed their strategic retreat from a position of open pro-Germanism to one of unswerving loyalty to the cause of America. At the beginning of the war it was perhaps to be expected that the editors of German dailies in this country should express a real sympathy for the cause of their old Fatherland and swell with pride at the news of the victories of German arms. Treacherous England was denounced as the villain primarily responsible for the great world catastrophe in which the young giant Germany was compelled to do battle to break the strangle-hold of a world of envious foes. When the United States finally entered the war, the position of the German-American newspaper was extremely perilous, and it became necessary to beat a quick retreat from a position that was now not only untenable, but positively treasonable. In spite of what must have been a terrible conflict of emotions in the hearts of the editors and owners, every Ohio paper succeeded in shifting its editorial policy, and finally arrived at the point where the American reasons for entering the war were accepted as just reasons, and the feats of the American doughboy lauded to the sky, in studied emulation of the methods of the English press. It is not for us to judge the motives that caused such a radical change in policy. In part they must have been economic, for every German paper found its circulation lists shrinking, its income rapidly diminishing because of organized boycotts against advertisers who dared to use the columns

of the German press, and increasing difficulty in delivering the papers through the mails or by carriers. Paper after paper suspended publication; others greatly reduced the size of their issues. But on the other hand, there may have taken place in the hearts and minds of many German newspaper men a real conversion to a new point of view, and there is much evidence that many a citizen of German extraction was bitterly disillusioned by the work of our Committee on Public Information, reports of German war practices and the blundering methods of the old regime in Germany. At any rate, almost immediately after the United States became a party to the struggle against the Central Powers, Ohio's German papers left very little to be desired as far as their public support of the war was concerned, and all could point with pride to letters of thanks and approval from men high in the government, who publicly testified to their loyal and hearty support of all loan drives and other features of the war program.¹

With the signing of the armistice, it became possible, and safe, to discuss more frankly the war aims of the various powers, the purpose of the whole struggle and the terms upon which peace should be concluded. The war hysteria from which a great part of the public suffered as long as the fighting continued, began to subside. It will be a long time before our German newspapers regain their former influence and prosperity, if ever, and the German editors will have to speak guardedly on all questions in any way related to the war, simply from motives of self-preservation. Nevertheless, the times are improving; English periodicals and newspapers are constantly giving vent to their feelings about the proposed peace in terms not always complimentary to the present administration; why cannot a German scribe begin to call his soul his own again and express his real views on the issues of the day? There are not a great many important German-language papers left in Ohio, but those that have weathered the storm

¹ See the article by the present writer on "Ohio's German-Language Press and the War" in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Volume XXVIII, No. 1, pp. 82-96. (January, 1919.)

are speaking more and more freely as the gradual cooling of the passions of war leaves their positions more secure.²

When the armistice was signed, every Ohio paper rejoiced that the brutal struggle was ended. Many had long before November, 1918, realized that America's entry in the war meant Germany's ultimate defeat, and all agreed that the German decision to engage in unrestricted submarine warfare had been the fatal mistake that eventually turned the tide of battle by forcing the United States into the conflict. The *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* held the monarchy and the Pan-Germans responsible for all the ills of the German people, and entirely agreed with President Wilson in his demand, made during the exchange of notes just before the cessation of hostilities, that the German government must furnish real guarantees that the old order is gone forever.³ The *Toledo Express* pronounced President Wilson's address at the opening of the Fourth Liberty Loan drive in October, 1918, as a new charter of freedom and justice for all people, and heartily endorsed the plan to form a League of Nations in order to give effective expression to these high ideals in the life of the world.⁴ The *Henry County Demokrat* of November 13, 1918, contains a joyous announcement of the coming of peace, and believes a new era in world relations is dawning.⁵ The *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, one of the oldest and most influential German papers in Ohio, rejoiced that the German people had at last come to realize that they had been ruled by madmen, and hoped that "What 1848 did not accomplish, 1918 will".⁶ The Kaiser, the Crown Prince and the Junkers all received their share of denunciation, especially the former who

² The *Toledo Express*, in its issue of August 28, 1918, cites statistics to show what has happened to the German-language press in America during the war. According to Ayer's Newspaper Directory, there were 499 German papers in 1917. In 1919, there were 314. Ten have become English papers; some appear part English and part German; of the 314 only 29 are dailies. Many of the others are lodge or trade journals, with little influence and a very limited circulation.

³ *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, October 11 and 28, 1918.

⁴ *Toledo Express*, October 3, 1918.

⁵ See also *Henry County Demokrat*, December 25, 1918.

⁶ *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, November 22, 1919.

was suspected of having carried off all state papers that might be used to establish the guilt of the old governing oligarchy.⁷ The armistice terms probably seemed a bit severe to some, but all realized that Germany must yield. One paper, rightly supposing that the terms of the armistice forecast the probable peace terms, shrewdly suggested some of the knotty problems the peace delegates would find it very difficult to solve, but practically all agreed that the allies would be more lenient with the new German Republic, and that a peace of justice, based on President Wilson's Fourteen Points would be established for all nations.⁸

Most of Ohio's German papers showed a real sympathy for the German Revolutionists and the new German Republic. At the same time, they were also greatly alarmed by the prospect of a "Red" or Bolshevist Germany, in which the ultra-radicals would be in control. The *Akron Germania* of November 15, 1918, contains a long editorial on Bolshevism, "An International Menace". The *Toledo Express* fears a reign of terror as an aftermath of the deposition of the Kaiser,⁹ and the editor of the *Cincinnati Volksblatt* calls Liebknecht Germany's greatest foe.¹⁰ The same paper realizes that Germany is on probation, that she must fulfill the conditions of the armistice faithfully, maintain order within her boundaries, and prevent the republican government from being superseded by the soviet form.¹¹ The *Cincinnati Freie Presse* advocates a mild policy toward Germany, so that her government may be used as a bulwark to protect western Europe from the Russian menace.¹² The *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* believes that Germany, freed from the burdens of militarism, may yet arise from the ruins — "if she can

⁷ See *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, December 6, 1918.

⁸ See *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, November 2, 4, 12, 1919; also *Wächter und Anzeiger*, (Cleveland), November 11, 1918.

⁹ *Toledo Express*, November 14, 1918.

¹⁰ *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, December 9, 1918.

¹¹ *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, November 14, December 21, 1918; January 13, October 1, 1919.

¹² *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, January 13, 1919.

only find men like those great Americans who led our country through the critical years from 1783 to 1789."¹³

When President Wilson embarked for Europe to take personal charge of his peace program, he carried with him the blessings and prayers of America's German-language press. With an almost childlike faith in the president as the greatest single force for righteousness in the modern world, the editors were all supremely confident that he could force that idealism, to which he had given expression in passionate language that had raised the great world struggle from a mere war to a holy crusade for righteousness and justice among the peoples of the earth, upon the sordid, selfish statesmen of the old world; translate his wonderful words into deeds, and so become the saviour of a despairing, suffering humanity. No German editor had any constitutional scruples because the president's trip to Europe was unprecedented. The trip was regarded as absolutely necessary, for the President went to Europe as the champion of American ideals, to see to it that these American boys "shall not have died in vain".¹⁴ Equal confidence was put in the silent Texan, Colonel House.¹⁵ This time, if never before, every German newspaper could sincerely and whole-heartedly send out the call to its readers to "Stand by the President".¹⁶ The *Cincinnati Volksblatt* was glad that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had rejected Senator Cummins' resolution to send a committee of Senators to Paris,¹⁷ and when Senator Lodge began to criticise the action of the President, the *Akron Germania* accused him of trying to embarrass the administration, and concluded that he didn't represent the American people any way.¹⁸ No editor was so optimistic as to expect that Mr. Wilson would have little difficulty with the diplomats of the

¹³ *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, November 18, 1918.

¹⁴ See *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, November 20, 1918; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, December 3, 1918; *Akron Germania*, December 6, 1918; *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, January 4, 1919.

¹⁵ See *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, October 31, 1918.

¹⁶ See *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, December 26, 1918; *Toledo Express*, January 2, 1919.

¹⁷ *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, December 7, 1918.

¹⁸ *Akron Germania*, December 27, 1918.

other powers represented at the peace table. The *Cincinnati Freie Presse* recognized the fact that the United States was the only unselfish power at Versailles, and that there would be much friction between the allies. Nevertheless, Wilson would probably win out, for he came to make a permanent peace, based on justice and not power, and then planned to crown his work with the League of Nations.¹⁹ In a long and passionate editorial, the Cleveland *Wächter und Anzeiger* represented President Wilson as a crusader, standing alone and willing to risk everything in order to gain his ideals. The editor approved of the President's decision to play "a lone hand" at the conference, and concluded with a statement that if he does not reach his goal, it will not be because he has played the game poorly.²⁰ The comment of still another editor at the time of Mr. Wilson's first return trip to America is interesting in the light of later developments. The President, according to this editor, lands in Boston "tired, and disappointed" in the statesmen of the world, but determined to fight on. He brings the Covenant for a League of Nations. His next visit to Paris will be devoted to carrying out the Fourteen Points. France is opposed, because she wants a peace of force and not justice, but the iron will of Woodrow Wilson will win in the end, and compel the other nations to live up to their agreements.²¹ The *Akron Germania* took the Republican opposition in Congress to task for their opposition to the proposed League, because by such domestic opposition they encouraged the chauvinists and imperialists at the peace conference who oppose Mr. Wilson's principles of justice.²² In spite of a few misgivings, and a keen realization of the hostility to the Wilsonian program by certain interests represented at the Peace Conference, faith in the President was still boundless — faith in his ability to force through his program on his second visit to Paris.²³

¹⁹ *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, December 5, 1918; see also *Gross Day-toner Zeitung*, December 23, 1918; *Akron Germania*, February 24, 1919.

²⁰ *Wächter und Anzeiger*, February 5, 1919.

²¹ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, February 24, 1919.

²² *Akron Germania*, March 10, 1919.

²³ *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, March 12, 1919.

Then came the long period of waiting — the anxious months when the details of the peace were being worked out behind closed doors. The newspapers were filled with the wildest rumors, stories of friction between the various associated powers, reports that the conference was about to adjourn, reports that the terms of the treaty would soon be published, etc. There was nothing better for the newspapers to do than to speculate on the probable outcome of all these secret negotiations. Ohio's German-language newspapers busied themselves in this interval — and long after — with a discussion of what would constitute a Wilsonian peace of justice, and more specifically, how the Fourteen Points should be applied to the specific problems confronting the delegates at Versailles. Need one be surprised because the Fourteen Points were interpreted with the future welfare of Germany constantly in mind? This was especially true of the principle of self-determination. Anticipating the probable terms of the treaty, the *Cincinnati Abend Presse* hastens to argue that Danzig is a real German city,²⁴ and that a fair plebiscite in the eastern parts of Prussia would undoubtedly result unfavorably for Polish schemes of annexation and expansion.²⁵ Another editorial contends that Schleswig-Holstein has always been German, and had never been "torn away" from Denmark.²⁶ One prominent daily quotes at length from the article that appeared in the New York Danish paper, "*Nordlyet*," contending that Denmark does not even want all of her lost provinces restored.²⁷ Even the Alsace-Lorraine problem was made the subject of much argument and discussion. The Cleveland *Wächter und Anzeiger* of December 5, 1918, prints statistics compiled in 1910 which show that the overwhelming majority of the population speak the German language. Another common argument is that the wonderful economic development and prosperity of Alsace-Lorraine is attributable entirely to the wise and beneficent measures enacted under the German regime. One paper contends that the French emigrés of 1871, were they

²⁴ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, November 22, 1918.

²⁵ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, January 1, 1919.

²⁶ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, November 28, 1918.

²⁷ *Wächter und Anzeiger*, December 23, 1918.

to return, would fail to recognize their old homeland, so marvelously has it been improved during the last generation.²⁵ Another paper pleads for the right of self-determination for the Germans in Bohemia,²⁶ and there is much sentiment in favor of the addition of German Austria to the new German Republic.²⁷ When the peace conference finally ordered a change in the new German Constitution to prevent the future admission of German-speaking Austria, the *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, in the language of the *New York Nation*, calls it the "last nail in the coffin of self-determination".²⁸ The little island of Germans in Transylvania who have preserved their language and culture for centuries against the nationalizing policy of the Magyars, had the *Siebenbürgisch-Amerikanisches Volksblatt*, a weekly published in Cleveland, to champion their plea for self-determination. The paper objected violently against the annexation of Transylvania by Rumania, organized mass meetings to protest, and sent a memorandum to the President reciting the history of the Transylvanians and protesting, in the name of democracy and the sacred rights of oppressed nationalities, against annexation to "reactionary, patriarchal, Rumania".²⁹ It is not surprising to find frequent references to the Irish problem in this connection, for here the principle of self-determination could be applied to embarrass the nation that was always regarded as Germany's arch-enemy.³⁰

Immediately after the cessation of hostilities there began a campaign to arouse the humanitarian sentiments of America in behalf of beaten, crushed and ruined Germany. Many an article calls attention to President Wilson's original distinction between a war against the German autocracy and a war against the Ger-

²⁵ *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, December 11, 1918.

²⁶ See *Cincinnati Abend Press*, December 10, 1918, and *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* of the same date.

²⁷ See *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, March 7, 1919.

²⁸ *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, October 9, 1919.

²⁹ See *Siebenbürgisch-Amerikanisches Volksblatt*, November 21, 28, 1918; December 5, 1918; January 9, 1919; January 30, 1919; also *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, November 25, 1918.

³⁰ See especially the article welcoming Edward de Valera, "President of the Irish Republic," to Akron, in the *Akron Germania*, October 6, 1919.

man people, and points out that the time has now arrived to live up to the high ideals we professed at the beginning of the struggle. The *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, with unlimited faith in President Wilson, is confident that he will exert himself to the utmost to obtain a peace that will bind up the wounds of war and wipe out the hatred engendered by four years of conflict.³⁴ The blockade is considered particularly inhumane and unwarranted after the close of the war. An economic boycott of Germany after the war is denounced as absurd and unjustifiable.³⁵ The *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, two days after the armistice, believed that the blockade would be lifted at once, as a matter of justice, and to help preserve a stable government in Germany.³⁶ Another paper of the same date carries a pitiful plea to America to show mercy for ruined Germany, and to protect her against the ambition of France to procure the rich lands on the left bank of the Rhine.³⁷ Examples might be greatly multiplied. They all appeal to the "Menschlichkeitsgefühl" of the great, generous American people.³⁸ December 17, 1918, the *Cleveland Wächter und Anzeiger* contained a long article on what to demand and what to avoid and oppose during the peace negotiations. The editor believes that the Liberals of the entire world are looking to Wilson for leadership. There must be no exorbitant reparations or indemnities, no hanging of the Kaiser. Peace cannot be made in accordance with the earlier views of the allied leaders. The negotiators must look to the future, rather than to the past; to the creation of a new world order, rather than revenge or punishment. In the struggle to bring about this new world order, every nation must yield something.³⁹

³⁴ *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, November 12, 1918.

³⁵ See *Wächter und Anzeiger*, December 4 and 28, 1918.

³⁶ *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, November 13, 1918.

³⁷ *Akron Germania*, November 13, 1918.

³⁸ See *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, November 14, 1918; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, November 15, 1918; *Sandusky Demokrat*, November 15, 1918.

³⁹ See *Wächter und Anzeiger*, December 17, 1918; also *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, December 13, 1918; and April 15, 1919; also *Wächter und Anzeiger*, January 14, 1919. The *Cleveland Wächter und Anzeiger* frequently reprints English articles on the international situation from such periodicals as the *New York Nation*, the *New Republic*, the *London Nation*, etc., and its editorial policy is to a large extent in accord with that of these liberal publications.

When America entered the war in 1917, the editors of German newspapers in America were gradually converted from their old pro-German point of view to a new policy of unlimited public support of the American war program. That did not mean however that they took to their bosoms as companions in arms the powers associated with this government in the prosecution of the war. From the viewpoint of Ohio's German papers, it was a matter of the first importance to preserve the distinction between an "ally" and powers with which we were only temporarily "associated". The fact that the American soldier was fighting alongside the English Tommy and the poilu on the western front did very little to change the attitude of the editors toward "perfidious Albion" and "revengeful France". No doubt many of them, in their heart of hearts, felt that the United States was simply pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for nations that had been unable, before our help came, to cope with the German military machine. This feeling must have been carried well into the period when we were actually at war, although policy demanded a discreet silence on this point at least as long as the fighting continued. It is therefore not surprising to find criticisms of the powers associated with us making their appearance again in the columns of the German newspapers as soon as the fighting had come officially to a close. The critics are more outspoken as time goes on, and especially bitter when the peace terms were finally published. It may be worth while to call attention to some examples of this attitude and practice, before discussing the reception of the peace treaty itself.

November 18, 1918, the *Cincinnati Freie Presse* observes that the treatment of the Jews by the Rumanians and Poles evidently proves that all peoples, even though they may be associated with the allied cause, do not yet understand the real meaning of democracy.⁴⁰ Another paper sarcastically remarks that "Where Polish troops move in, peace leaves",—hardly a good omen!⁴¹ The *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* speaks of Polish atrocities in Posen, and the Pogroms in Bohemia are a subject

⁴⁰*Cincinnati Freie Presse*, November 18, 1918.

⁴¹*Cincinnati Abend Presse*, January 15, 1919.

for much comment.⁴² The *Abend Presse* calls attention to the Rumanian policy toward the Germans in Transylvania which has as its purpose the prohibition of the use of the German language.⁴³ A few months later, however, another paper comes to the conclusion that the Rumanian regime is not so bad as it was at first represented to be.⁴⁴ The *Cincinnati Freie Presse* has nothing good to say of Gabriel D'Annunzio's "Roman Peace";⁴⁵ and the general attitude toward Italy is unfriendly. The feeling toward France is by no means cordial. The *Wächter und Anzeiger* denounces Foch's "Rhine Frontier";⁴⁶ a Cincinnati paper publishes a quotation to show that the French have underestimated our assistance in the war, and have showed themselves very ungrateful;⁴⁷ and the *Akron Germania* has a long editorial denouncing the conduct of the French soldiers in the Rhine district toward the German women.⁴⁸ None of the papers were enthusiastic over the visit of the Belgian royal couple. When it was reported that King Albert had presented the President with a volume of *La Libre Belgique*, the one newspaper the Germans could not suppress, the *Cincinnati Abend Presse* was unkind enough to suggest that Mr. Wilson reciprocate with a volume of American newspapers of a few years ago, in which they discussed the Congo atrocities, during the regime of Albert's uncle, Leopold II.⁴⁹ The Japanese — "the Huns of the East" — receive their full measure of criticism, especially because of Japan's machinations in China, and Korea.⁵⁰ The *Cincinnati Abend Presse* comments on Japan's autocratic form of government, and several of the papers hint

⁴² *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, March 21, 1919; *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, December 25, 1918.

⁴³ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, July 26, 1919.

⁴⁴ *Wächter und Anzeiger*, November 14, 1919.

⁴⁵ *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, February 1, 1919.

⁴⁶ See *Wächter und Anzeiger*, February 1, 1919; see also editorial in the issue of August 14, 1919.

⁴⁷ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, October 11, 1919.

⁴⁸ *Akron Germania*, October 15, 1919.

⁴⁹ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, October 11, 1919.

⁵⁰ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, April 21, 1919; *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, June 23, 1919; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, March 10 and 20, 1918.

rather broadly at the Yellow Peril which the United States may soon have to face.⁵¹

It was for England, however, that the sharpest attacks were reserved. From the point of view of the German editor, her methods of building up her empire made her particularly vulnerable. The reader cannot help feeling the keen delight with which the editor fashions the shafts of wit and sarcasm to be let loose upon Germany's arch-enemy. Dozens of editorials could be cited attacking England for her policy toward Ireland, and pleading for independence and the right of self-determination for the new Irish Republic.⁵² An article on England's regime in India concludes with the observation that the English will hardly be able to furnish the judges who are to sit in trial upon the German militarists.⁵³ The *Cincinnati Abend Presse* believes in granting the right of self-determination to the Boers of the old Orange Free State.⁵⁴ In commenting on Lloyd George's desire to bring the Kaiser to trial, the same paper observes that the British Premier must have forgotten that Kitchener brought back the title of "The Butcher" from his adventures in the Soudan and in South Africa, that British airmen hit a funeral procession in Freiburg, and that it was a French professor who made the first poison gas bomb.⁵⁵ The *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* is even more bitter. In discussing a parade of floats to be held on July 4 in Washington, the editor stops to wonder how England will be represented. "By her prison ships, in which she tortured American patriots? Or by the execution of Nathan Hale? Or with her allies, the Indians,

⁵¹ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, May 10, 1919; *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, March 12, 1919.

⁵² *Sandusky Demokrat*, December 27, 1918; April 15, 1919; Articles in *Wächter und Anzeiger*, December 24, 1918 and March 28, 1919, on the Irish Question from "The Public"; and "Ireland and The Test" from the *Boston Pilot*; also *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, August 16, 1919, on first page, an article, "England's Knute über Irland," from the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*.

⁵³ *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, August 13, 1919.

⁵⁴ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, June 12, 1919.

⁵⁵ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, July 7, 1919; also *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, August 9, 1919.

whom she incited against the American soldiers for liberty?"⁵⁶ There are also frequent warnings against the British propaganda at work in America. Professor Roland G. Usher is taken to task for his attempt to develop Anglo-Americanism by his discussions of the American Revolution,⁵⁷ and the *Cincinnati Freie Presse* of November 17, 1919, warns against the influence of this organized British propaganda upon our schools, and especially upon our textbooks in history. Professor Albert Bushnell Hart is especially criticised for devoting pages in his new book to showing how well the American colonists were being treated at the time of the Revolution.⁵⁸ Much space is devoted to England's alleged plans for the conquest and domination of Asia. Says one editor, "England will be the adviser of Persia in the future. So was the fox the adviser of the goose. The goose is long since dead."⁵⁹ The *Siebenbürgisch-Amerikanisches Volksblatt* calls England the stage director of the world, with puppets everywhere to do her bidding, and believes that the League of Nations will be under the same British influence.⁶⁰ The editor of the *Akron Germania* gives vent to his feelings in an editorial on "Making the world safe for England".⁶¹ None of the papers permit America's war services to be belittled by either the French or the English, and frequently dwell at length on how America saved England and the other powers.⁶² News of friction between the various allied powers seems to be very welcome.⁶³ Undoubtedly there were many German-Americans who held Sir Edward Grey responsible in a large measure for the outbreak of the war, and so it is not surprising to find that

⁵⁶ *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, July 2, 1919.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, December 13, 1918.

⁵⁸ *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, September 11, 1919.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, August 19 and July 26, 1919.

⁶⁰ *Siebenbürgisch-Amerikanisches Volksblatt*, November 27, 1919.

⁶¹ *Akron Germania*, October 20, 1919; see also November 24, 1919.

⁶² See *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, December 6, 1919; also *Abend Presse*, January 17, 1919.

⁶³ See *Wächter und Anzeiger*, November 6, 1919.

no paper took kindly to the appointment of the former Foreign Secretary as British Ambassador to the United States.⁶⁴

There is one rather prominent German Socialist weekly in Ohio, published in Cleveland. During the war, this paper, the "*Echo*", found itself frequently in trouble with the government authorities and various patriotic organizations. Its policy was anti-war, for the orthodox Socialist reasons. It was not necessarily pro-German on that account, indeed many of its numbers contained vigorous attacks upon the old German government and the military clique. The "*Echo*" was happy when the news of the disintegration of Austria-Hungary reached America, and hoped that the German people would speedily follow the example of their Austrian brethren and end feudalism and monarchy forever.⁶⁵ November 2, the editor hoped that President Wilson would not be satisfied with a limited monarchy in Germany, but that all the crowned heads of Europe would be driven from their thrones, and the paper even intimates that the cruel warfare, which the Socialists had consistently opposed, might not have been in vain after all.⁶⁶ The Revolution in Germany was viewed as a real blessing, although the editor was somewhat suspicious of the socialistic views of Scheidemann.⁶⁷ The fate of Dr. Lieb-

⁶⁴ See *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, August 28, 1919; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, October 17, 1919. The *Wächter und Anzeiger* of November 20, 1919, prints a story that has filtered through from Europe and is so amusing that it may deserve retelling here. The *Wächter und Anzeiger* does not specifically state that the story is true—though it seems to be a correct report. It is reprinted from a European source. The incident occurred during the visit of President and Mrs. Wilson in Italy. It is reported that on that occasion, a golden wolf, with a little Romulus and Remus, was presented as a gift to "a certain lady." "That certain lady" responded to the presentation speech somewhat as follows: "I thank you most heartily for this beautiful work of art, this symbol of eternal love, Romeo and Juliet." Whereupon—so the story goes—"a certain ambassador" coughed so loudly as to drown out the rest of her words. An English officer who was present, carried the story to England, from whence it spread very rapidly. Then the editor adds, with perhaps unconscious humor,—only an Englishman could be low enough to spread such a story.

⁶⁵ *Echo*, October 26, 1918.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, November 2, 1918.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, December 21, 1918.

knecht and Rosa Luxemburg was greatly deplored, and from that time on the *Echo* began to fear that the new German government might not be a real government of the working classes.⁶⁸ An earnest plea was made to listen to the voice of labor at the peace conference,⁶⁹ but the editor soon came to the conclusion that the peace would be a capitalistic peace of bargaining, in which the weaker group of capitalists would yield to the stronger, with the result a mere patch-work, containing the germs of future wars.⁷⁰ A few months later, the *Echo* felt certain that a League of Nations was coming, because it was necessary to save capitalism, and that it would be a league of bankers, diplomats, traders, and manufacturers.⁷¹ The true league must therefore be postponed until there could be a revolt of all the workers, and the destruction of capital's power forever.⁷²

It is difficult to summarize the attitude of Ohio's German-language newspapers toward the proposed League of Nations. The German papers differ among themselves on this point, much like the English dailies. Furthermore, several of the papers have changed their attitude during the long struggle over the ratification of the Covenant, and some that were heartily in favor of a League when first proposed, became hostile to the League of Nations that was finally brought back from Paris.

The *Cincinnati Volksblatt* was perhaps the most enthusiastic supporter of the project, and at the outset favored a league to arbitrate all questions, not even excluding questions of national safety.⁷³ It rejected as absurd all objections raised to the constitutionality of such a Covenant, insisted that disarmament was the paramount issue, and contended that only a league of nations could furnish the hundred years of peace which the world needed to emerge from its misery.⁷⁴ The same paper accepted as correct the argument that the league would really apply the Monroe Doctrine to the world, and maintained that such a league would

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, January 25, 1919.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, November 30, 1918.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, December 21, 1918.

⁷¹ *Echo*, March 8, 1919.

⁷² *Echo*, April 12, 1919.

⁷³ *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, January 15, 1919.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, February 20 and 25, 1919.

have prevented the war in 1914⁷⁵. The editor agitated for ratification of the Covenant without amendment; believed that nations should be compelled to accept mandates by decree of the League; and refused to be disturbed by the argument that England had more votes than the United States in the assembly.⁷⁶ The stumping tours of Senators Reed, Borah, Poindexter, and Johnson, against the League were heartily condemned because they embarrassed the President and endangered the entire peace settlement.⁷⁷ In June, 1919, the *Volksblatt* suggested a popular referendum on the question of joining the League, arguing that there was less risk in joining than in remaining out.⁷⁸ By August, 1919, this paper admitted that ratification could not be secured without moderate reservations, but gave no indication that it had changed its general attitude in regard to the necessity of a League.⁷⁹

The *Defiance Herald* and the *Siebenbürgisch-Amerikanisches Volksblatt* apparently approved of the League.⁸⁰ The *Cincinnati Freie Presse* was a little more skeptical in regard to the proposed Covenant, but favorable to it, on the whole, although pleading for some international police force to give vigor to the decrees of the League Council.⁸¹ March 1, 1919, the editor advocated the admission of Germany to the League.⁸² By July, 1919, the *Freie Presse* was giving considerable space to articles dealing with the defects of the League,⁸³ and by September, while still believing that the Covenant would be accepted by the Senate with reservations, held that it would not be a misfortune if it failed altogether.⁸⁴ The *Toledo Express*, deplored what it called Senator Lodge's partisan tactics, but was very doubtful about

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, February 28, 1919.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, March 3, 7 and 12, 1919.

⁷⁷ *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, March 17, 22, 27, 28, 29; April 1, 1919.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, June 5, 24; July 8, 1919.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, August 14, 1919.

⁸⁰ *Defiance Herald*, October 2, 1919; *Siebenbürgisch-Amerikanisches Volksblatt*, December 26, 1918.

⁸¹ *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, December 28, 31, 1918.

⁸² *Ibid.*, March 1, 1919.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, July 16, 1919.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, September 17, 1919.

the efficacy of certain provisions of the Covenant.⁸⁵ The *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* was even more skeptical, attached considerable importance to the objections to the League raised by Charles E. Hughes, Senators Reed, Borah and others, and deplored the fact that the President did not answer these objections specifically.⁸⁶ August 20, 1919, the editor declared the League an alliance of the five great powers of the world to keep Germany on her knees, and not a real League of Nations.⁸⁷ The *Cleveland Wächter und Anzeiger* made a similar shift in its position. In November, 1918, the paper printed a long article by H. G. Wells, from the *New Republic*, advocating a League of Nations,⁸⁸ and the following March declared that no one was opposed to the principles of the League except Tories, Junkers, Bolsheviks and "Non-German Prussians" of every country.⁸⁹ By July, the editor was coming to the conclusion that there was nothing of Wilson's peace program to be found in either the peace treaty or in the Covenant for a League of Nations.⁹⁰ In discussing Mr. Wilson's distinction between "moral and legal obligations" under Article X of the League, the editor had a chance to refer once more to an issue raised while the United States was still a neutral. An editorial points out how very often moral obligations fail to transcend legal obligations, and cites, as an illustration very much to the point, our sale of munitions to the allies before 1917. The editor insists that the sale of munitions of war was legal, but not moral.⁹¹ In October, 1919, the League is represented as another armed coalition, composed of a minority of the powers of the earth, to guard the war booty and to preserve the *status quo*.⁹²

When the provisions of the peace treaty finally began to filter through the censorship, the contrast between President

⁸⁵ *Toledo Express*, February 20; March 13, 1919.

⁸⁶ See *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, December 27, 1918; January 27, March 8, April 1, March 31, July 12, 1919.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, August 20, 1919.

⁸⁸ *Wächter und Anzeiger*, November 28, 1918.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, March 24, 1919.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1919.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, August 21, 1919.

⁹² *Ibid.*, October 11, 1919.

Wilson's words and the concrete results of the Peace Conference was a shock and an almost unmeasurable disappointment for those German-American editors who had trusted so blindly in the efficacy of the Fourteen Points to inaugurate a new world order in which even the new German Republic might begin with a fairly clean slate and might even escape, to some degree at least, the punishment for the sins of the preceding government. Editorial comment on the war and its results becomes more and more cynical after this, and reflects at times a state of mind born of utter despair for the future of the old fatherland. Nevertheless, all the papers are substantially agreed on one point — Germany must drink the cup of woe to the dregs; from that there is no escape. A few of the editors admit that she herself is responsible for her present misfortunes. On the whole, there is little optimism in regard to the future. Once more — so runs the comment of the cynics — the highest ideals, expressed in the most beautiful terms, and apparently in good faith, have been crushed by the forces of materialism, and the old order and its *Machtpolitik* has triumphed again.

As late as April, 1919, when President Wilson so dramatically cabled for the "George Washington" and seemed about to bolt the conference, there was still hope that the settlement would be forced on the basis of the Fourteen Points. Any other peace was regarded as a violation of a most sacred promise, given to a beaten and helpless foe.⁹³ Every paper lamented the fact that the censorship in Paris made it impossible to judge who was guilty of retarding the work of the conference, in its efforts to arrive at a just and speedy peace.⁹⁴ The *Akron Germania* sarcastically reminded its readers that the world had fought, among other things, for publicity, truth, liberty, and "open covenants, openly arrived at".⁹⁵ Generally, the blame for the delay and the hostility to the Wilsonian program was charged

⁹³ See *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, April 11, 1919; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, April 14, 1919; *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, April 9, 1919; *Toledo Express*, April 24, 1919.

⁹⁴ See *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, April 7; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, April 5, 1919; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, December 13, 1918; *Akron Germania*, February 17, 1919.

⁹⁵ *Akron Germania*, May 19, 1919.

to France. Clemenceau was considered an old school diplomat, and an exponent of the policy of Louis XIV,⁹⁶ and the *Wächter und Anzeiger* gave a prominent place in one of its issues to an appeal, taken from the *New Republic*, urging the French to abandon their imperialistic aims, especially in the Saar region, for the sake of a permanent peace.⁹⁷ One editor observed that if the peace conference really wished to grant all the territorial demands made upon it, it might find it wise to create another world.⁹⁸ The *Cincinnati Freie Presse* calls attention to the fact that the blockade, maintained after the armistice, had been responsible for the death of 800,000 infants in Germany, and that in comparison with this efficiency, the work of Herod, organizer of the murder of the babes of Bethlehem, must indeed be considered very amateurish.⁹⁹

May 12, 1919, the *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* denounced the peace as an imperialistic peace, based on superior force, and constructed on the principle that to the victors belong the spoils, and designed to take revenge for the treaty of 1871 and the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. And yet — the editor adds — Germany would have done the same if she had won. The same paper laments the end of "the free, German Rhine", but is certain it will never become a French stream.¹⁰⁰ The *Volksblatt* approved of the dismantling of the forts at Kiel and Heligoland, but urged that the same steps be taken with regard to all other strategic straits and waterways.¹⁰¹ One editor calls the peace a Napoleonic Peace of Tilsit, and the *Wächter und Anzeiger* reprints, from Viereck's *The American Monthly*, an article applying the peace terms to the United States, showing what territory would have to be surrendered, the reduction in our army and navy and merchant marine, etc., and concluding with the observation that every American would cry out at once, after

⁹⁶ See *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, June 10; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, February 15, 1919.

⁹⁷ *Wächter und Anzeiger*, January 21, 1919.

⁹⁸ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, February 22, 1919.

⁹⁹ *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, May 31, 1919.

¹⁰⁰ *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, March 22, 1919.

¹⁰¹ *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, March 19, 1919.

such a peace, "We have been tricked."¹⁰² Some editors believed the Fourteen Points were bartered away to get the League of Nations Covenant.¹⁰³ The editor of the *Cincinnati Freie Presse* wittily remarks that Germany can consider herself very fortunate that the allies forgot to impose national prohibition.¹⁰⁴ The loss of the coal fields of Upper Silesia and in the Saar Valley is regarded as especially disastrous,¹⁰⁵ and the financial terms so severe that they kill the goose that is expected to lay the golden eggs.¹⁰⁶ The Shantung clause was of course seized upon with glee because it seemed to be a particularly bad spot in the treaty. The *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, quoting the New York Evening Sun, says on this point, — "Anatomy is a curious thing. We cut China's throat in order to save the heart of the world."¹⁰⁷ Almost every paper comments on the failure of the Peace Conference to do anything with the important problem of the freedom of the seas.¹⁰⁸ Many other citations could be made to illustrate the general dissatisfaction with almost every article of the treaty. It is maintained that the principle of self-determination has not been consistently applied,¹⁰⁹ that the provision on mandatories is simply to camouflage annexations,¹¹⁰ that the demand for the surrender of German live-stock to the French and the Belgians is particularly inhumane, etc.¹¹¹

Even the Alsace-Lorraine settlement is not regarded as final. The editor of the *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* maintains that these provinces will ultimately be free and independent states.¹¹²

¹⁰² *Wächter und Anzeiger*, June 7, 1919.

¹⁰³ See *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, May 14, 1919.

¹⁰⁴ *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, May 30, 1919.

¹⁰⁵ *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, May 8, 1919.

¹⁰⁶ *Wächter und Anzeiger*, May 23, 1919.

¹⁰⁷ *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, September 20, 1919; see also *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, June 25, 1919; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, May 15, 1919; *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, July 8, 1919.

¹⁰⁸ See *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, May 7, 1919; July 3, 1919.

¹⁰⁹ *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, May 12, 1919.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1919.

¹¹¹ *Echo*, June 28, 1919; see also May 17, 1919.

¹¹² *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, November 12, 1919.

Every paper reprints in full, articles from prominent American and English liberal periodicals criticising the peace.¹¹³

One or two papers are confident that Germany can right herself, and therefore believe that the best policy for the Germans to follow is to accept the treaty at once, and begin the work of reconstructing Germany, and perhaps later, the world, along new and better lines. The *Toledo Express* thinks the German economic structure has a chance to survive even the tremendous reparations to be exacted by the peace settlement.¹¹⁴ There is also just a little hope in the League of Nations.¹¹⁵ The *Akron Germania* urges the German people to profit by their bitter experiences, and arise as a freer and more respected people. The editor points out that the diplomats of Germany never understood the psychology of other nations, and that therefore an entirely new course must be taken by German diplomacy in the future.¹¹⁶ October 15, 1919, the same editor was carried away, in a moment of optimism, to print a couplet from *Fliegende Blätter*,

"Frisch auf ans Werk! Was immer wir verloren,
Aus deutscher Arbeit wird es neu geboren."¹¹⁷

And now, what of President Wilson, and his work at the Peace Conference? As has been already indicated, the President began his arduous labors with the good will and heartiest support of the German press in America. It accepted his peace

¹¹³ See for example, in *Wächter und Anzeiger*, September 27, 1919, "The Disillusionment of Jerome K. Jerome;" in the same paper for August 11, 1919, Charles Nagel's criticism of the peace treaty; and in the issue of June 14, 1919, "Liberal English Protests;" May 30 and 31, 1919, Felix Adler's "The Treaty's Moral Failure," from the *Nation*; in the *Akron Germania*, "The Great Betrayal;" in the *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, July 3, 1919, General Smuts' public statement upon his refusal to sign the treaty; August 11, 1919, Arthur Henderson on the Peace Treaty, from the *New Republic*; and in the *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, June 14, 1919, "The Betrayal" from the *London Nation*; and on May 28, 1919, Dr. Bullitt's resignation from the American Peace Commission. See also *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, October 4, 1919.

¹¹⁴ *Toledo Express*, May 22, 1919.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, July 3, 1919.

¹¹⁶ *Akron Germania*, June 30, 1919.

¹¹⁷ *Akron Germania*, October 15, 1919.

program as the greatest program for the advancement of justice and peace in international relations that had been evolved through all the centuries. When the controversy over Fiume arose, President Wilson's stand against Italy was enthusiastically endorsed, and Italy and her friends as bitterly denounced.¹¹⁸ President Wilson's decision to stop intervention in Russia, and to open negotiations with all the factions in that sorely troubled country, had been hailed as his first triumph over the old-world diplomats and the forces of reaction.¹¹⁹ Such preliminary skirmishes and triumphs as these were followed by the news of the President's apparent surrender and defeat in the peace treaty itself.

The first reaction was perhaps to be charitable and blame Mr. Wilson's failures on the machinations of the imperialists by whom he was greatly outnumbered at the Peace Table, and with whom he had constantly to battle, and usually single-handed. Clemenceau stands out in all this criticism as the arch-conspirator against a Wilsonian peace of justice.¹²⁰ In March, 1919, the *Wächter und Anzeiger* admits that Mr. Wilson made many mistakes and tried too often to play a lone hand in the negotiations, but nevertheless, the editor insists, he always worked sincerely and earnestly for the interests of the masses of the people everywhere.¹²¹ A month later, another paper points out how astoundingly elastic President Wilson's rigid program has become at Paris, and warns the President to make a determined fight for his principles before it is too late—"if he wants to bring back an honorable name."¹²² In May, 1919, the *Wächter und*

¹¹⁸ See *Toledo Express*, May 1, 1919; *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, May 8, 1919; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, April 29, 1919; *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, April 25, 1919; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, April 24, 25; May 6, 1919.

¹¹⁹ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, January 24, 1919. Only the *Cincinnati Volksblatt* (see April 23, 1919), was at all favorable to the recognition of Kolchak and his Omsk government. The other papers advocated non-intervention, and were especially unfriendly to Kolchak. See *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, May 15, June 3, August 6, 1919; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, July 14, 1919.

¹²⁰ See *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, January 14, 1919.

¹²¹ *Wächter und Anzeiger*, March 17, 1919.

¹²² *Sandusky Demokrat*, April 18, 1919; quoting the *Illinois Staatszeitung*.

Anzeiger compares the peace treaty with the "Vae victis" of Brennus to the Romans, but nevertheless, makes an effort to defend the President. The editor believes the Germans probably will blame Mr. Wilson for not insisting sufficiently upon his Fourteen Points, but adds that it is the unfavorable result of the Congressional elections in this country that must be held responsible. Wilson's hands have been tied by the new Congress; the Allies realized the situation and used it against him at the Peace Conference. The editor is certain that the peace would have been even worse had it not been for the mitigating influence of President Wilson.¹²³ The *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* is not so charitable, and wonders whether the President has deliberately broken his promise to the Central Powers, or whether he found it impossible to keep it, or whether he simply changed his mind?¹²⁴ Several papers now begin the practice of quoting from the President's speeches made in 1914, 1915 and 1916. Significant passages on international relations are cited without comment, obviously to call attention to the inconsistency of the peace treaty with the President's earlier views.¹²⁵ The *Cincinnati Freie Presse* is certain that President Wilson is not satisfied with the peace treaty, but lacks either the power or the energy to change it.¹²⁶ The *Cincinnati Volksblatt* comes to the conclusion that neither Mr. Wilson nor Secretary Lansing understand even the rudiments of European diplomacy.¹²⁷ As time goes on, the comments become more critical and bitter. One paper declares the peace a positive curse for all humanity;¹²⁸ the *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* hints the administration must be under British influence;¹²⁹ and quite frequently the editors take issue with the

¹²³ *Wächter und Anzeiger*, May 8, 1919. The *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, of the same date, expresses practically the same view.

¹²⁴ *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, May 8 and 16, 1919.

¹²⁵ See *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, May 17, 1919; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, May 29, and September 17, 1919.

¹²⁶ *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, May 24, 1919.

¹²⁷ July 14, 1919.

¹²⁸ *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, July 12, 1919.

¹²⁹ *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, July 15, 1919.

President, after his return to America, and especially with the arguments he advances to explain the treaty provisions and his action at the Peace Conference.¹³⁰ In August, 1919, the *Wächter und Anzeiger* speaks of the Versailles Peace as the settlement born of hatred and revenge, and now definitely declares the President responsible for the unsatisfactory provisions in the peace treaty.¹³¹ The Austrian peace terms elicited little comment, perhaps because their nature could be forecast from a study of the conditions imposed upon Germany. The few paragraphs that are devoted to the Austrian Peace pronounce it even worse than the German treaty.¹³²

The proposed separate alliance between England, the United States and France, to protect the latter against unprovoked attacks by Germany was denounced from the very beginning as unnecessary, contrary to the spirit of the League of Nations, and a dangerous entangling alliance.¹³³ The *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* declared that the proposal was due to the bad conscience of the French, who know a German war of revenge will come and will avenge the unjust proceedings and robberies of German territories at Versailles.¹³⁴ The *Sandusky Demokrat* devotes a long editorial to a criticism of the French Alliance, and then goes on to attack the present tendency of Americans to deify the French. The writer argues that we never owed France a debt of gratitude for her aid during our Revolution, for she acted on purely selfish motives on that occasion, and then recounts all the friction we have had with the French government in the past, especially during the administrations of Washington, John Adams, Madison, and Andrew Jackson, and during the Civil War. The editor is willing to defer his final judgment of

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, July 15, and 17, 1919; see also *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, July 15, 1919.

¹³¹ August 19, 1919. The *Echo* of August 9, 1919, says — "Germany lost the war, but Prussian militarism conquered the world."

¹³² See *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, May 31, June 3 and 22, 1919.

¹³³ See *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, July 5, 1919; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, July 18, 25; *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, May 13; *Siebenbürgisch-Amerikanisches Volksblatt*, June 19, 1919.

¹³⁴ September 19, 1919.

French life and character until our soldier boys have all returned.¹³⁵

The German newspapers at first took comparatively little interest in the contest in the United States Senate over ratification of the treaty. Almost all of them agreed that Germany would sign the treaty, because she had practically no other course left open to her. To reject the treaty might mean the triumph of the communists in Germany, the overthrow of the Republic, a reign of terror by the Bolshevists, or what was still worse, starvation for the entire German nation.¹³⁶ Only the *Akron Germania* believed that the German threat not to sign was anything more than a diplomatic bluff.¹³⁷ Most of the editors urged the United States Senate to waste no time in debate, and to ratify the treaty, League and all, so that the normal relations and intercourse of peace times might be restored as speedily as possible.¹³⁸ At first there was much impatience with the dilatory tactics of various Senators, believed for the most part to be interested simply in embarrassing the administration for political reasons. As the debates progressed however, many of the editors began to take some real interest in the proposed amendments and reservations.¹³⁹ President Wilson's "swinging round the circle" to create sentiment for the treaty was regarded as a complete failure, and several papers criticised the President rather sharply for raising the old cry of "Pro-Germanism" against those who

¹³⁵ *Sandusky Demokrat*, April 29, 1919. The *Wächter und Anzeiger* of August 12, 1919, makes Pershing's famous remark at the grave of Lafayette — "Lafayette, we are here" — the reason for quoting a paragraph from the pen of Arthur Brisbane in the *New York American*. "But, dear Lafayette, we do not intend to stay here forever, or come back every five minutes, when the whistle sounds. We live in America, and have business there. When you had finished your work on this side, you went home and stayed there. * * * We're glad to have been able to pay the debt with interest. But now we're through. Good-bye."

¹³⁶ See *Wächter und Anzeiger*, May 7; *Siebenbürgisch-Amerikanisches Volksblatt*, May 8, 1919; *Toledo Express*, May 15, 1919.

¹³⁷ *Akron Germania*, April 2, 1919.

¹³⁸ *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, May 9, May 26, and October 28, 1919.

¹³⁹ See *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, October 30; *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, August 22, September 19; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, August 30, 1919.

differed with him.¹⁴⁰ By September 1919, the *Toledo Express* was ready to endorse the report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on both the treaty and the League, for it "breathed the true American spirit."¹⁴¹ By November, the *Cincinnati Freie Presse* had come to approve of the Senate's course in adding reservations to the treaty, a process which it called "Americanizing the peace";¹⁴² and the *Volksblatt*, at first in favor of immediate ratification, had come to believe that the people do not regard the League as at all important, and that they care nothing about the reservations or the language of the treaty.¹⁴³ When the Senate adjourned without having ratified the treaty, none of the editors were much disturbed. The rejection of the treaty was regarded as hardly anything more than a serious personal defeat for the President, for which his own headstrong methods were held solely responsible.¹⁴⁴

While all this discussion of the outcome of the war and the nature of the peace was going on, Ohio's German-language press was devoting its attention, with at least equal energy, to building up its pre-war influence and prestige, and regaining the ground that had been lost as a result of the many unpleasant incidents that had occurred during the war. A German-language newspaper, in order to exist and prosper, must always be interested in promoting the work of German clubs, lodges, singing societies, etc., and in keeping up the interest of the German-Americans of the community in German music, German drama, and most of all, in the German language and literature. If "Das Deutschum" becomes Anglicised, the influence of the German press disappears, and the circulation lists begin to shrink. During the war, almost all German singing societies and lodges suspended their activities, or else turned to the use of English songs and English rituals. German theatres were closed. German music was ruled from our concert programs in a

¹⁴⁰ See *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, August 28, September 8, September 11; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, September 9, September 12; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, September 13, 1919.

¹⁴¹ *Toledo Express*, September 18, 1919.

¹⁴² November 14, 1919.

¹⁴³ *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, November 24, 1919.

¹⁴⁴ *Wächter und Anzeiger*, November 20, 1919.

moment of hysteria, and there was for a time much evidence to show that the German newspapers in Ohio were doomed also. Dozens suspended publication, never to resume. How long those that still appear can live, can not be forecast with any degree of certainty. Now that the war is over, their advertising is growing rapidly again, and perhaps their circulation lists also, so that they may survive for a number of years. At any rate, it is good strategy for the present day editor of a German daily to devote much space and effort to the attempt to recover some of the influence lost during the war, to strive to raise the average American's regard for his neighbor of German blood, and in every possible way, to try to dispel the hatred for all things German which the war brought with it. One method to follow, in carrying out this program, is to disprove the atrocity tales about the German armies. Another is to cite examples of the virtues of the German character and the failings of our Allies. Still another is to urge all of German blood to revive their organizations, by which they have preserved, in an English-speaking community, their language, their theatre and their music, and also, of course, their newspapers. The efforts of the German-language papers in this direction are fully as interesting, and perhaps as important, as their reaction to the war and the peace.

The campaign for a regenerated, and more respected German element in the United States was begun with a vigorous effort in support of the Victory Loan in the spring of 1919. The German papers were full of large advertisements and long appeals to those of German blood to buy bonds.¹⁴⁵ Then came a series of articles to demonstrate how stories of German atrocities originated, and to prove that many of them are gross exaggerations.¹⁴⁶ An article in the *Gross Daytoner Zeitung* maintains that the stories of the ruthless destruction of the Rheims

¹⁴⁵ See *Toledo Express*, April 3; *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, April 4, May 9; *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, April 14, April 23; *Henry County Demokrat*, April 9; *Akron Germania*, April 14; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, April 16, 1919.

¹⁴⁶ See *Wächter und Anzeiger*, April 8, April 9, May 31, November 10, 1919; *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, May 29, 1919; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, October 31, 1919.

Cathedral, so assiduously spread in this country, are without foundation, and that its beauties can very easily be restored.¹⁴⁷ The *Cincinnati Freie Presse* asserts that many of the stories circulated about the Germans and German-Americans were the basest lies and propaganda,¹⁴⁸ and the *Akron Germania*, to divert public attention a bit, points out that seven hundred Turkish women and children have been killed by Greek soldiers.¹⁴⁹ The *Wächter und Anzeiger* makes a great deal of a report by Professor G. M. Priest of Princeton, to whom all mail for Europe was sent for examination. The report reveals that of 335,884 letters from America to the Central Powers, only 502 could be classed as treasonable or in any way "suspicious". This showing the editor regards as remarkable when one remembers the great number of unnaturalized Germans living in the United States, and he concludes that the report must silence forever all talk of an organized "German propaganda" in this country.¹⁵⁰ Many editors have a special grievance against the moving picture theatres because they still continue to show films dealing with the barbarous deeds of the "Hun", and thus keep the public inflamed.¹⁵¹ The *Toledo Express* tries to prove that the German naval program had been for coast protection only and that the German Admiralty never contemplated an aggressive war against any sea power,¹⁵² while still another paper, citing Field Marshal Lord French's book, "1914", argues that England had a secret agreement with France in regard to the landing of British troops in Europe, several years before the war actually broke out.¹⁵³

One of the most effective methods of the German editor to disabuse the minds of his readers of the war-time views of German character, is to publish long descriptive letters from

¹⁴⁷ *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, October 31, 1919.

¹⁴⁸ August 20, 1919.

¹⁴⁹ *Akron Germania*, November 21, 1919.

¹⁵⁰ *Wächter und Anzeiger*, November 28, 1919.

¹⁵¹ *Toledo Express*, October 9, 1919.

¹⁵² *Toledo Express*, December 5, 1919.

¹⁵³ *Wächter und Anzeiger*, September 16, 1919. The same paper again publishes long cables from Germany, sent by Karl H. von Wiegand; and the *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, July 23, 1919, indulges, with rather doubtful wisdom, in a glorification of von Hindenburg.

American soldiers who are with the army of occupation in Germany. These letters frequently comment upon the cleanliness of the Germans (in contrast with the French), the motherliness of the good German Hausfrau, and the kindness and cordiality of the former German soldiers toward their American conquerors.¹⁵⁴ The *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, contains an account of the celebration of Christmas by Germans and Americans in Germany, and on another occasion discusses the cordial relations which have sprung up between the American doughboy and the German girls along the Rhine.¹⁵⁵ Frequently one finds quotations from the press of Germany, praising the conduct of the American Army of Occupation, and also many references to the stories of captured American soldiers who have been kindly treated by their German captors.¹⁵⁶

Every American of German blood or extraction is urged to continue the fight for the preservation of the German language in America,¹⁵⁷ for its cultural value and for sentimental reasons, if for no others.¹⁵⁸ George Creel and Hans Rieg, chief of the Foreign Language Division of the Treasury Department, are quoted frequently to prove the loyalty of our "foreign population" during the war, and of course also the loyalty of the German-language press.¹⁵⁹ The "war after the war" on all German artists, German music and the German theatre is regarded as most childish, and almost every report of the presentation of a Wagner Opera or a Beethoven Symphony here or in an allied country is made the occasion for a special plea to preserve the music

¹⁵⁴See for example, letters in *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, December 16 and December 31, 1918; *Defiance Herald*, January 16, 30, February 13, 1919; *Gross Daytoner Zeitung*, January 2, 1919; *Sandusky Demokrat*, January 3 and March 28, 1919; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, February 7, March 13, September 17, 1919.

¹⁵⁵*Cincinnati Abend Presse*, December 30, 1918; October 20, 1919.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, October 17, 1919; also *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, February 5, September 1, 1919.

¹⁵⁷*Sandusky Demokrat*, December 6, 1918.

¹⁵⁸See *Wächter und Anzeiger*, February 20, 1919.

¹⁵⁹See *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, November 5, 1919; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, March 11 and 12, 1919.

of the Masters.¹⁶⁰ German singing societies are advised to become active again and there is evidence to show that they are being slowly revived. In Cincinnati a movement is under way to bring back the German theatre, and the old Cincinnati Turngemeinde is making pretentious plans for the future.¹⁶¹ Even "German-fried potatoes" and "Bismarck Herring" are finding their way back to their time-honored places on the menu cards. The clever paragrapher of the *Cincinnati Freie Presse* observes—"The coming peace casts its shadow farther and farther before it. Liberty cabbage is again known as Sauerkraut, and tastes as fine as ever."¹⁶²

The observer who two or three years ago predicted the speedy extinction of Ohio's German-language newspapers now finds it necessary to revise his judgment. The papers that have weathered the storm may survive for years. Their advertising is on the increase. Our citizens of German extraction seem to be rallying once more to the support of their clubs and singing societies, and are finding solace and rest from the criticism of the world outside within the peaceful confines of the lodge room. As long as these organizations exist, the German-language press will have a clientele. At the present time, there is a lively campaign in progress in almost every city that has an appreciable German element for the relief of the suffering and famine-stricken kinsmen in the old Fatherland, and the appeal is not falling upon deaf ears. The response is whole-hearted and the movement seems to be well organized.¹⁶³ The war hysteria is passing rapidly; the public is weary of war talk. Before long the war, and the bitter passions and agitations it aroused, will be crowded from the public mind by new events. Organized hostility to German music, German literature and the German

¹⁶⁰ See *Gross Daytuner Zeitung*, March 13; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, October 1, November 18; *Cincinnati Abend Presse*, January 22, May 3; *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, January 21, 1919.

¹⁶¹ See *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, July 21, August 16; *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, November 27, 1919; *Gross Daytuner Zeitung*, December 17, 1918.

¹⁶² *Cincinnati Freie Presse*, January 7, 1919.

¹⁶³ See *Akron Germania*, October 13, 27; November 21; *Wächter und Anzeiger*, August 1, 3, 6; *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, September 6; *Toledo Express*, August 14, 1919.

press will probably die down more rapidly than many of us anticipate. It is possible that the German-language press in Ohio may live for several decades, at least until most of the present generation of our German element, born in Germany, will have disappeared from our population.



EMILIUS OVIATT RANDALL.

1850-1819.

This issue of the QUARTERLY is a memorial to Emilius Oviatt Randall, Secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society from February, 1894, to the date of his death, December 18, 1919, a period of twenty-five years. Through all that time he was editor of the OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY. Its pages bear the impress of his character — his industry, his literary merit as historian and his devotion to his native state. They constitute a more enduring memorial than the spontaneous tribute of a host of friends and appreciative readers within and beyond the borders of Ohio.

With the poignant regret at the death of our secretary comes a feeling of pride in the contemplation of his achievements and character. In no better way can the appreciative estimate of both be presented than through the testimonials of those who were in close touch with his life work. These are set forth on the following pages with supplemental notes and quotations from his writings.

It is a noteworthy coincidence that Mr. Randall's first literary work, so far as known, was as editor and that his last contribution was to *The Ohio Newspaper*, published by the department of journalism of the Ohio State University. From the proceeds of his youthful editorial venture he realized sufficient to pay in part the expenses of a trip to the Paris exposition of 1867, the reminiscences of which furnished the material for an informing and delightful address fifty years later before the Kit-Kat Club — the last extended and carefully prepared address that he delivered.

The Kit-Kat Club held a service in honor of the memory of Mr. Randall at the Chittenden Hotel, Columbus, O., February 1, 1920, at 3 o'clock P. M. The program and tributes are here given in full:

PROGRAM.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,

HENRY A. WILLIAMS,
President of the Club.

INVOCATION,

REV. IRVING MAURER.

"LEAD, KINDLY LIGHT,"

DOUBLE QUARTET,

Messrs. Karl Hoenig, John M. Sheridan, Ray R. Smith, Frank T. Well-
ing, A. M. Calland, Harold G. Simpson, W. D. McKinney
and Wm. A. Vause.

RANDALL, OUR PRESIDENT,

OSMAN C. HOOPER,
Secretary of the Club.

RANDALL AND THE OHIO SUPREME COURT,

HON. HUGH L. NICHOLS,
Chief Justice Ohio Supreme Court.

RANDALL, THE ARCHAEOLOGIST-HISTORIAN,

HON. JAMES E. CAMPBELL,
President Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society.

RANDALL AND THE CITY LIBRARY,

JOHN J. PUGH,
Librarian City Library.

RANDALL, SON OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,

COLONEL W. L. CURRY,
Past President Ohio Sons of the American Revolution.

RANDALL, THE MAN,

HON. DANIEL J. RYAN.

"NEARER MY GOD TO THEE,"

DOUBLE QUARTET.

BENEDICTION,

DR. JOSEPH S. KORNFELD.

RANDALL MEMORIAL MEETING.

Mr. Henry A. Williams, president of The Kit-Kat Club, in opening the meeting, said:

Ladies and Gentlemen, Members and Friends of the Kit-Kat Club:

For the first time since this Club was organized in October, 1911, we have assembled in memorial session. Remarkable as it is that for more than eight years death should not have invaded our membership, it is still more remarkable that when he finally struck, he struck among our noblest, and took away our President, — our revered friend and beloved member, Emilius O. Randall.

It is hard to speak in measured terms of Mr. Randall. He touched life in so many and varied activities, and touched nothing that he did not brighten and make better, so that no phrase seems fitting for him, save words of eulogy. He was an ideal citizen, an ideal neighbor, an ideal friend, and ideal in all the endearing ties of domestic life.

It has been beautifully said that "Since all must die, how glorious it is that some may die in an undying cause." Mr. Randall died in the undying cause of devotion to truth, and fidelity to all that was highest and best. His creed of life was service. He was never too busy or too fatigued to give himself without stint or reserve to any call that might make even the humblest of men brighter, better or more content. And so he came to the end of life.

It may well be said of him, as was said of Mordecai in *Daniel Deronda*:

"Nothing is here for tears; nothing to wail
Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise or blame; nothing but well and fair
And what may quiet us in a death so noble."

Rev. Irving Maurer, pastor of the First Congregational Church, of which Mr. Randall was a member, will offer the invocation.

INVOCATION.

BY REV. IRVING MAURER.

O God, bless us in this hour with worthy memories. We thank Thee for the life of this friend of ours, for his genial presence and his noble heart. We thank Thee for his faith in the simple virtues, for his confidence in the ways of the people, for his trust in Thee.

Grant to us, as we think of him in this fellowship of kindred spirits, a more steadfast loyalty to the institutions which were dear to him, that for each of us life may hold more courage and cheer.

May Thy peace attend our thoughts of him, and may he not have lived in vain. For Thy name's sake, Amen.

The double quartet from the Republican Glee Club, of which Mr. Randall was an honorary member and at whose banquets he had often served as toastmaster, then sang:

LEAD, KINDLY LIGHT.

Lead, kindly light! amid th' encircling gloom,
 Lead thou me on;
 The night is dark, and I am far from home;
 Lead thou me on;
 Keep thou my feet: I do not ask to see
 The distant scene; one step enough for me.

So long thy power has blessed me, sure it still
 Will lead me on
 O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
 The night is gone;
 And with the morn those angel faces smile
 Which I have loved long since and lost awhile!

Mr. Williams, in introducing Mr. Osman C. Hooper, said: As I have have stated, Mr. Randall, at the time of his death, was President of the Kit-Kat Club. He was one of its most active members, and his papers, read at its meetings, were always models of entertainment and instruction, setting a mark of performance so high that they were a source of inspiration and despair to those who followed.

It is fitting that Mr. Hooper should speak for the Club on this occasion. Mr. Hooper is a charter member of the Club, was its first President, and has been for many years its Secretary and active Executive. I have the privilege of presenting Mr. Osman C. Hooper.

RANDALL, OUR PRESIDENT.

BY OSMAN C. HOOPER.

Secretary of the Kit-Kat Club.

The Kit-Kat Club meets today in sorrow. Death has entered our circle and taken our President, Emilius Oviatt Randall who, whether the mood was of laughter or tears, was our friend of unfailing sympathy; a leader of our thought, and a promoter of our companionship. His coming to the Club presidency — an office given unanimously and joyously because there was none other whom it fitted so well — had been the assurance to us all of a pleasant and profitable year. He had planned the year's schedule with care and had begun a service that promised the fulfillment of every wish for a flawless fellowship in the consideration of themes worthy of us and in full keeping with our purposes as a Club. He presided at the first meeting in October, bravely and uncomplainingly enduring, as he did so, the first suffering of a fatal disease. When he left that gathering, it was to return no more to our circle and never to resume the active work of his profession. Save for a few occasions when he was permitted to ride out, he was for weeks confined to his home or the hospital. But his thoughts were with us as ours were with him. Out of his weakness and pain, he gave counsel in the conduct of Club affairs, and did not rest till he was assured that all was done for another successful meeting. In those days of anxiety, members were privileged to call at his home and join personally in the formally expressed hope of the Club that he would soon be in his accustomed place at the head of the table. But on the morning of December 18, death came, dissipating our hopes and saddening our hearts by taking him from our earthly fellowship forever.

Mr. Randall was born at Richfield, Ohio, October 28, 1850. His mother was a woman of culture and a lover of the best and most beautiful things in life. His father, whom in his later years I was privileged to know, combined in his person qualities that were many and varied. Besides being a leading book-dealer of Columbus, he was an eloquent divine, a devoted and influential churchman, a profound Biblical scholar and an author of books which in many Ohio homes ranked next to the Bible because they were an exposition of its themes. There was dignity in his walk, serenity in his face and authority in his speech. To the son were transmitted the characteristics of both parents — an exceptional heritage of birth, glorified by an Americanism which antedated the Revolution and shared in the struggle for independence. His wise father directed his training in the schools and, before his college days, broadened his learning by taking him on a trip to Europe when royalty was aflame. It was a rare comradeship — that of father and son — and the latter often referred to it with the tenderest feeling.

Graduating at Cornell in 1874, Mr. Randall first turned his attention to editorial work and then, partly through force of circumstances, to business. Later he studied law at the Ohio State University, where he took both the bachelor's and master's degree in law, and for six years was professor of law. In the meantime, he had made friends and had been honored in every circle he entered, whether of literature, business or law. In 1894 he became secretary of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, and in the following year was elected Reporter of the Ohio Supreme Court. Thus he came to two important tasks that were congenial and suited to his diverse talents. In them he continued to the end, performing a great volume of work as reporter of Supreme Court decisions, as editor of the *Archæological and Historical QUARTERLY*, as author of numerous historical books and as speaker on historical and literary themes, at the invitation of people both within and beyond the limits of the state. These were years of earnest, joyous service of others — a service that will never be forgotten by those for whom it was so freely rendered. Some recognition of it was made last year when Ohio University conferred upon him the degree of doctor of laws.

But a recognition, wider and even more highly prized, was that written in the hearts of those who knew and loved him.

During his college days at Ithaca, Mr. Randall met Miss Mary A. Coy, the lady who later became his wife. To her and their two sons and daughter, we of the Kit-Kat Club offer our sympathy. We, too, have suffered a grievous loss. We knew his genial companionship, his ready helpfulness and his continuing friendship. His sterling scholarship, his vivacious eloquence and his industrious pen won for him a wide admiration, while his historical research offers to this and succeeding generations a legacy of inestimable value.

We are proud to have known him and to have walked with him through the years; and here, in this solemn hour, we write down among our most treasured memories his qualities as man and citizen, companion and friend.

Mr. Williams then said:

Mr. Randall was Reporter of the Supreme Court of Ohio from 1895 until his death. Since the adoption of our present Constitution in 1851, until the present time, ninety-nine volumes of reports have been issued, with one in preparation. Of these one hundred volumes, forty-eight, almost one-half, will bear the name of "Randall" as the compiler. This gives us something of the measure of his service as an official of our highest court. But it is only a superficial gauge. None of us, outside of the court, can know fully how much he contributed to the preparation of the reports, but we can rest confident that his breadth of knowledge, his gift of expression, and his wide reading, both in law and in literature, were freely at the command of the judges, with all of whom his relations were of the most intimate and cordial character. Mr. Chief Justice Nichols will speak:

RANDALL AND THE OHIO SUPREME COURT.

BY HON. HUGH L. NICHOLS,

Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ohio.

That fascinating orator, Senator Conkling, in his classic nominating speech, at the Republican National Convention, in 1880, presenting the name of General Grant as a candidate for

President, said, in one of those wonderful sentences that he alone could compose, speaking of his great chieftain: "His fame was born not alone in things written and said, but of the arduous greatness of things done."

In somewhat similar vein, one can well speak of Mr. E. O. Randall, late the Reporter of the Supreme Court of Ohio. His field of activity was so wide, his accomplishments so great, and his achievements so marked, that one is perplexed to determine whether he was most excellent in his literary labors, in his splendid speeches, or in the things he has done.

If our State had an Institute, patterned after the fashion of the Academy of France, where by selection the intellectuals of the state were gathered into one body, as a mark of the very highest distinction, I would, had I the right to select, have cast my vote for Mr. Randall; and I am of the firm conviction that by common consent his name would head the list.

Mr. Randall was the efficient and well-beloved Reporter of our highest Court for nearly a quarter of a century, and, since the Constitutional Judicial Amendment in 1912, he was also the Official Reporter of the Courts of Appeals. In this capacity he was the repository of the private and confidential matters appertaining to the administration of justice. Prior to 1913, it was his laborious duty to prepare the law points argued in each reported case, and to collate the authorities relied upon by counsel. This particular function of reporting was abandoned in 1913, as it has been in all but fourteen of the States of the Union. His work of reporting, covering but one-fourth of the Court's life, embraced, however, five-twelfths of its actual output.

In my chambers in the Judiciary Building I have spent many happy hours in social intercourse with Mr. Randall, and I want to bear testimony to the fact that I do not recall that I ever had converse with him without adding to my store of knowledge.

We found much edification in joint perusal of the letters of Mrs. James G. Blaine, published about ten years ago by her daughter. These letters were written by Mrs. Blaine principally to her several children. We felt that in these letters the picture she unconsciously drew of herself as a wife and mother is one of the most beautiful in all the pages of literature.

Mr. Randall was a roommate, at Andover, of the eldest son, Walker Blaine, and he well remembered the circumstances of the son reading to him the mother's letters written to Walker while he was his fellow-student.

The Supreme Court of Ohio feels that some signal honor should be paid to this great man, and to that end the Court itself has prepared a Memorial to be published with and made a part of Volume 101 of the Reports of that Court. It is thought that Mr. Randall, had he the privilege of selecting the forum where his memory might be most enduringly and lovingly preserved, would have chosen this instrumentality.

No other Reporter has been so signally honored; indeed, none of the distinguished members of the Supreme Court have been remembered in this wise by the Court itself, it being the established custom of the Court to memorialize its deceased members through the means of a committee of the Ohio Bar, appointed by the Court for that purpose.

And so it is, that for many generations yet to come, indeed so long as our very Government shall endure, the memory of Mr. Randall will be perpetuated, for every published volume of the 101st Ohio State Reports must contain the Supreme Court's estimate of its beloved Reporter.

The Memorial is as follows:

"The Supreme Court learned with deep regret of the death of Hon. Emilius O. Randall, for almost a generation the Reporter of the Court. He was an unusual man, and, as such, an unusual Reporter. Unusual as both, he sustained exceptional relations with the Supreme Court of Ohio, officially, and with its members, personally, for a long period of years. Those relations justify the unusual, special proceeding which this Court unanimously and sincerely approves.

"In recognition of his long and valuable service in that place and of his distinguished position as a leader of wholesome public thought in the state, the Court has ordered that the following Memorial be spread upon its Minutes and published in Volume 101 of the Ohio State Reports:

"Emilius Oviatt Randall was born in Summit county, Ohio, October 28, 1850, and died at Columbus, December 18, 1919. His

parents were natives of Connecticut and were of strong Puritanic stock. Three of his great-grandfathers fought in the Revolutionary War. They were John Randall, Patrick Grant Pemberton and Benjamin Oviatt. Another direct lineal ancestor was Ebenezer Pemberton, one of the founders and for many years pastor of the famous Old South Church of Boston.

"Endowed by nature with fine literary capacity, and with the instinct for historical and archeological research, Mr. Randall received the education which was best suited to the exercise of those talents. As a scholar at the Columbus High School, and at the famous Phillips Academy of Andover, Massachusetts, where he attained high rank, he found opportunity for the display of his natural ability. In the former he was editor of the *High School News*, and, at Andover, of the *Philo Mirror*, the school magazine. He graduated from Cornell University in 1874, with the degree of Ph. B. He then took a special postgraduate course in history at Cornell and in Europe. He was the Commencement Day orator at Cornell and the historian of his class. Of fine social tendencies, his gentle impulses were quickened and made firm by membership in two Greek-letter fraternities.

"For a short time after his return from Europe he was an editorial writer on a Cleveland paper, but at the solicitation of his parents he returned to Columbus in 1878, and from that time until 1890 devoted himself to mercantile pursuits. During this time he read law and was admitted to the practice by the Supreme Court of Ohio June 5, 1890. He graduated from the law school of the Ohio State University in 1892.

"Having early developed a capacity for imparting knowledge, and possessing a warm and sympathetic intimacy with young men, he was made one of the Professors of Law of the Ohio State University in 1893, which position he occupied with great benefit to the institution and credit to himself until 1911.

"On May 14, 1895, he was appointed Reporter of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and occupied that position until his death. He published forty-eight volumes of the Ohio State Reports. They constitute an outward exhibition of his service in that position, but they do not adequately testify to the great assistance he rendered in presenting to the bench and bar of the state the

contributions made by the Court to the body of the law and to our system of jurisprudence.

"For more than thirty years Mr. Randall led a semi-public life. His activities in the spread of intelligence and in the instruction of the people were manifold and far-reaching. It is doubtful if any other citizen of Ohio has mastered with such breadth and detail the history of the great Northwest Territory, which he always presented with attractive diction and vast learning. He had extensive knowledge of the mounds and Mound Builders. He knew the history of the tribes of Indians who have lived in the Northwest Territory, their chiefs and their achievements, and he eloquently described with sympathetic voice and pen the decline of the Indian influence in America.

"He was in great demand as a speaker on art, literature, history, economics, politics and religion. In great public crises, like the recent world war, his services were much sought, and willingly and laboriously contributed for the public good.

"His vast fund of knowledge on affairs relating to the government of the state and its institutions led to his being consulted on important matters by every Governor of Ohio for the last quarter of a century, and by many state officials and members of the General Assembly.

"In 1893 he was appointed by Governor McKinley trustee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. He became Secretary of the Society in 1894, and has been reappointed trustee by Governors Bushnell, Nash, Herrick, Harris, Harmon and Cox. He was editor of the Society's *QUARTERLY*, and in 1903 was the protagonist and director of the Ohio Centennial celebration held at Chillicothe. Mr. Randall edited the account of the proceedings of that celebration, a work of over 700 pages.

"A Republican in politics, he was a delegate to the National Convention of that party in 1904. He occupied many state and municipal positions of trust.

"He actively engaged in the procuring of funds by private benefaction and public appropriation for the carrying on of many works for the historical and literary instruction of the people.

"In addition to many lectures which he wrote and delivered

in different parts of the country and which disclosed his wide learning and versatile literary talents, he was the author of a number of works. Among these are *Negotiable Acts Bills of Ohio*, *Cases in Ohio Agency*, *The Separatist Society of Zoar*, *The Mound Builders of Ohio*, and *Blennerhassett*. He was an associate editor of *Bench and Bar of Ohio*, two volumes, and contributor to *Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure* and *Encyclopedia Americana*. He was joint author with the Hon. Daniel J. Ryan of Randall and Ryan's *History of Ohio*, in five volumes. If the distinguished authors of this work had rendered no other services to their state, this great work of itself would entitle them to the lasting gratitude of the people of Ohio.

"Mr. Randall wrote well and with conspicuous beauty and strength of statement. His enthusiastic and optimistic nature and superb humor made a fit setting for the gospel of good cheer, of which he was the apostle. One of the finest things about him was his splendid love for children, and this always showed itself in the frequent lectures that he delivered in the public schools and institutions, particularly to the afflicted children at the School for the Blind.

"He was a member of the American Historical Association, the American Bar Association, Ohio State Bar Association, the American Literary Association, English Speaking Union, honorary life member of the Columbus Chamber of Commerce, and Trustee of the Sessions Academy of Art. At his death he was President of the Kit-Kat Club of Columbus, a literary organization, whose meetings were a constant delight to him, and which he enriched with his learning and wit.

"On October 28, 1874, Mr. Randall was married to Mary, the daughter of John H. and Catherine Coy, Ithaca, N. Y., who, with two sons and a daughter, survive him. His private life was delightful and serene. He had a firm and beautiful belief in his religion and was loyal to the Congregational Church, to which he belonged. Of incorruptible integrity and purity of character, he had the gentle spirit and the love for mankind which adorns and never fails to benefit the community in which it is found.

"It is ordered that a copy of this Memorial be sent to the family of Mr. Randall."

Mr. Williams, in presenting Gov. James E. Campbell, said: Conspicuous as Mr. Randall was in many different and varied activities, there is one field in particular, where he stood pre-eminent, and that was the field of archæology. Fine as he was in literary ability, he there had his rivals; happy as he was as an after-dinner speaker and toastmaster, others there ventured to challenge his superiority, but in knowledge of the early history of Ohio, and of its earliest inhabitants, he was universally recognized as having no equal. His writings on the Mound Builders and their works, concerning Indians and Indian life and character, are and will continue to be accepted as authority.

Mr. Randall was a trustee for many years of The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society. For the last twenty-five years, he has been its Secretary.

During much of Mr. Randall's connection with the Society, Governor Campbell has been a conspicuous and helpful member, and is now its President. He knows much of Mr. Randall's contributions to its literature and its records, and will speak.

RANDALL, ARCHAEOLOGIST AND HISTORIAN.

BY HON. JAMES E. CAMPBELL.

It is especially fitting that these impressive services in memory of Emilius Oviatt Randall should be feelingly participated in by The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society; for, of the many eminent and useful citizens associated with that organization in its long career, his name leads all the rest.

In February, 1893, the society was in an unsatisfactory condition generally, and three thousand dollars behind financially. Governor McKinley, having a full appreciation of the work for which the society had been founded, repeatedly urged Mr. Randall to accept a trusteeship and, although a very busy man, he finally consented. Having assumed the responsibility, however, he took hold of his duties with his customary intelligence and vigor, and a few months later, became Secretary of the Society which position he held continuously until his death — having been successively appointed as trustee by Governors Bushnell, Nash, Herrick, Harris, Harmon and Cox. In addition to his work as

secretary, he has been all of that time editor of the Society's many and valuable publications.

One of Mr. Randall's services to The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society was to assist largely in procuring an appropriation of ten thousand dollars from the General Assembly for the purpose of holding, under the auspices of the society, the centennial celebration of Ohio's admission into the Union. He was secretary of the commission having charge of that celebration, labored unceasingly to make it a success and was universally conceded to be its protagonist. Another service, and an almost invaluable one, was to procure an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars to erect the artistic and well adapted building which now houses the collections of the society. That beautiful structure with its priceless treasures, may well be called a monument to Emilius Oviatt Randall.

Mr. Randall was known far and wide as the leading authority upon the Mound Builders who created a very large proportion of the archæological remains of the country. These remains are especially numerous and interesting in the State of Ohio. To the various locations where relics of Mound Builders have been found and which have become the property of the society, such as the Serpent Mound and Fort Ancient, and the historical spots which are memorials of the Indian occupation of the State, such as the Logan Elm, also the property of the society, Mr. Randall gave much personal attention. The scientific exploration of archæological locations he was content to leave to such of his associates as specialized thereon. He found time, nevertheless, for frequent speeches and lectures on the subject, for numerous articles, and for several pretentious archæological papers and monographs. In his own words, he had, through contact with the archæological specialists and their explorations, "acquired an irresistible interest in the subject—a subject fraught with fascination because of its uniqueness and mystery." Mr. Randall's more important writings on archæology include *The Serpent Mound, Adams County, Ohio*, published in 1905; *Masterpieces of the Mound Builders*, published in 1908; and the very interesting resume of Ohio archæology in the introductory chapters of the *History of Ohio—The Rise and Progress of an American*

State. This last named work, in five volumes, is an immensely valuable contribution to history in general and is a permanent testimonial to the accuracy, impartiality, exhaustive research and fine descriptive writing on the part of Mr. Randall and his co-author, Daniel J. Ryan.

While Mr. Randall's surprising historical activities and the executive duties of his office as Secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society precluded a greater output of archaeological literature on his part, nevertheless he had attained a position before the public unique in its relations to the Ohio Mound Builders and prehistoric Indian tribes. He was the interpreter of things archaeological as between the scientific investigator and the public. His remarkable gift of oratory, his happy facility of expressing the most complicated ideas in terms intelligible to the average audience, together with his rare humor and pleasing personality, assured to his hearers a treat so unusual that few could forego subsequent opportunities to come under the spell of his oratory.

With respect to the Indian period of Ohio history—the direct connecting link between the semi-historic and the prehistoric and belonging almost equally to each—Mr. Randall was at once the master of fact and eloquence. His striking descriptions of the stirring events of Indian warfare in Ohio, of the Ohio tribes and their great chieftains, are word pictures so strongly and beautifully drawn as to hold the mind of the reader transfixed. His *Life of Tecumseh*, "the finest flower of the American aboriginal race" (1906) pays a tribute to the great Shawnee chief only equalled in its force and beauty by that of the classic Parkman and his eulogy of Pontiac. His *Life of Logan*, published in 1911, is a forceful monograph; and his handling of the Indian in the *History of Ohio* is unsurpassed in literary excellence.

Mr. Randall's activities as a writer were numerous and varied. As a boy of sixteen he edited and published for one year a paper known as the *Whip-poor-will*. This paper was the outcome of a debating society of which he was the president at fifteen, and which attracted so much attention that it was written up in the newspapers by a young reporter named George

Kilbon Nash — later Governor of Ohio. The *Whip-poor-will* was so successful that out of the proceeds of its short existence young Randall was enabled to pay his expenses to Europe and the Holy Land as a companion to his father, a famous Baptist minister. Later, while a student at Cornell University he edited the *Cornell Era*. In spite of the loss of time devoted to editing this latter publication, he was able to become the orator at commencement — his subject being *The Spectator and the Tribune*; and, on class day, was historian of the class of 1874 to which he belonged.

In addition to the archaeological publications hereinbefore mentioned and the *History of Ohio*, the following works were written by him: *The Zoar Society*, a sociological study of that communistic society in Ohio, for which purpose he spent several weeks in that community as its guest; *Blennerhassett*, a tale of the Aaron Burr conspiracy, as well as a biography of Harmon Blennerhassett with all its romantic details. He was also author of *Negotiable Acts Bills of Ohio*, *Cases in Ohio Agency*, and contributor to *Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure*, and associate editor of *Bench and Bar of Ohio*. His high standing as a historian is attested by the many historical societies which elected him to membership.

Mr. Williams then introduced Mr. John J. Pugh, as follows:

We are all proud of the splendid building that stands at the head of State street, as the home of the Columbus Public Library. It bears over its door the name of Andrew Carnegie. When the complete story is told of the securing of that building for Columbus, it will be seen that in all fairness there should be chiseled by the side of the name of the donor, the name of Emilius O. Randall. To him more than to any other man are we indebted for the Carnegie Library Building. He was a trustee of the Library for thirty-five years, serving at the time of his death. He had its advancement always at heart. During all the time that Mr. Randall was a member of the board, there was one other who equalled him, not only in point of length of service, but also in devoted allegiance to the library and its interests. Mr. Pugh, the present City Librarian, spent with Mr. Randall the span of a generation in this common and delightful service.

RANDALL AND THE CITY LIBRARY.

BY JOHN J. PUGH, LIBRARIAN.

It is not without emotion that I approach the subject, "Mr. Randall and the Library." The intimacy of my relations with Mr. Randall during the thirty-five years he served as Trustee of the Public Library, was such that the personal note cannot be excluded. However, a Johnson can well afford to have a Boswell. The estimate of Mr. Randall as a factor of the Library does not suffer, even though written by a librarian who was devotedly attached to him.

"And so I trust, tho' I perchance may strike Love's chord with clumsy
hand,
You'll feel the melody I tried to play — you'll understand."

To E. O. Randall the Library was more than a trust. He regarded it as an object of love to be affectionately cared for. And through all the years that he was one of its Trustees, he lavished upon it the best of his time and thought. To one who knows the relation of Mr. Randall to the Library, there cannot but occur the inscription that adorns the north transept of St. Paul's over the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren, builder of that famous edifice, "*Si monumentum requiris circumspecte*" — "Reader, if thou ask for a monument, look around thee!" If any one wishes to see the most enduring monument of E. O. Randall, he need but look at the Library. It is his building, for it was largely through his influence that it was made possible. It is his spirit that constitutes the most precious treasure house therein.

Mr. Randall's love of books flowed largely from his love of humanity. To him, knowledge was not a spade to dig with, nor a crown wherewith to adorn oneself, but power — power over the forces of darkness and its attendant evils and sorrows. He wanted every one to have a chance to better his lot and improve his life, and that chance he saw in the Library where all the people might drink at the fountain head of knowledge. He had a Herculean task before him. He had to educate the city gov-

ernment to appreciate the need of a library, and the people to the use of it. He succeeded in both because of the transparent sincerity of all his appeals. Thus the library sentiment grew steadily until finally Mr. Carnegie, convinced by Mr. Randall of the needs of an adequate building, and charmed by his winning personality, gave more generously than his wont toward the erection of our splendid library structure.

Every nook and corner of the library was dear to Mr. Randall, but none so dear as the Children's department. He took especial delight in visiting with the juvenile readers, fellowshiping with them and listening with genuine boyish interest as they recounted the story of some boy-hero in the book they had just read. He often quoted this from Garfield:—"I feel a profounder reverence for a boy than for a man. I never meet a ragged boy on the street without feeling that I may owe him a salute, for I know not what possibilities may be buttoned up under his coat."

The ideals which he sought to make real in our local library, he carried into the larger field of state-wide library development, and the present progressive Ohio library laws bear the impress of his thought.

A lover of books,—himself a writer of books, E. O. Randall's life is after all his finest book. Its pages abound in lessons of love and loyalty which will ever be an inspiration to those who contemplate them.

By the lovers of love and light, he lifted those about him to "that mountain where the Lord commandeth blessings, even life forevermore."

Mr. Williams then said:

Mr. Randall is a fine example of the truth of the philosophy of Oliver Wendell Holmes, who declared that the best way to train children, so as to produce the highest and best in character and equipment, is to begin with the grandparents. Mr. Randall was fortunate in his ancestry. His Americanism and devotion to country were exemplified in his forbears, who, on both sides in his ancestral line, bore arms in the cause of liberty in the Revolutionary War. Mr. Randall was justly proud of this heritage. He was a member of the Ohio Society of the Sons of the Amer-

ican Revolution, and of the Benjamin Franklin, the local chapter. He served as an officer in both organizations and spoke upon many occasions on patriotic subjects at their meetings and banquets.

Col. W. L. Curry, a charter member of the State Society, a Past President and for many years State Registrar, and an active executive of the Society, will speak.

RANDALL, SON OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY COL. W. L. CURRY.

Emilius Oviatt Randall, to whom we pay tribute today, was a very active member of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution for more than a quarter of a century. He joined the Society, March 31, 1894. His ancestors, both paternal and maternal, served as soldiers of the Revolution, in establishing American independence, and had long and honorable service. They were of sturdy New England stock and some of the strains of the families were traced back to the Puritans.

John Randall, his great-grandfather, served as a soldier of the Continental Army, enlisting from New London County, Connecticut, and served during the entire war.

Benjamin Oviatt, his great-grandfather, served as a Minute Man, enlisting from the town of Goshen, Litchfield County, Connecticut.

Patrick Grant Pemberton, his great-grandfather, served in the Connecticut Militia.

Mr. Randall often referred with pride to the long and honorable service of his ancestors in the Revolution with his conviction that the warm blood of patriotism and heroism which flowed in the veins of the men of '76 does not become cold in the veins of their descendants by the lapse of years. He was a firm believer in the tenets of the Society, that, though far removed in kinship, blood will tell for successive generations, when the opportunity comes; that the spirit which led these ancestors to battle for liberty inspires their descendants to fight the battles of all our wars in which they have taken so prominent a part; that Christianity and patriotism go hand in hand, and that the higher

a nation stands the more halo there is about the flag and the character of the people is measured by their devotion to it.

Mr. Randall served as President of the Ohio Society during the year 1901, and took an earnest interest in all the activities of the membership, and made many addresses before the chapters in different sections of the State. As Secretary of the Society, I had the pleasure of accompanying him on many of these speaking tours where he was always received with warm enthusiasm by the members of the Society present, and he always gave them a message teeming with facts and humorous illustrations, which injected a new and lasting interest into their patriotic work.

One of the great historic meetings that I attended with him was at the dedication of the monument erected at Point Pleasant, W. Va., to commemorate the battle fought on that ground between the Virginia troops commanded by General Lewis and the Indians under Chief Cornstalk, October 10, 1774, now recognized as the first battle of the Revolution. Thousands of people were present from Virginia and other states. Mr. Randall was at his best and made a most eloquent historical address before many distinguished citizens, which was received with great enthusiasm.

While Mr. Randall was not a writer of poetry, he was very fond of patriotic lines and I recall a stanza or two from a poem, which he sometimes quoted at the meetings of the Society, in memory of the services and achievements of our ancestors.

One thought was theirs, to see this land
 Crowned with the blessings of the free—
 To plant with an unshackled hand
 The graceful tree of liberty;
 The might of kings could never stay
 The onward march of hero sires,
 Nor quench for one brief summer day
 The glow of Freedom's beacon fires.

Hail to the men who made us free!
 Hail to the stainless swords they drew!
 A thousand years will never see
 Forgetfulness of men so true;
 Their deeds will live while grandly waves
 The flag of a united land
 Above their scattered, sacred graves,
 From mountain height to ocean strand.

He was particularly interested in Americanization of foreigners, always emphasizing the fact that members of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution were the original workers along that line. He assisted many foreigners in preparing their applications for naturalization without expense, and at the time of his death was a member of the Americanization Society as the representative of the Sons of the American Revolution, always attending the ceremonies before the United States Court graduating classes in naturalization, and giving these new-made citizens good and helpful advice which they highly appreciated and will remember with gratitude.

It is of special interest to recall on this occasion that President William McKinley joined the Society when Governor of Ohio, and took a very active part in all of the meetings held in Columbus during his administration. He and Mr. Randall were boon companions and at these meetings the members attended in full force as they were assured of a most delightful entertainment.

What memories come crowding thick and fast as we recall the early days of the organization, some thirty years ago — some sweet and some sad memories. Sweet memories of associating with that galaxy of distinguished men, members of the Society, not one of whom at the call of the roll can answer, "Present": William McKinley, Marcus A. Hanna, Gen. William H. Gibson, Gen. Henry Cist, Gen. Roelif Brinkerhoff, Gen. Chas. C. Walcutt, Gen. H. A. Axline, Gen. James Barnett, Judge Martin Follett, Gen. George B. Wright, Judge Jacob F. Burkett, Gen. Cyrus S. Roberts, Col. James Kilbourne, Hon. Geo. L. Converse, Gen. Manning F. Force, E. O. Randall and many others. Sad memories when we recall that these men whom we all respected and loved have answered the reveille of the Great Commander, have joined their ancestors on the other shore, and our friend the last to answer the call.

The presence of our Mr. Randall will be greatly missed by the members of the Society in these critical days when his counsel, demonstrating unto the last the full measure of devotion to our country, is so much needed.

We revere his memory as a patriotic citizen and high class Christian gentleman.

“Why weep ye then for him, who, having won
The bound of man's appointed years, at last,
Life's blessings all enjoyed, life's labors done
Serenely to his final rest has passed;
While the soft memory of his virtues yet
Lingers like twilight hues, when the bright sun is set.”

Mr. Williams said:

Emerson, in one of his great essays on *Character*, in speaking of the Earl of Chatham, said that when he had made a speech in the House of Lords and finished, there was always disappointment, when he took his seat. No matter how great his speech, nor how greatly his hearers might have been stirred, there was the feeling that he might have made a better impression, had he tried; that somehow the man seemed always greater than the performance. And so it is with all men who in character are truly great. The man is always larger and finer than his achievement. This is true of Mr. Randall. He, too, is something more than the sum of his performances. We may state them all, and unitedly they fail to account for him. The character, the spirit, the soul that flamed through them and fused them all into a harmonious and living whole, make up the real man, the man we knew and loved. It is fortunate that Hon. Daniel J. Ryan is to speak of “Randall, the Man.” No one could do this more fittingly. They were kindred spirits, treading many of the paths of life together.

Mr. Ryan served with Mr. Randall twenty-seven years as fellow trustee of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society. They were both trustees of the Columbus Public Library, at the time of Mr. Randall's death. They prepared and published, as joint authors a great *History of Ohio*, a work, which of itself is enough to place the people of this State under lasting obligations to both of them. They were friends, and neighbors, affiliated in the same political faith, and approached our many public and social problems with the same broad and sympathetic judgment. It is a privilege to present Mr. Ryan.

RANDALL, THE MAN.

BY DANIEL J. RYAN.

Emilius O. Randall had the inestimable advantage of being well-born. Not by inheritance of the muniments of wealth or caste or rank, but through the influences of forebears whose chief purposes in life, and whose aspirations and achievements, were within the sphere of the intellectual and spiritual. They were Americans more than a century before Bunker Hill, and were among the founders of New England, of whom Longfellow wrote: "God sifted three kingdoms to find the seed for this planting." Through six generations his ancestors justified this saying. They helped to bear the burdens of the forefathers; theirs was the Heroic Age of American history. It was the era when the first forests were felled and the virgin soil was tilled; when the conquests of nature and the Indian went hand in hand; when the French invader was driven out; and greater than all, when popular government was established, and a new Nation given to mankind. The Randalls and the Oviatts did their full share of all this, and in the later days of peace they pioneered to a western land to lay the foundation of homes of culture and refinement. They preached the Word and they taught in the colleges and schools of the new land. They brought with them the sturdy New England character sifted through generations of hardships and tribulations.

This was Randall's heritage — a gift from God that he preserved throughout his life. He never compromised it. Beneath his gentle exterior, which he wore as a velvet glove, he grasped the moral side of every question with a grip of steel. It was the operation of his New England conscience which he inherited from his Puritan ancestors. He had the robust qualities of steadfastness of purpose and firmness of thought. He encouraged no conflict in deciding between right and wrong, he tolerated no debate of expediency; he simply and quietly, but quickly and immovably took the side of right. Thus, as he thought in his soul, so he was in his life — clean and straight, and free from hypocrisy and guile. The meaner vices of life never even cast

their shadows near him. It was because of this, when approaching the end that he could say to his pastor, Dr. Maurer, "I am not afraid to go; I have led a clean life." Hence, there was no "moaning of the bar" when he "put out to sea;" on a smooth and level tide the flood bore him to meet his Pilot face to face.

This man has departed from us, leaving us heirs to the lessons of his exemplary life. It was one blest by all the virtues that go to make a real and valuable man — incorruptible integrity, purity of character, gentleness of spirit and love of his fellows. What a splendid substitute for wealth and power! These attributes were the foundations of his name, which was, in his lifetime, the pride and admiration of his loving friends. The best and wisest of mankind have held that such a life is the most enduring. "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches," sayeth the Proverb. Upon this foundation he builded an intellectual and spiritual structure that will be to him a monument more lasting than marble.

Almost his whole career was one of mental activity, and all his efforts were to the end that this activity should assume and develop into a higher form of intellectual life. Even the avocations of his livelihood were within this sphere. To him the world of commercialism was repellant. He took no pleasure in barter, and the efforts and vigors of business made no appeal to him. He lived entirely within the domain of thought in its various phases and emotions. Herein were his labors, his studies, his researches and his amusements. In his readings he ran the gamut of human knowledge — theology, history, science, economics, politics and polite literature. Rarely is this done without deflecting the mind from sound and safe thinking. The book-student too often becomes a crank or faddist. But with him the pursuit of extraordinary information and the study of new and ruddy-colored ideas and doctrines were either for adding to his knowledge of human nature or for intellectual amusement. He never read or studied himself out of the realm of everyday life. He quaffed deeply of the Pierian Spring, but was neither dulled nor intoxicated by its waters. Few men can do this, but Randall did it, and it was due to his penetrative mind and his uncommon common sense.

Before the tempestuous uprisings of recent years as manifested in the new doctrines of government, sociology and religion, he stood unbending, and "four square to the winds that blow." And yet he read every book on these subjects, and when the messengers of the heralded "new day" came, whether it was Emma Goldman or Debs or Plumb, he was in their audiences. With a deep and patriotic attachment for the representative democracy which his forefathers fought to establish, he rejected government by the crowd. He knew that it had been discussed by the founders of the Republic, and that the struggle toward civilization had been to get away from mass rule, because it begat the very autocracy which it sought to destroy. His judgment therefore refused the referendum, with its handmaidens, the initiative and the recall, as subversive of conservative and representative government. As he saw state after state, including his own, adopting them, he felt that they were simply digging out of the junk pile of history machinery rejected ages ago, and furnished up for use by the power-hungry crowd. But on these topics he rarely expressed himself, and never wrote concerning them. There were other and less militant subjects to which he directed his speech and pen. He took no pleasure in the polemics of politics.

Likewise he rejected Socialism. Twenty years ago he entered into the study of its doctrines with an open and even mind. He conscientiously read its fascinating literature, from the *Capital* of Karl Marx to the political platforms of that day. His imaginative mind saw the beauty and attractiveness of its ideals. He knew that ever since the days of Plato, and later, since the days of Sir Thomas Moore's *Utopia*, men and women have dreamed of a cooperative brotherhood. He knew that the world was full of wrongdoing, and of injustice and of unmerited suffering, but he felt this would be remedied more by man acting to man as a brother, rather than as a member of a brotherhood established by law. He was sure that the cure was not in drying up the great reservoir of individual effort and responsibility, which gives vitality to human personality and human purpose. From his viewpoint, what the Socialist sought to attain depended upon a complete change of earthly motives and passions;

it was an aspiration to transform human relations into heavenly. His practical mind could see no accomplishments in all this reasoning. From this theoretical discussion he turned to an examination into the physical operation of Socialism. At that time there was in this state, at Zoar, a communistic society that had existed for nearly three generations. Founded to share property, profits, labor and lives in common, it was a fine example on a small scale of the Socialistic state. To this living type of Socialism in action he turned for the best testimony. He was received hospitably by its people, and a vacation was spent in studying the domestic and civil life, the government of its church, its business operations, its local literature and social life. The result of his labors was a book entitled *Zoar: A Study of Sociological Communism*. This little book is one of the most effective answers to Socialism ever offered; it is not an argument; it presents a picture of the hard fact of failure. It is the best and most valuable contribution of original research work of the author's literary life. He has phased here an institution that in the first generation was founded and followed with religious enthusiasm, in the second with lukewarm fidelity and waning strength, and in the third with decrement leading to death. The end was that the courts received its wreckage for distribution according to law. The book *Zoar* with its record will always be a truthful witness when called on the stand to testify as to the practical operation of Socialism. The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society has issued edition after edition in response to inquiries from scholars, economists and students throughout the world.

His favorite field of study — in which he traveled afar — was the pre-historic and the Indian period of our State. He was easily the first authority in this country on these subjects, and his writings are authoritative and will remain as a lasting monument to his life-work. His studies of Ohio are reflected from thousands of pages, and he scattered his knowledge widely and freely among the people through lectures, addresses, books and pamphlets. While his name is indelibly impressed upon the historical literature of Ohio, he did not limit his studies to this subject; he wandered widely through the elysian fields of letters, and of every branch of knowledge he was a devotee. He was a lover

of good books, and to him they were the flowers of literature, and every day was their summer time. He loved to quote Wordsworth :

“Books we know,
Are a substantial world, both pure and good;
Round these, with tendrils strong as flesh and blood,
Our pastime and our happiness will grow.”

To those who enjoyed his intimacy the truth of this is known. Wherever he was there were his books; his home saw them placed in every room at every hand; in his office they were at his side; at rest or in travel they were his companions. Thus the stately characters of all ages — the good, the true and the beautiful of the past, and the wisest of the present were his constant counselors, his associates and his friends.

If these serious phases of his nature were admirable to his friends, his social qualities were an especial charm and delight. In his library, at the club and at the banquet board he was a fountain of enjoyment, and a companion always warranted to dispense knowledge and dispel care; and a privilege, indeed, it was for one to sit with him. How well do we remember him at many a feast contributing his learning and humor with great flavor and with no favor. He was a philosopher of happiness, “of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy.” It could be said of him as Macaulay said of Addison, that he had a wit without a sting, and a humor without coarseness. With these he was “wont to set the table in a roar.” This dignified lightness of heart was with him one of the cultivated philosophies of his life. It served him well in his labors, it lightened his researches and even in the sombre last days he did not fail to invoke it. To say more of this man would be to transform fact into eulogy, and he does not need that. He was of a fine type. God mixed in him all the elements of true manhood. He has left us in his life a most beautiful memory. To his family he has committed a heritage that all the money in the world could not buy, nor all powers of earth wrest from the Fates. He will long be remembered as a man with an unsullied name, as a scholar of great learning, as one who knew how to use wit and humor without abusing them, and as a citizen who kept all the pledges of the Athenian oath.

To us, his fellow-members of the Club, which for nearly ten years was a pleasing part of his life, his going means much. But he leaves no vacant chair. He will ever be with us, will ever be talked of, and his chaste association ever be a benediction and an influence. We will always remember his boyish smile of friendly greeting. When he spoke, the nights of the Club became Attic nights, and we recall them with no other regret than that they can return no more. For 'tis but the truth, and each of us can say to him today :

"We spent them not in toys, or lust or wine;
But in search of deep philosophy.
Wit, eloquence and poesy,
Arts, which I loved, for they, my friend, were thine."

To his name and his gentle spirit, we, his friends, are here to do honor, to keep fragrant his memory, and to urge his example. We send him a message, but it bears no tone speaking of the sadness of farewell, nor complaint of the inevitable; it is one bearing the appeal of our hearts and the prayers of our souls: Emilius, may the companionship of God be with thee, and may His mercy and guidance be with us, till we meet again.

The double quartet — Mr. Charles H. Orr having replaced Mr. W. D. McKinney, who was compelled to leave the city — then sang :

Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee!
E'en though it be a cross
That raiseth me;
Still all my song shall be,
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee!

Though like a wanderer,
The sun gone down,
Darkness be over me,
My rest a stone,
Yet in my dreams I'd be
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee!

Then, with my waking thoughts
Bright with Thy praise,
Out of my stony griefs
Bethel I'll raise;
So by my woes to be
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee!

The meeting was concluded with prayer.

BENEDICTION.

BY DR. JOSEPH S. KORNFELD.

To the departed Emilius Oviatt Randall, whom we now affectionately remember, may peace and bliss be granted in the realm of eternal life. There may he find grace and mercy before the Lord of Heaven and earth. May his soul rejoice in that ineffable good which God has laid up for those who love and revere Him. A never-failing inspiration in life, may his memory be a never-dying benediction.

May our Heavenly Father vouchsafe unto the bereaved His gracious care and may the light of His love lead them through the darkness that surrounds them.

Peace to the dead, power to the living. Amen.

EMILIUS OVIATT RANDALL, PROFESSOR OF LAW.

BY DR. W. O. THOMPSON.

The characteristic feature of the present day in education seems to demand a highly specialized study in a rather narrow area as a preparation for teaching. Perhaps more than any other one thing the academic man feels that his equipment for teaching is not quite complete until he has demonstrated his power of original research and has received the testimony of that fact in the form of a degree known as the Doctor of Philosophy. In the absence of such testimony there is a disposition to assume a certain superficiality in the work that men do. The older days, therefore, are often looked upon as less critical and more super-

ficial and a certain discredit attaches to anyone whose interests are wide and varied. Whether current opinion on such matters is infallible we need not discuss. The point in mind is that high specialization is assumed as necessary in the teaching profession. Judged by this criterion Emilius Oviatt Randall probably would not have been able to qualify as a teacher. He had been educated under quite another ideal and found himself with ever increasing interest in new fields of thought and activity. He was a man of wide and varied interests.

One is sometimes at a loss to know what motives urged him in the life that everyone recognized as full of intellectual activity. He graduated from Cornell University in 1874 and for some years found himself engaged in business. In 1892 he received the degree of Bachelor of Law. By reason of the manner in which his studies had been pursued he was able the same year to complete the work required for the degree of Master of Laws. He had been admitted to the bar June 5, 1890 before the completion of his legal education, having studied law privately for some time under Mr. Frank C. Hubbard with whom he was for a time associated in practice. He was appointed Professor of Commercial Law January 12, 1893. June 13, 1900, his title was changed to the more comprehensive term of Professor of Law. He resigned May 20, 1909, effective at the close of that academic year. At this period Law Faculties were adopting the title of "Professor of Law" rather than the more specific titles. This general attitude toward the teaching of law was quite in contrast with that in other circles where the tendency was to express in titles the limit of the field in which the teacher was presumed to be an authority.

During his experience as teacher Professor Randall's chief duty was the teaching of Commercial Paper. It is a bit of interesting testimony from some of his students that their later experience in the practice of law has demonstrated the effectiveness of his teaching. Professor Randall's genial humor and his ability to illustrate a principle or a point in controversy with an apt story had a tendency for the moment to emphasize to the student's mind the quality of the humor rather than the efficiency of the instruction. Later experience, however, if we may believe

the testimony of his students, is to the effect that his teaching produced abiding results.

In an effort to analyze such a situation one can understand that in the interpretation of the kind of contracts involved in commercial paper the human factor would be very much in evidence. The obligations that men take upon themselves, or that they assume in undertaking to endorse their friends, are the obligations that arise out of our human interests. The man, therefore, who is able to interpret the motives of men, to understand their points of view and their relations to each other, is quite apt, apart from any technical interpretation of a contract, to set out the real issue involved in these commercial relations. Professor Randall's keen analysis of the conduct of men as constantly shown in his public addresses doubtless came to active play in his teaching. The tendency on the part of the student to over-emphasize the fact and the letter of the law was counter-balanced by a teacher who could throw a flood of light upon the text of the law and interpret it as reflected in the motives and conduct of men.

Professor Randall's method of teaching was a natural development of his own tastes and had in it to a considerable degree the quality and character of the man. This is a most desirable feature since the most effective teaching often consists in the re-inforcement of the teacher's personality. In this personal equation lies the secret of power. An ardent admirer of Francis L. Patton once remarked to me that he received less from Dr. Patton's lectures while a student at Princeton than from any man under whom he sat but that he worked harder in his subjects than in any other. There was something about Dr. Patton and his method that urged the student to diligent reading and study. This is the inspiration some teachers arouse in their students. It were well if more teachers could send their students out of the class room with a determination to know the subject. Professor Randall receives a somewhat similar testimony in that his students regard him with an increasing appreciation. The mature judgment of later years is of much greater value than the popular favor of the passing moment.

The years in which Professor Randall taught were previous to the introduction of the Case system in the Colleges of Law. In a degree he anticipated this method of teaching. He had familiarized himself with a large number of the important decisions of the courts in cases where commercial paper was the cause of the litigation. In addition he had the happy faculty of developing by hypothesis a well constructed controversy. His students from these hypotheses and cited cases were led to the derivation of the principles on which the decisions of the courts rested. This method was in striking contrast with the a priori method long in vogue among teachers of the law. The test of time has demonstrated the wisdom of his method. It may not be too much to say that in a measure he was the forerunner of the present method now universally in use.

Others have written upon the personal qualities of Professor Randall but it may not be superfluous to add here that his high ideals as to what the legal profession should represent, supported by his own unimpeachable character, aided greatly in determining the character of the College of Law. The spirit of industry and of moral earnestness in the Faculty permeated the student body and has led to a quality in the College that in turn has reacted upon the graduates and produced a body of lawyers devoted to the best ideals and practices of the profession. The character of the lawyer is quite as important to the state as his learning, or his ability to try a case. From this point of view the College of Law has won its place. The Faculty has been largely responsible for this result and is entitled to high praise for the inspiration aroused in students by virtue of what they were. Not the least worthy of mention in this particular was Emilius Oviatt Randall.

RANDALL, THE JOURNALIST.

BY JAMES W. FAULKNER, L. H. D.

There was something of the Bohemian in the composition of Emilius O. Randall, a tendency to escape from the conventional and to appear in the natural. This trait, observed by many of his friends, had its origin in something akin to a congenita!

attribute. Old journalists — and they alone — understand this outward manifestation of an inward surge, because he was their brother in bond and blood. Nature designed him for membership in their craft. In the old Indian days he would have been the story-teller of his tribe. There was in him an ever-present impulse to go and see and come back and tell, as the child would phrase it.

It was this feeling that made him adventurous in his limited fashion. Desire to travel to strange places, to attend notable gatherings, to be present when first steps were taken, and to meet and study great men and unusual incidents — all these grew from the instinct of the born narrator. It urged him, too, to go around the mighty, as it were, and view them from the rear; to divest the powerful of their insignia and sit with them as naked tribesmen. Nothing so well establishes his guild brothership as the account he wrote of his trip to Paris while a youth. In this he told of splendor of the empire of the third Napoleon, then rotten-ripe and about to fall. His description of men and things as he beheld them was worthy of Thackeray.

That cynicism which comes to all journalists he possessed in the gentlest fashion. It infrequently found its way into his writings. Rather was it to be detected in the delicious satire in which he indulged when in the company of chosen spirits of the little clubs which he was ever fond of founding and nurturing. In these companionable gatherings the Bohemian within him was displayed to its fullest measure. His treasures of wit and humor, his wonderful knowledge of men and affairs, were lavished unsparsingly. At these assemblages wherever he sat, like the MacGregor, was the head of the table. He ruled because of native right.

There was also, as a part of his make-up, a spirit of didacticism. He loved to teach as well as to inform. Hence his love for and interest in history. The reporter's instinct bade him delve and dig for the facts and to penetrate every mystery that forbade inquiry save from the courageous and the patiently industrious. These qualifications he possessed. When he had exhausted research he told in simple truth what he had discovered. Defeat he accepted with equanimity. For example, addressing

a group of earnest seekers for some knowledge as to those vanished people, the Mound Builders, he replied to their appeal by saying: "We know nothing of them."

Therein was found the true journalistic ideal—the rendering of an exact account of investigation and survey rather than the promulgation of theory and the formulation of hypothesis. In his work as an official, that of preparing for the records the decisions of the Supreme Court, his vocation made him doubly valuable. There was intense interest for him in traversing the new fields of law and bringing back novel principles growing out of modern conditions and in writing the romances and the tragedies of the legalistic world.

It is not widely known that Mr. Randall virtually grew up in the atmosphere of the journalistic profession. When a mere lad his father gave him a small printing press and several fonts of type. With these he formed the useful habit of preparing his school exercises in print. After writing them he would set up the articles, strike them off from the press, correct the errors of composition and syntax, and finally secure a clean proof which the next day he carried to his teacher. In later years he said that his boyhood custom had given him his unusual vocabulary and remarkable precision in spelling.

With his entrance into the public schools of Columbus there sprang into life his innate tendency for the journalistic. With one of his playmates he edited and published a monthly called the *Whip-poor-will*, devoted to the instruction and entertainment of their fellow children. Upon entering the Central High School he established and fostered a paper given over to the students' interests, the *High School News*. Transferred to Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass., he became one of the staff of the school magazine, the *Philo Mirror*, later becoming its chief editor. During his college days at Cornell University he was selected to edit the *Cornell Era*, the students' weekly. As he received his education in academics and belles lettres his development as a public writer grew side by side with other phases of mental equipment.

Coming back in his early maturity to Columbus he did not relinquish the pen, because in 1878 he is found editing the *Sat-*

urday Gazette, a weekly magazine devoted to literature, art and the gossip and news of polite society. The secular dailies and weeklies, quite numerous in those times, were constantly regaled with contributions from his facile mind. Throughout his life he found occasion to respond to invitations and requests from editorial managers for special articles upon current topics of a serious character. This continued, one might say, almost to his last hour. Several months before the end came, he was to be found writing editorial contributions for the *Columbus Dispatch*. These were, for the most part, upon historical subjects, although there were notable digressions in which political issues were handled skilfully. Some of these articles were written while confined to the bed from which he never rose.

His principal monument as a writer is to be found in the noble collection of books he wrote and edited for the State Archæological and Historical Society. These are in the aggregate twenty-eight volumes. With the unerring discernment of the born historiographer and superior journalist he made selections from the great mass of material confronting him and brought them together with such tact and grace that the books have all the attraction of a fascinating work of fiction. His next greatest memorial is to be found in the deeds and accomplishments of the thousands of men he instructed as a teacher of law at the Ohio State University, as the guide and mentor of the Kit-Kat, the Harrow and other literary clubs, and as the anonymous contributor to the columns of the current periodicals.

With but a select few, however, remain the remembrances of his ambrosial nights within the Bohemian circle where flowed the entrancing current of his most intimate thoughts upon men and matters; where he sat weaving the spell in the minds and hearts of his listeners with the warp and woof of his lore of ancient days and his newly-coined knowledge of fresh created circumstances. In some long dead age his transmigrated soul must have inhabited the body of an aboriginal master of the narrative and in the dusky twilight in the ancient fort above the Miami river must have entranced the warriors, the women and the children of a people whose history is lost in the hazes of the centuries.

TRIBUTE OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION.

BY MRS. EDGAR M. HATTON, REGENT.

At the service held at the Chittenden Hotel, Sunday, February 1, in memory of the late Mr. Emilius Oviatt Randall, the only floral tribute was a simple but beautiful cyclamen, white, with a touch of purple, the symbol of royalty, and I was reminded of the first wild ones I gathered on the site of the Emperor Hadrian's villa at Trivoli, Italy, springing so simply from the soil whereon once had stood a palace. In Monte Carlo they are cultivated to a wonderful beauty and in great profusion and, as my uncle and I once stood there in admiration of them, he said: "They are aristocrats." As aristocrats they have always appealed to me since; consequently their presence at the Randall memorial had a peculiar significance to me, for Mr. Randall was an aristocrat in the highest sense of the word, not as being descended from kings and queens—though he may have been—but as possessing true nobility of character and royalty of mind and heart.

On that memorial day beautiful tributes of love and admiration were laid upon the altar of remembrance by representatives of the Kit-Kat Club, the Ohio Supreme Court, the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, the City Library and the Sons of the American Revolution, with all of which he had been so intimately and honorably connected through long years of faithful service. Then there was the tribute to him as a man, given by his friend and collaborator, Hon. Daniel J. Ryan.

I felt then and I feel now that Columbus Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, would be untrue to its sense of obligation and appreciation if it, too, did not lay an immortelle at his flag-enfolded portrait. Mr. Randall was a warm friend of Columbus Chapter; we have this assurance in his last days, which we did not need, for his ever-ready response to any demand we might make upon his time, strength and intellect was sufficient guarantee of his regard. In looking through our programs of the last 20 years, I find contribution after contribu-

tion from his voice — he needed no pen — the subject-matter being wide and comprehensive. He gave us the benefit of his thought and wit upon such topics as "The Boston Tea Party," "Washington in the West," "Our First Inhabitants," "The Original Ohio Land Company," etc., etc., but the crowning favor was bestowed just one year ago, on Washington's birthday, when his subject was "Americanization at Home and Abroad." We marveled as we sat enthralled by his eloquence how he could so logically travel back from Mt. Sinai and the Mosaic law and in perfect sequence, profound thought and delicious humor come on down through the ages to the present day and conditions and sum it all up in "Americanization at Home and Abroad." It was too profound to retain unassisted. Looking back to that address, I appreciate Mr. Ryan's statement at the memorial that "in his reading he ran the gamut of human learning." The chapter hoped, expected, to be able to read at leisure his remarkable address and great was its surprise and disappointment to find that not one word had been written, not a note made; it had simply flowed forth at command — his mind an inexhaustible reservoir from which he could have drawn indefinitely.

Just one year ago! — but

"Can that man be dead
Whose spiritual influence is upon his kind?
He lives in glory; and his speaking dust
Has more of life than half its breathing moulds."

EMILIUS OVIATT RANDALL.

A Biographical Sketch.

BY WALTER W. SPOONER.

Emilius Oviatt Randall, son of David Austin and Harriet Eunice (Oviatt) Randall, was born in Richfield, Summit County, Ohio, October 28, 1850.

The Randall family, from which the subject of this sketch descended, is recorded in the Domesday Book, prepared by command of William the Conqueror and containing a list of English

landholders in the year 1686. John Randall, born (1629) in Bath, England, of which city his father, Mathew Randall, was mayor, was the first of the family to emigrate to America, arriving in the colonies in 1667. A great-grandson of this colonist was also a John Randall, a Revolutionary soldier, enlisting July 13, 1775, in Colonel Huntington's eighth Connecticut regiment and serving throughout the entire war. A son of this patriot soldier was James Randall, who married Joanna Pemberton, daughter of Patrick Grant Pemberton, a colonial volunteer in the American Revolution, enrolled in Lieutenant-Colonel Gallup's regiment of the Connecticut militia. The Pembertons figured conspicuously in the annals of Scotland and England, and Ebenezer Pemberton, grandfather of Patrick Grant Pemberton, was for many years a most distinguished pastor of Old South Church, Boston, Massachusetts.

James Randall and Joanna (Pemberton) Randall were the parents of David Austin Randall, born in Colchester, Connecticut, January 14, 1813. In the town of Gorham, New York, March 3, 1837, he was married to Mary Ann Witter. The following year he was licensed to preach, and a year later, accompanying his father's family, he and his young wife removed to Richfield, Summit County, Ohio, where he was ordained in the ministry on the 19th of December, 1839. His first pastorate was at Medina, Ohio. While here he edited the *Washingtonian*, a weekly paper devoted to the great temperance agitation then sweeping the country. His first wife died in 1842, and on June 6, 1843, he was married to Mrs. Harriet Oviatt Bronson, widow of Sherman Bronson, of Medina, and daughter of Captain Heman Oviatt, of Richfield—a native of Goshen, Litchfield County, Connecticut, and son of Benjamin Oviatt, a Revolutionary soldier. Heman Oviatt was one of the Western Reserve pioneers, being a member of the party that in 1800 emigrated from Connecticut under the leadership of David Hudson and founded the town of Hudson, Ohio. Heman Oviatt was one of the founders of Western Reserve College at Hudson, since removed to Cleveland and now known as Adelbert College. In 1845 Rev. Mr. Randall removed to Columbus.

The maiden name of the mother of Emilius was Harriet

Eunice Oviatt. She was a daughter of Eunice Newton and granddaughter of Isaac Newton (born in Goshen, Connecticut, 1744), of a family with a New England history extending back to 1646. Isaac Newton's wife was Rebecca Minot, a descendant of George Minot, who emigrated from England to the colonies in 1630. The direct line of Minots has a most distinguished record, embracing in successive generations three captains and a colonel in the pre-Revolutionary New England soldiery. Eunice Newton became the wife of Heman Oviatt, of Goshen, Connecticut. Their daughter, Harriet Eunice Oviatt, was born in Hudson, Ohio, May 26, 1808. The Oviats are found of record in France in the year 1000 A. D., and were seated at Ovia, Normandy, as "Oviatte." In 1066, the year of the Norman conquest, a branch located at Mendippe Hills, County Somerset, England, and there the line became anglicised and the name assumed the present form, Oviatt. Thomas Oviatt, first emigrant to America, came to Milford, Connecticut, in 1639. His direct descendant, Benjamin Oviatt (Ovit), lived at Goshen, Connecticut, and was a minute man in the Connecticut revolutionary militia. His son, Captain Heman Oviatt (Goshen, Connecticut), came to Ohio in 1800 and settled in Hudson. His daughter, Harriet Eunice, married David Austin Randall, father of Emilius.

A few weeks after his birth at Richfield, where his mother was temporarily staying, the boy Emilius was taken by his mother to Columbus, the home of his parents—and his home afterward through life. Being an invalid in early youth, he was privately instructed exclusively by his father until his sixteenth year, when he entered the public schools of Columbus. In the Central High School of that city and at Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, he was prepared for college. He early evinced a taste and talent for literary work. During his term in the high school, he established and edited a monthly publication known as the *High School News*, and in association with one of his boyhood mates he published and edited a monthly called the *Whip-poor-will*, which rapidly attained a circulation throughout the state. It was devoted to the entertainment and instruction of young people. While a student at Phillips, he was editor of the school magazine, the *Philo Mirror*.

In 1870 he entered Cornell University, from which he was graduated in 1874, in the literary department, with the degree of bachelor of philosophy. He was commencement orator, his subject being "The Spectator and the Tribune;" on class-day he was historian of the class of 1874. During his college days he was editor of the *Cornell Era*, the weekly college publication. After graduation he pursued a two years' course of supplemental study at Cornell and in Europe. In 1878 he was editor of the *Saturday Gazette*, a weekly paper in Columbus devoted to literature, art, and society. From

1878 to 1890 his energies were divided between mercantile and literary pursuits in Columbus, during which time he read law under the guidance of Frank C. Hubbard and was admitted to the bar by the supreme court of Ohio June 5, 1890.

In 1892 Mr. Randall was graduated from the college of law of the Ohio State University with the degrees of bachelor of laws and master of arts. The year of his graduation he was made instructor in the same college of law, and in 1895 he became professor of law, a position which he retained until



EMILIUS O. RANDALL,
Junior at Cornell, 1873.

1911. He was a member of the Delta Kappa Epsilon (college) and Phi Delta Phi (law school) fraternities.

On the 14th of May, 1895, he was appointed, by the judges of the court, official reporter of the supreme court of Ohio. This responsible office, requiring both literary and legal qualifications, he still held at the time of his death. In 1913 his duties were enlarged to embrace the reporting of the opinions of the courts of appeals of the state. As reporter he has edited and

published forty-eight volumes of the decisions of the supreme court and ten volumes of the courts of appeals. He was editor of a volume on the *Negotiable Bills Acts of Ohio*, and of a synopsis of the *Cases in Ohio Agency*; was contributor to the *Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure*, and was associate editor of the *Bench and Bar of Ohio*, (two volumes, Chicago, 1897). He served as a member of the Columbus board of education, 1887-89; president of the Columbus Board of Trade (now the Chamber of Commerce), 1889, and trustee of the Columbus Public Library from 1887 to the time of his death. It was chiefly due to his efforts that the funds for the erection of the present public library building were secured from Andrew Carnegie.

In February, 1893, Mr. Randall was appointed, by Governor McKinley, a trustee of The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. To that office he was reappointed successively by Governors Bushnell, Nash, Herrick, Harris, Harmon, and Cox. He was secretary of the society and editor of its publications since 1894; edited twenty-eight volumes issued by the society; and in addition wrote various published monographs for the society, including *Blennerhassett*, *The Zoar Society*, *The Serpent Mound*, *The Ohio Mound Builders*, *Ohio in the American Revolution*, etc. No one has been more zealous or effective in promoting the progress of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, or in securing the annual legislative budgets for its support. He was especially active and influential in the work of inducing the seventy-ninth general assembly to make the merited appropriation for erecting the splendid edifice that now houses the library and museum of the society.

Politically Mr. Randall was always actively affiliated with the Republican party. In the two McKinley presidential campaigns he made political addresses in all sections of the state. He was delegate in 1904 from his congressional district to the Chicago national Republican convention, which nominated Theodore Roosevelt for the presidency.

In 1903 Mr. Randall was the protagonist and director of the Ohio centennial anniversary celebration, held under the auspices of the State Archæological and Historical Society at Chilli-

cothe, May 20 to 22. The complete report of the proceedings of this centennial, a volume of over seven hundred pages, was edited by him.

He was long prominent in the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and in 1901-2 was president of its Ohio state society. In 1907 he was president of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, the first year of its activities. He was widely known as a public speaker on literary and historical subjects.

For many years Mr. Randall was a diligent, comprehensive, and enthusiastic student of Ohio history. He visited most of the historical sites within the boundaries of the state, and collected a large library of Ohioana. In connection with the preparation of the Ohio History, which he wrote in collaboration with Daniel J. Ryan, he visited many of the leading libraries of the country. The first two volumes of this *History of Ohio* are the result of his efforts on the historical field, especially in the pre-historic and pioneer periods.

Mr. Randall's activity in public affairs continued almost to the end of his life. During the World War he was active in travelling over the state, delivering patriotic addresses at the camps, barracks and in churches. He was appointed by Governor Cox as a member of the Historical Commission of Ohio, the object of which was to collect and preserve the historical literature relating to the participation of Ohio in the war. Governor Cox urged him to accept the chairmanship of the Commission, but press of other duties forced him to decline. He was a member of the Americanization Committee of Columbus, Ohio, and devoted considerable time to the work of this organization. He was also a member of the English Speaking Union, Columbus Post, No. 3, an association having for its object a closer alliance of the English-speaking nations of the world.

In 1918 Ohio University conferred upon him the degree of LL. D.

As Reporter of the Supreme Court his standing with that dignified body may be measured by the fact that the Court itself has prepared and published his memorial — the first time in the history of the Court that this was ever done.

For several months prior to his death Mr. Randall contributed editorials to the *Columbus Dispatch*, upon historical and other subjects.

Mr. Randall had a unique ecclesiastic experience. His mother was a devoted Episcopalian, his father a prominent Baptist clergyman. At the age of eighteen, on a Saturday afternoon, he was immersed by his father in the baptistry of the First Baptist Church of Columbus. On the following Sunday morning he was confirmed in the Trinity Episcopal Church by Bishop Mellvain. A few years later he withdrew from the Episcopal Church and became a member of the First Congregational Church, of which Dr. Washington Gladden was for so long the distinguished pastor.

He married, October 28, 1874, at Ithaca, New York, Mary A. Coy, daughter of John H. and Catherine A. (Granger) Coy, both of whom were natives of New Hampshire and descendants of colonial and revolutionary ancestors. Mr. Randall was survived by his wife and three children: Rita (Mrs. Robert E. Pfeiffer), David A., and Sherman B., married to Bessie A. Thompson, a daughter of Dr. W. O. Thompson, President of Ohio State University.

Emilius Oviatt Randall departed this life in Columbus, December 18, 1919. Press editorials and tributes of those who knew his worth bear testimony to his character as man, citizen, historian and servant of the state.

WHIPP-POOR-WILL

Vol. I.]

COLUMBUS, OHIO, JANUARY, 1866.

[No. 1.]



Whipp-poor-will.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.

JANUARY, 1866.

WHIPP-POOR-WILL.

"What's that?" Not a bird exactly, but a New Paper. "A new paper?" I should think we had papers enough all ready!"

For Whippoorwill.

ADDRESS.

To our Friends on New Year's Day.

I n silent haste with noiseless tread,
Another year's forever fled;
His varied scenes of joy and wo,
Are buried in its transient flow.

Wishes, hopes, and smiles and tears,
Alternate joys, alternate fears,
Have marked its course, but all are gone,
No more forever to return.

Your '66 seen its pleasures, felt its cares,
Have had past unbarred a thousand cares;
In health, and peace, and happiness,
The new born year returns to bless.

A thousand thanks to him we owe,
Whose hand unseen guides all below;
Because his mercies never fail,
The opening year with joy we hail.

Happy indeed O may it prove;
Its moments all in pleasure move;
Its hours in wisdom be employed,
Its seconds its innocence enjoyed.

New Years return yet tarry not,
They're haled with joy but soon forgot;
On to eternity they glide,
And bear us on their rapid tide.

For Whippoorwill.

WHAT I SAW IN ROME

Messrs. Editors

I propose to give your young readers an account of some of the interesting and wonderful things I saw in Rome; and first, let me tell them

HOW TO GET THERE.

If you want to visit any of those foreign countries you must first get a Passport.

You can leave this country without but you can not land in any foreign port unless you have a certificate of citizenship from the country to which you belong.

These passports are issued at Washington and read as follows.

"To all to whom these presents shall come,—Greeting:—Of the undersigned, Secretary of State of the United States of America hereby request all whom it may concern to permit safely and freely to pass John Traveller a citizen of the United States, and in case of need to give him all lawful aid and protection."

This is dated, and stamped with the official seal of the Department of state and signed by the President. Then attached to this is a description of the person to

WHIP-POOR-WILL.

Whip-poor-will, to which reference is made in preceding pages of this issue, was the youthful newspaper venture of two lads, Wilson Lindsley Gill and Emilius Oviatt Randall, aged respectively fourteen and fifteen years. Fortunately a complete file of this paper is in the possession of Mrs. E. O. Randall, through whose courtesy we are able to present accurate information concerning it together with extracts and illustrations.

The paper was published monthly and extended through twelve numbers, January to December, 1866. Each issue contained four pages three columns wide, the printed matter of each page occupying a space of seven by ten and one-half inches.

Advertisements were few and subscriptions must have been about the only source of revenue. The matter was almost entirely original. The scissors and paste pot do not appear to have been used extensively in the office of publication.

While contributions are indicated and the names of the authors are sometimes given, the young editors were so modest that they left no distinguishing mark to enable the reader to tell from the pen of which came the comparatively large portion of their joint writings. Some of the longer articles bear an evident resemblance to the later style of Mr. Randall.

"What I Saw South," running through the issues of June, July and August, is known to have been written by him. It is an account of a visit that he made with his father to Washington, Alexandria, Richmond and Petersburg in 1865, shortly after the close of the Civil War, and includes a brief reference to the Grand Review of the Union troops in the national capital. "What I Saw South" is reproduced in full as a very interesting portrayal of impressions made by the scenes witnessed on the mind of a boy at the age of fifteen and faithfully described by him one year later.

In looking over the file one is tempted to quote at length. Aside from the personality of the editors, it is interesting as an early Ohio example of public school journalism, which certainly ranks well with similar ventures of today. The only illustration

is the one here reproduced, the bird that gave the paper its name, which appeared regularly at the top of the first page of each of the twelve issues. Following are a few extracts from *Whippoorwill*.

(From Whippoorwill for January, 1866.)

WHIP-POOR-WILL.

"What's that?" Not a bird exactly, but a New Paper. "A new paper!"

"I should think we had papers enough already."

"What do we want of another?" Wait till you learn what it is, and our reasons for intruding upon you.

1. We are boys, and we want a boy's paper, aye and a girl's paper too, one through which we can talk, and can be talked to. Young as we are, we shall be men soon, and we want to do and learn those things that will make us worthy of our age and nation.

2. We are a small body, and can push ourselves in where larger bodies cannot so well go; and in a small way we intend to make ourselves greatly useful. There are many kinds of birds and all are useful in their place, and we will sing you songs, and tell you stories you never heard before, for we intend to fill our columns with original matter.

We have promise of able and interesting writers to help us; we own type and press, and have the will and ability to do all we engage to do. But we will not boast; we will try you, and if you will try us we feel sure you will be satisfied.

Terms. Monthly at 50 cts. a year but if you feed our bird well, you shall hear his song twice a month, and then we shall ask you ONE DOLLAR a year.

WHIP-POOR-WILL.

This is a very singular and celebrated bird, universally known over the United States, for its favorite songs during the evening. Yet personally he is little known, so modest and retiring are his habits.

So with us, we are as yet little known but we hope to make our songs so interesting as to secure the acquaintance of many.

To most persons the songs of this bird seem like the voice of an old friend.

So we hope to come to you with such pleasant notes as not only to interest and please you, as you gather around your evening firesides, but also to instruct and cheer you.

(From Whippoorwill for April, 1866.)

COLUMBUS PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—We do not think any city of the State can boast a better system of public instruction than Columbus. There are 53 of these schools giving employment to 65 teachers, who have under their tuition at least 4,000 pupils. The closing exercises of the winter term called together a large audience. The public hall of the High School building was crowded to excess, and many went away unable to gain admittance. Being only a boy, the door-keeper at first refused us admittance; but we were determined that WHIPPOORWILL should have a representation in the crowd. As we were about to turn away in disgust at the contempt shown, a gentleman of the press, one of the teachers to whom we were known happened at the door, and we were promptly admitted.

The compositions were excellent; the rhetorical exercises were first rate; and the gymnastic exercises were beyond all praise. The performances were interspersed with choice music. The papas and mamas left highly gratified with the performances of their little ones.

Ancient philosophers, as well as modern ones, had some hard nuts to crack. The Stoics, it is said, spent much time discussing the following problem: "When a man says 'I lie', does he lie, or does he not lie?" If he lies, he speaks the truth; if he speaks the truth, he lies. Can any of our readers throw any light upon the subject?

(From Whippoorwill for July, 1866.)

THE GRAND PICNIC.

A picnic, Noah Webster, J.L. D., says, FORMERLY meant an entertainment at which each person contributed some dish, or

article, for the general entertainment. We are glad he put in that word "formerly," or we should have put in an objection to the definition. The world changes, and so do picnics.

A picnic NOW is an entertainment given by the children and young folks to give the old people a holiday, and afford them an opportunity of taking a ride and spending the day in some delightful country grove. Such an entertainment was given by the pupils of the High and Grammar schools of this city, on Friday, June 8th.

A long train of cars left the depot about 9 A. M. One was filled with baskets, bread and butter, cakes, pies, candies, tin cups, and old bits of newspapers. The others were crowded with as merry a group of young folks as you ever did see, taking with them their labor-worn teachers and care-worn fathers and mothers.

Having proceeded about thirty miles in an easterly direction, the smoking locomotive suddenly snorted and stopped. Here they all thought it best to get out and take to the woods. A walk of about a quarter of a mile through the grove, and the whole party found themselves approaching the formidable embankments of an old fort, built as some suppose about two thousand years ago by some of the descendants of Shem, who were driven in their canoes by a storm across Behring's Straits. The party, however, did not stop to discuss questions of antiquity, or technical points of the right of possession. A reconnoitering party, sent out in advance, discovered no occupants but a company of cows quietly feeding. The baskets were placed in a central position within the walls — the invading force well arranged — an assault made; and the fortress carried by storm without the loss of a single one. Upon calling the roll a few double ones were missing, but they were afterward discovered walking arm in arm about the outside of fortification.

The place to which the young folks brought their guests was found to be one of the most delightful kind. The old fort stretched its venerable arms in a great circle of a mile in length around a broad terrace, smooth as a house-floor, covered with one of Nature's softest and most beautiful carpets of green.

Venerable oaks and other forest trees spread their broad branches above, welcoming all to their refreshing shade.

Stragglers continued to come in until about one o'clock, when the band struck up the dinner call, and there was a general rush to the provision stands. The baskets and lemonade tubs stood the drafts like a solvent bank, until the last hungry urchin was satisfied.

The amusements consisted of walking on the embankment or running down its steep sides, pitching quoits, fox and geese, going it blind, and kissing the girls. This last we would say, however, by way of explanation, so far as we could see (what took place in the more private walks, and for which nobody was responsible, we cannot say), was confined to the more juvenile classes, not yet instructed in the higher proprieties of life.

But everything comes to an end but circles, and picnics, alas, continue only for a day. The shadows of the old oaks had lengthened before the descending sun, when the bugle of the musician—an old hand-bell brought along for the purpose—sounded the home-call. Weary of limb but light of heart, the little folks escorted their teachers and parents back to the cars, and returned them safely to their homes; and if there is any meaning in rosy cheeks, and laughing eyes, and bounding steps, all said, "Hurrah for picnics forever!"

(From Whippoorwill for September, 1866.)

THE ATLANTIC CABLE.

Since our last issue, the Atlantic Cable has been successfully laid, and it may be considered the most wonderful piece of workmanship ever accomplished by man.

The arrival of the "Great Eastern" at Heart's Content, Newfoundland, was hailed with joy. The following dispatch was received by the President:

HEART'S CONTENT, July 27.

His Excellency, President Johnson, Washington, D. C.:

Sir:—The laying of the Atlantic Cable was successfully completed this morning. I hope that it will prove a blessing to England and the United States: and increase the intercourse between our own country and the Eastern Hemisphere.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) CYRUS W. FIELD.

The distance run by the "Great Eastern," while paying out the cable, was over a hundred miles a day, and she was fourteen days out. The total length of the cable is one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six miles.

A message of seventy-seven words was sent by the President to Queen Victoria, and was read by her FIFTEEN MINUTES after leaving this country. Think of the President of the United States, conversing with the Queen of England, across the Atlantic Ocean. Now instead of the European news being ten or twelve days in coming from Liverpool, it is flashed across the ocean with the speed of lightning.

Surely this is a fast age.

CLEANLINESS. — The Board of Health and the City Council have both been at work, and the result is, that, aided by frequent deluging showers, our streets and alleys are well cleansed and nuisances generally abated. No case of cholera has yet been reported to have occurred in our city, and the sanitary measures employed in the past being continued, we hope to record the fact that our citizens escaped this fearful pestilence.

(From Whippoorwill for October, 1866.)

THE GREAT FLOOD.—September will long be remembered as the month of one of the greatest freshets ever known at this season of the year. The Scioto broke over the levees, and the bottom land west of the city was like a great lake. Fences were swept away, hogs and sheep drowned, and crops destroyed. The damage along the river is immense. Large crowds were attracted to the bridge on the National Road, watching with wondering eyes the moving mass of waters, freighted with the strange products they had snatched from the farm lands over which they flowed.

ELECTION.—Tuesday, the 9th of this month, is the annual election of this State. Candidates are anxious, stump speakers are busy, and editors are putting in their best licks. All are extremely anxious to save the country. We sincerely hope they will succeed.

Whip-poor-will.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY

Masters

WILSON L. GILL & EMILIUS O. RANDALL

Columbus. Ohio.

NOVEMBER, 1866.

OUR PAPER.

One number more will complete the first year of the WHIPPOORWILL. We have no fault to find with our patrons, and no complaints on account of the support extended to us. In pecuniary support, good wishes, and kind, fraternal feeling, we have had even more than we expected. The work has been pleasant to us, and we have, we believe, fulfilled all that we promised.

With these prefatory remarks, we are sorry to announce that our next number will be the last. Our reason for this is: We are boys, and under tutors and governors. We are in the midst of our school-boy days, and our studies must not be neglected. We can not give the amount of time to the paper that it demands, and give proper attention to our recitations at school. For this reason mainly, we are compelled to lay our WHIPPOORWILL aside. A good education is of first importance to usefulness and success in life. We will first attend to that, and then we may be prepared to bring out our WHIPPOORWILL enlarged and improved, to fly higher and sing more sweetly.

A GOOD THING—In one of our neighboring towns, the children have formed

Fac-simile of editorial column.



EMILIUS O. RANDALL
When in High School.

The above half-tone portrait is from a photograph taken by M. M. Griswold, 18 East Broad Street, Columbus, O. It represents Mr. Randall as he appeared when he was one of the joint editors of *Whip-poor-will*. This paper was published through the entire year of 1866. Mr. Randall completed his sixteenth year October 28, 1866. This explains apparent slight discrepancies in statements of his age at the time of his early newspaper venture, given sometimes as fifteen and sometimes as sixteen years.

(From Whippoorwill for November, 1866.)

OUR PAPER.

Y. M. C. A. — The young men of Columbus have now completed their organization — “The Young Men’s Christian Association.” Their rooms, on the corner of High and Broad streets, are nicely fitted up. Regular meetings are held the second and fourth Monday evening in each month. It is designed, as soon as funds can be raised, to have a library for the use of the members.

A Debating Society is now organized in connection with the Association. These debates are held every Thursday evening, and the meetings are all open to the public. As the design of the society is to benefit the young, we hope the institution will be a prosperous and useful one. All the young men of the city should avail themselves of its privileges.

(From Whippoorwill for December, 1866.)

FAREWELL.

This is the last number of the WHIPPOORWILL for the present, and hereafter his monthly visits will be suspended. Our reasons for suspending the publication were given in our last, and we hope they were satisfactory.

We have endeavored to make his monthly songs interesting to our readers, and hope we have succeeded. In his small way, we trust he has done some good.

We have met with much better patronage than we anticipated. We began as an experiment, to see if such a paper could be sustained. We were agreeably disappointed, and feel grateful to our friends for the kindness and generosity they have shown us.

The past year has been an exceedingly pleasant one to us, and we regret that we must part with our bird, even temporarily. We hope all faults will be overlooked, remembering that we are but boys and have not had the experience of older persons.

And now as our WHIPPOORWILL bids you farewell and retires from public life, we hope he has the good wishes of all, and will always have a pleasant place in your memory. Should he ever appear before the public again, as we hope he will, may he

receive the same welcome that thus far has been given to him. We hope by attention to our studies to prepare ourselves to make our bird still more worthy of patronage when he shall again appear.

(From Whippoorwill for June, July and August, 1866.)

WHAT I SAW SOUTH.

[By E. O. Randall.]

In May, a year ago, I accompanied my father, who was going to labor for the Christian Commission, on a trip to the camps of the Union Armies about Washington and Alexandria.

From home we went directly to Washington. We spent the first day in the hospitals, and then the director of the Commission sent us to Alexandria, Va. From here we went about four miles southwest to Camp Convalescent, the largest one in that vicinity. Here were long rows of barracks, and thousands of sick soldiers; while in the country around the victorious armies were encamping as they came up from the south. The country was very hilly and the soldiers were scattered about on the hills, each division or corps by themselves.

Here were congregated regiments and divisions from Grant's and Sherman's armies, and legions of Sheridan's Cavalry fresh from the battle fields of the Shenandoah Valley. It was estimated that at least 250,000 soldiers were encamped upon these hills. It was a grand sight and one I never shall forget, to look off from one of these elevations and see the sides of the green hills covered with white tents, stretching away for miles in every direction, and view the men in blue uniform with bright guns and bayonets, going through their drill.

The summits of the highest hills were crowned with forts, which added much to the warlike scene.

The soldiers who had just returned from the campaigns of the south were very destitute, many of them were without coats or hats, many without shoes, stockings or blankets, and a great many without shirts or change of raiment of any kind. Many of Sherman's men who came into camp while we were there, were like the man that married the maid in "The House that Jack Built", all tattered and torn, and some of Grant's men said they

had marched from Richmond and even fought battles barefoot and coatless. But some told harder stories than this, saying that what few clothes they had, if left on the ground, without being tied to the tent poles, would CRAWL off.

The soldiers had lived in camp so long that their habits of neatness had turned up minus. Instead of their beef coming from a clean cellar, it was hauled in a dirty wagon and thrown into tents on the dirty ground, and there left till ready to cook. Then they would wipe it off with their dirty blankets, which did not improve it much; then broiling it over their camp-fires, they would eat it as heartily as though cooked in one of Stewart's latest improved stoves by a master cook.

Here the Christian Commission had erected a chapel, in which the soldiers held meetings. They also had a reading and writing room.

I have said the soldiers were very destitute, and the Government was not prepared to supply so large a number immediately. The Sanitary and Christian Commission, as far as possible, supplied them, but, of course, among so many men, they had to make a little go a good ways, but still they did a great deal for the comfort of our brave defenders.

Our business was, in part, to distribute these goods. We would take a haversack, fill it with tracts, sewing-bags, needles, thread, stockings, combs, pencils, pens, writing-paper, envelopes, handkerchiefs, and such little trinkets as would be useful. This we strapped across our shoulders, and then took our arms full of newspapers and pamphlets. After loading ourselves in this style, we started out and visited some particular division or brigade, distributing the things to the soldiers — giving one needles and thread, another paper and pens, to another a comb, etc., as they most needed, and throwing the papers into the tents which were greedily received by the inmates. In this manner we would go through the camps until our supply was exhausted. We would then return, and after resting, take another load and go out again — making two or three trips a day. If any wanted clothing they came to the rooms after it, as it would be too heavy for us to carry.

We would frequently give them food, and sometimes I would

take a large pan full of pickles out to them, and it would not be long before I would have a large crowd around me, and I am sorry to say they were not very polite on such occasions, but went in more after the grab and scramble style,—sometimes completely upsetting the pan on the ground; but that didn't hurt the pickles any, for then there would be a general rush and snatch, and down their throats the pickles would go, dirt and all. But you cannot imagine how grateful they were for these things, frequently offering me their hard-tack in return, which I generally declined, as I hadn't any teeth to spare.

While we were here, we visited Gen. Meade's headquarters, and made him an evening call. He kindly received us and introduced us to Generals Barlow and Webb. We also visited the home of the late rebel Gen. R. E. Lee. It is a beautiful place, situated on Arlington Heights, on the high bank of the Potomac river, and from the portico of the house is a fine view of Washington City. The garden was encompassed by a row of graves of Union officers; and near the house was a cemetery where near THREE THOUSAND of our soldiers are buried. The property had been confiscated by our Government and was used by the officers of the army.

After remaining here and working among the soldiers for about two weeks, we returned to Washington, where we stopped two or three days to see the sights of the city, and where we also saw the Grand Review, which is beyond my capacity to describe. The two armies—Grant's and Sherman's, including Sheridan's cavalry—were each six hours in passing the Review stand. It was, indeed, a grand sight to see the great Generals, followed by their brave soldiers, marching through the streets, cheered by the thousands of people that had gathered from all parts of the Union.

In the next number our readers may find an account of our trip to Richmond and Petersburg.

Leaving Washington, we went by railroad to Baltimore. At 5 o'clock P. M. we left the wharf on board the steamer *Adelaide*. The water was still; the moon shone brightly, and we had a pleasant ride down the Chesapeake Bay.

At 9 o'clock the next morning we arrived at Fortress Monroe, and a formidable looking place it is. As we were not allowed to enter the fort, we contented ourselves by looking at the massive stone wall that surrounds it. The fort was now more important than ever, as the ex-president J. C. Davis was making it his home. Here we changed boats, and at 10 A. M. we embarked on a smaller steamer for a ride up the James river. Shortly after leaving Fortress Monroe we passed Hampton Roads, where the famous naval fight between the Merrimac and the Monitor took place; and projecting above the water, as though it were a monument of remembrance for that event, was the top of the mast of the Cumberland which was sunk during the battle.

About noon we arrived at City Point which was Gen. Grant's headquarters during the siege of Richmond. As it was only about six weeks after the capture of Richmond, the appearance of things had but little changed. From City Point to Richmond the trip was full of interest. At several different points the rebels had sunk old boats, and all sorts of things, to prevent the Union boats from ascending the river. Of these obstructions enough had been removed to allow a safe passage through. We frequently saw little red sticks projecting out of the water, and noticed that our boat always kept a respectable distance from them, and on inquiring what they were, we were told that they marked the places where torpedoes were concealed below the water, and which had not yet been removed. We passed the famous Dutch Gap Canal built by Gen. Butler, but it was not deep enough to permit large boats to go through. We also passed several sunken boats, portions of which were visible above water. These boats had belonged to the rebel navy, but were now "played out". One of them, whose strong iron side lay above the water, attracted more attention than the rest. This was the Rebel Ram Virginia, said to be one of their finest gunboats.

At 5 o'clock P. M. we landed at Richmond, and hiring an old negro to "tote" our baggage, we made our way to the Powhatan Hotel.

After refreshing ourselves with supper, we took a walk to the burnt district, which included about one-third of the city. A desolate looking place it was; nothing remained but old, half-

fallen, brick walls. We could look the length of a street and see nothing but black, half demolished, walls, heaps of ruins, some of which were still smoking.

The next day we visited the Capitol building. It stands in the center of a small, finely shaded park. It is an old brown, brick building, with high stone steps, and large doors on each side. From one side, we had a fine view of the James River and Belle Island. We went into the Senate Chamber and Legislative Hall, where the Rebel Congress met, and passed their laws.

The Senate Chamber is quite large, has a gallery on one side, but was very poorly furnished. The desks were not much better than the benches of a country schoolhouse, and were covered with old faded velvet; the chairs were rickety and worn out; the curtains of the windows were old and ragged, but partly on account of being torn to pieces by visitors who wished to take a piece home with them. Worse than all, the floor was carpeted with an old rag carpet, and a poor one at that. Here we were shown the chair in which Alexander Stephens sat while presiding over the Senate, and which Jeff Davis used when he came in to hear the debates and speeches. The Legislative Hall was no better, showing how awful "hard up" the Southern Confederacy was. We went up on the top of the building, from which we had a fine view of the city and surrounding country.

We also visited the residence of the late President Davis. It is a large fine house, with high stone pillars in front, and magnificently furnished within—but I think his present home is more appropriate for him. It was now Gen. Halleck's headquarters. We also visited Libby Prison, Castle Thunder, and Belle Island, where so many of our brave soldiers, after suffering what no pen can describe, actually died from exposure and starvation.

After remaining in Richmond four or five days, seeing the sights of this now desolate and fallen city, we left for Petersburg. Along the railroad from Richmond to Petersburg was a continued line of earthworks made by the rebels to protect their capital, but these were now useless and unoccupied. After an hour's ride we arrived at Petersburg, which you will remember was shelled by the Union army just before the capture of Richmond. A battered looking place it was—windows and doors knocked in.

chimneys knocked off; roofs smashed in; holes as big as a wash tub made through the sides of the solid brick walls. In many instances, shells had gone entirely through a house, and you can imagine they played smash inside. A shell had gone through the gasometer and blown up and destroyed the whole establishment.

We asked a little darkey who was standing by, what they did for light after their gas factory was blown up;

"O we's had de light ob de shell's fuses as da came flyin' ober de tops ob de houses," he replied.

Our last number left us in Petersburg, conversing with a little darkey.

We asked another old negro, who kept a barber shop, if many folks were hurt during the shelling.

"Not many. Da kept out ob de way right smart."

"Where did the people stay during the shelling?"

"De wimmin an' chilern' stayed out in de woods, de men folks da kept in de cella's."

"Did you stay in the city?"

"O, yes, I was here all de time, an' a mighty narrer 'scape I had, too. I woke up in de night an' heerd de shells whizzin' pass de winder' an' flyin' ober de houses all round. Thinks I'd better be gwine out of dis are place; I jumped out of bed, waked up my ole moder, an' we went down into de cella' quick time. We hadn't been dar not five minutes, afore a shell comed through de roof an' struck de bed I'd just been sleepin' in an' blowed up de whole consarn an' eber thing else in dat part ob de house sky hi' up to de moon."

Cannon balls, pieces of shells, etc., lay scattered about in the streets and gutters, like so many stones, and the children used them for playthings.

The next day we went out to the earthworks, where the battle was fought. The earthworks were about a mile and a half from the city. They were made in the following manner: Two rows of stakes were driven into the ground three or four feet apart and filled in with sand bags, barrels of sand, logs and all sorts of things. Behind this they dug a ditch four or five feet deep and ten or twelve feet wide, throwing up the dirt to cover

the parapet in front, which made it very strong, not penetrable even by shot or shell. Sometimes they used nothing but dirt in making the embankment.

In these ditches they made underground huts or cabins, by digging down about three feet, and making a hole five or six feet square, then driving in timbers around the edge of the hole, slanting so as to meet over the middle of the hole; this was all covered over with dirt. In these mud huts the soldiers lived for nearly two years, and curious looking places they were.

These intrenchments extended clear around the city, a distance of thirty miles. Every four or five miles a fort was made; in the same manner that the earthworks were, except that they were built on a much larger and stronger scale, which gave the intrenchments a more formidable appearance.

In front of the Rebel earthworks, about a mile off, were the Union intrenchments. They were made like the ones just described. All of these were now deserted and useless.

Although the battle was fought nearly six weeks before we were there, yet the horrible effects of war still remained.

Guns, bayonets, knapsacks, blankets, half-demolished cannon, shells, cannon balls, dead bodies, legs, arms and heads, lay scattered about, and the ground was perfectly covered with minie balls.

Dead men all equipped, with their guns lying at their sides, lay just as they had fallen in the battle. Those that were buried, thrown into long ditches and covered up. Some were only half buried, leaving an arm, leg, foot, and sometimes a head sticking out, which was horrible to look at.

Here we saw the remains of the rebel fort known as the mine, blown up by Burnside, who dug a tunnel from the Union intrenchments to the rebel line under this fort, and blew the fort, men, cannon and all into the air, killing a great many.

In a short time after coming on to the battle field, I had my pockets full of balls, and my arms full of rusty old guns and bayonets, but soon found that it would not be so easy to carry such a load of stuff home, and was obliged to leave all, but two or three bayonets, which I smuggled through the lines by putting them in my umbrella.

THE GRAND REVIEW.

It was indeed a rare opportunity for a boy of fifteen to visit Washington and witness the grand review of the victorious Union armies in May, 1865. Some idea of what this implied may be gathered from a communication describing the event, written by Mr. Randall's father, Rev. D. A. Randall, and published in a Cincinnati paper. As already stated the two were companions on this occasion and seated side by side opposite the reviewing stand distinctly saw the great leaders civil and military as well as the victorious troops of the long procession that marched by. Rev. Randall's description is in part as follows:

"Tuesday and Wednesday of this week were proud days for the American Republic. Never before in the history of the country has there been such an exhibition—seldom in the history of the world. It was worth a long pilgrimage to stand on Arlington Heights, and see the almost endless columns of our victorious troops, as from their numerous encampments, by regiments, brigades, divisions and corps, they came down from the hills, emerged from the valleys, and tramped to the cadence of soul-inspiring music across the long bridge of the Potomac. Most of them had crossed that bridge on their way out to the battlefields of the South. Then they went with anxious hearts. A dark cloud hung over the land—the fate of the country seemed to hang in a vibrating scale, and even bold hearts were anxious and trembled for the result. Now this great question had been settled. The enemies of our country had been discomfited, their armed legions beaten and scattered, their leaders captive and in irons. The dark cloud had lifted upward; through its rent folds was streaming the sunlight of peace and prosperity, and over it hung the golden bow of hope.

* * *

"After a short pause there was a bustle in the crowd, and an eager straining of eyes. 'There comes Sherman, there comes Sherman,' and sure enough the hero who penetrated the shell of the hollow Confederacy, and marched his victorious army through its very centre stood before us. With firm and dignified step, amid the cheers of the multitude he ascended to the platform. 'There,' said my friend again, 'that large, noble looking man is Major General Hancock, and that one with a thin, sunburnt face, and soft slouched hat is Major General Hunter.'—Major General badges were thick as stars in a clear night. Soon I had a list of about twenty and got tired of keeping the account.

"Again there was a movement in the crowd. A carriage stopped before the platform. There's President Johnson, there is Secretary Stanton,

there is Postmaster Dennison — well I had seen him before and I thought he looked about as well as any of them, — and so on through a list too long to put on record. But one was yet missing, he of the triple star to whom all these lesser lights were to make obeisance — where was he? — Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant had slipped in by a private way, and quietly seated, free and easy, and making himself social with all about him, seemed entirely unconscious that he was anything but a man, or that he was the great central attraction of the thousands upon thousands of eyes about him.

THE MOVING CAVALCADE.

"It is nine o'clock, the hour set for the grand procession to commence its movement. The victorious legions, where are they? — Again there is a movement far up the Avenue. The crowded mass swing to and fro, the sound of martial music reaches the ear, and tramp, tramp, tramp they come! Major General Meade, commander of the Army of the Potomac, leads the procession, followed by his staff. We had met him the day before, at his headquarters, on Arlington Heights. He is a fine specimen of general, affable and courteous, and every inch a man.

"Then followed Sheridan's cavalry, headed by Major General Merritt, escorted by the 5th U. S. cavalry. Regiments, brigades, and divisions passed by. It seemed as though there was no end to the moving masses of horses and men. The third cavalry division appeared in the distance, Major General George A. Custar, leading the way some distance in advance of his troops. As he neared the stand, sword in hand, ready to salute Lieut. Gen. Grant, some patriotic lady had presented him with a heavy floral wreath, which he had hung on his left arm. His fiery steed first became restive and then unmanageable. The General in his efforts to manage his horse and secure his boquet, dropped his sword, and away went horse and rider, Gilpin-like, at the full top of speed. — As he neared the stand off went his hat, his long, flowing, curly hair streamed out behind, and by the stand he bolted like a streak of light, to the great amusement of some, and the trembling fear of others. As he passed the reviewing stand he retained his self-possession sufficiently to make two pitches of his head towards his commanding officer and the President, intended for bows and in a moment was almost out of sight. At last he recovered command of his furious steed, and returned at decent pace, an orderly handed him his hat and sword. He resumed his position at the head of his command, and passed his commanding General with the usual salute to him, as calmly as though nothing had happened. After the cavalry came the great

ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

"Division after division, and corps after corps they came. The soldiers shouted as they saw the bronzed face of their old commander Grant; the populace shouted as the war-worn veterans, and tattered remnants of battle flags passed them."

LAST EDITORIAL.

The following from *The Columbus Evening Dispatch* of September 2, 1919, is believed to be the last editorial contribution from Mr. Randall to that paper. It may be considered his final word on a subject to which he had given much thought and on which he had frequently written:

WHO WERE THE MOUND BUILDERS?

The remarkable discoveries, recently unearthed by the exploring department of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, in the Hazlett mound, Licking county, revives the unsolved query, Who were the people that erected these mysterious earthen structures? They must have been a populous and vigorous race, for their forts, walled enclosures and isolated mounds, no less than half a century ago in Ohio, if placed in a single straight line would have reached from Cincinnati to Cleveland. With no mechanical means of assistance, these numerous artificial earthen and stone productions must have required the population, if sparse, a very long period of time for completion of the works, or a countless number of people must have simultaneously occupied the territory and engaged in the work.

More than ever the problem arises, Who were they? It surpasses the riddle of the Sphinx. The Mound Builders, so-called for want of a better name, had no written language and left no inscriptions, hieroglyphics, symbols or records of any kind save the earthen temples, graves, village sites and forts. The Ohio Mound Builders seem to have belonged to the neolithic or later stone age, giving evidence to some extent of representing the mesolithic period—the twilight zone between the two—a transition age from pure stone articles to the most primitive use of metal, for while no iron implements are found, some beaten copper ornaments and utensils are discovered.

Until a generation ago the general opinion of the archaeologists was that these peculiar workmen were a distinct and separate race from the American Indian and that the skilful and ingenious architects of these earthen structures inhabited the country previous to the red men, or at their coming, and perhaps were

conquered and driven out or exterminated by the latter. More recent, thorough and scientific investigations, conducted in part by the national and state governments, of the mounds and their contents, have led the archaeologists and ethnologists to revise their former theory and today they largely favor the theory that the Mound Builder was the ancestor or remote progenitor of the American Indian, the remoteness of the relationship, however, being undetermined. This progenitor theory is supported by the similarity of the artifacts, found in the prehistoric mounds, to the implements made by the historic Indian. The reply to this undoubted resemblance is the fact that the first products of man's primitive handiwork are much the same the world over. The peace and war stone implements exhumed by Schliemann from the ruins of Troy, cannot be distinguished, when placed side by side, from those found in the mounds of Ohio.

The historic Indian, that is, the post Columbian aborigine, rarely built mounds, though they used those built by others for burial purposes; intrusive burials, they are called, hence the common name, "Indian Mound," given these earthen sepulchres. There is no evidence that the Ohio Indian tribes retained any traditions even, much less knowledge, of the origin or history of the mounds that could throw any light upon the obscurity of the subject.

If the Indian ancestral theory be correct, it must be admitted that the historic Indian, who was discovered by the invading European, must be a deteriorated and unworthy descendant of his distant forebear, who built the mounds. "A broad chasm is to be spanned before we can link the Mound Builders to the North American Indians," says a leading scholar on the American races, "for the Indian, as we know him, never displayed an engineering or architectural talent, an artistic ingenuity or a trait of industry at all comparable to those characteristics so unquestionably the possession of the Mound Builders."

Speculation has run riot, and many volumes have been written, on the identity of the Mound Builder. Arguments have been advanced to the effect that he came from the lost tribes of Israel; the Book of Mormon is largely founded upon the narrative of the overseas transportation about 600 B. C., of two lines

of immigration to the western hemisphere, respectively from Palestine and Babylonia, the precursors of both the Mound Builders and the Indians in North America. Other authorities trace him back to the dawn of ancient history, in Japan, China and other oriental centers; few regions of the earth escape the claim of being the cradle whence sprang the stock producing the Mound Builders; so to speak, every race has aspired to the honor of being the forebear; ethnologists also attribute his ancestry to the Toltecs, whose children went north, up the Mississippi and the Ohio, and the Scioto, and as they passed built the mounds; on the contrary, scholars there are who maintain the Toltecs were the descendants of the Mound Builders, who originated in the north and traveling south became more skilled, as generations came on and produced the monumental structures of the high civilization of ancient Mexico; again that he was the kin of the Aztecs, with reversible genealogical termini; and very late discoveries in Mexico suggest the origin in that country of a race finally developing into the Mound Builders. To put it irreverently, the Mound Builders, like Topsy, just grew up in North America without parentage. It is a case of when doctors disagree, who shall decide? Perhaps the best guess is that the Mound Builders and the American Indians are collateral descendants from a common, very remote origin; certain it is that the two peoples, whoever they were, have a decidedly different culture and civilization, so far as modern knowledge goes. At present the Mound Builder's identity as to whence he came, the length of his sojourn and the whither he went, all belong to the realm of the unknown, all of which adds to the romance and fascination of the subject.

LAST CONTRIBUTED ARTICLE.

The following contribution was the last written by Mr. Randall for publication. It appeared in the issues of *The Ohio Newspaper* for November and December, 1919:

NEWSPAPERS READ BY THE OHIO PIONEERS.

Maxwell's Centinel of the Northwestern Territory, its Contemporaries and Immediate Successors — Journals Now More Than a Century Old.

BY EMILIUS O. RANDALL, LL. D.

Journalism led the van of literary culture in its advance into the Northwest Territory. It was in the little cluster of cabins, named, by Territorial Governor St. Clair, Cincinnati, a century and a quarter ago (1793), that the initial newspaper made its appearance under the title of *Centinel of the Northwestern Territory*. The proprietor and editor was one William Maxwell, an enterprising immigrant from New Jersey. It was a crude establishment, the entire outfit of which, a wooden Ramage hand press, like the one used by Dr. Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, type, cases, "furniture" and all could be moved in one load of a full grown wheelbarrow.

The "outfit" was set up in a log cabin on the corner of Front and Sycamore Streets. Maxwell and his good wife Nancy did all the work. The buckskin ball was dipped in ink, then daubed on the type, paper was then spread on and the press lever, precisely like a hand cider press, was pulled and released and the printed paper removed.

The paper was a folio, four pages, three columns to the page, in a small quarto form; the printed matter being eight and one-half inches in width, ten and one-fourth inches long. The issue of the first copy was dated Saturday, November 9, 1793, and bore under its title the commendable motto: "Open to all parties but influenced by none." It was a weekly. It contained news from London, England, dated July 15th—that is four months old—from New York, dated September 5th, two months old. This initial number also gave an account of an attack by Indians on a provision convoy, "a little time ago" between Fort

St. Clair and Fort Jefferson, and there was a public notice that \$168 would be paid for "every scalp having the right ear appendant for the first ten Indians who shall be killed within a specified time and territory." A column was used to set forth the advantages of rapid travel by packet boats, which made the voyage "from Cincinnati to Pittsburg and return in four weeks." There were anecdotes and poetry and contributors' letters, one of which was the familiar protest against the excessive taxation in Cincinnati. The "organ" which Maxwell controlled seems to have given him some prestige and "pull" for in 1796 he was appointed postmaster of the little settlement that was later to be the "Queen City" of the Ohio. That same year Maxwell sold the *Centinel of the Northwestern Territory* to Edmund Freeman, who changed the name to *Freeman's Journal* and published it as such till 1800 when he moved to Chillicothe, then the capital of the "Ohio Territory," established July 4, 1800, and known officially as "the Eastern Division of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River."

NESTOR OF OHIO NEWSPAPERS.

In Chillicothe there had already been established, in 1796, a paper known as the *Scioto Gazette*. It was founded by Nathaniel Willis, grandfather of N. P. Willis, the famous poet. Nathaniel was born in Boston in 1755, and, says tradition, was an apprentice in the printing office of Benjamin Franklin. He was a patriot as might have been expected and among the participants in the Boston Tea Party, and in that city published and edited, during the American Revolution the *Independent Chronicle*. At the close of the Revolution, Willis moved from Boston to Virginia and established, at Martinsburg, the *Potomac Guardian*. Later, (1796) he transferred his journalistic enterprise to Chillicothe and founded the *Scioto Gazette*. This issue, as nearly as can now be ascertained, was intermittent for a time, but on April 25, 1800, Willis began a new series with Vol. 1, No. 1, and this paper has gone on continually since that date, being therefore the oldest living paper in the west, and one of the oldest, if not the oldest, of continuous publication in the United State.

As above noted, Edmund Freeman moved the *Freeman's*

Journal in 1800 from Cincinnati to Chillicothe, where a year later he died and Willis bought the plant and "good will" of the paper and incorporated it with the *Scioto Gazette*.

The *Scioto Gazette*, today the nestor of Ohio journals, was the official organ of the Northwest Territory and later of the new State, after its admission into the Union, March 1, 1803. In its columns were published all official announcements, and the proceedings of the Territorial Assembly. The *Gazette* strongly supported the statehood movement, headed by what Governor St. Clair called the "Virginia junta of Ross County," meaning such men as Thomas Worthington, Nathaniel Massie, and Edwin Tiffin of Ross County, and Charles Willing Byrd, territorial secretary, and William Henry Harrison, territorial representative in Congress.

The *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* was a weekly paper started May 28, 1799, in Cincinnati, which at that time had a population of eight hundred. The paper was continued until 1809 when its name was changed to the *Whig* and under the latter title was published for some years. Contemporaneous with the *Spy* was the *Hamilton Gazette*, published as such until 1823 when it was renamed the *National Republican Ohio Political Register*. One of the editors was Sol Smith, once an actor and theatre manager in St. Louis and elsewhere and the grandfather of the later popular comedian, Sol Smith Russell.

PRINTED IN THE CAMPUS MARTIUS.

The printing outfit for the *Marietta Register and Virginia Herald* was brought to that city by Wyllys Silliman and Elijah Backus. The paper was first issued from a primitive press in the Campus Martius stockade on December 18, 1801. Ten years after the first issue of the *Marietta Register and Virginia Herald* the paper began to change hands, for in that year (1810) it was sold to Caleb Emerson who then published the first issue of the *American Spectator*. In 1813, David Everett bought the paper, changing the name to the *American Friend*. Nineteen years later (1833) the title was again changed, this time to the *Marietta Gazette*. Ten years later (1842) Beman Gates merged it into the *Intelligencer*. The latter was purchased in 1862 by R. M.

Stimson, the scholar, litterateur and for some years State Librarian. He rechristened the paper the *Register* and it is now published as the *Register-Leader*. John Kaiser, one of the trustees of the Ohio State University, being principal owner and editor.

On December 9, 1804, the *Liberty Hall* and *Cincinnati Mercury* was founded in that city by one John M. Browne, of multitudinous vocations, for he was preacher, editor, almanac publisher, town recorder, bookseller and vendor of patent medicines. This paper survived for eleven years when it was combined with the *Cincinnati Gazette*, founded in 1806. The name, *Liberty Hall*, was perpetuated in the weekly edition of the *Gazette* until the period of the Civil War.

One of the most time honored newspapers of Ohio was the *Western Star*, established in Lebanon in March, 1807, and still being published under the original name. Its founder was John McLean, afterwards Justice of the United State Supreme Court. The paper was edited and managed by Nathaniel McLean, brother of John. Its form and contents being typical of the inland journals of its day, it contained little or no editorial matter and "no local intelligence whatever," though it gave European news, two months old, and New York and St. Louis items three weeks in age.

FOLLOWED LINES OF SETTLEMENT.

As Mr. S. S. Knabenshue, in his "Address on the Press of Ohio," delivered at the Ohio Centennial (1903) — to which we are indebted for much data used in this article — points out, the early establishment of newspapers in Ohio, followed the lines of settlement, first on the Ohio River and then northward along the streams of the state's interior, on which colonizations were made.

Perhaps the first paper printed in a foreign tongue was *Der Ohio Adler*, the *Ohio Eagle*, first appearing, as near as can now be determined, in 1807, in Lancaster, Fairfield County, many of whose early settlers were German. The founder of this paper was Jacob Dietrich, an emigrant from the "Fatherland." This paper passed into the hands of Edward Shaeffer about 1813,

when an English edition was begun called the *Eagle*, which is still continued. As near as can be ascertained the German edition was perpetuated under separate auspices until "sometime in the thirties" when its title was changed to the *Lancaster Volksfreund*; in 1841 it changed hands and was removed to Columbus, again taking the name *Adler*. Two years later (1843) Jacob Reinhard and Frederick Feiser bought the property and changed its name to the *Columbus Westbote*. Under that name it was published by them and later by Leo Hirsch and his sons until shortly after the entry of the United States in the Great War in 1917. It then ceased to exist.

The initial paper published in Zanesville was the *Muskingum Messenger*, started in 1809 by Ezekiel T. Cox, father of the brilliant and nationally known Samuel Sullivan Cox, author, editor, congressman and foreign ambassador. In 1812 the title was changed to the *Express and Advertiser* and in 1823 it became the *Ohio Republican*. Various other changes took place till 1845 when its name became the *Courier* and as such it was until recently published.

The time honored burg of Worthington, still abiding in undisturbed quietude, just north of Columbus, was the birthplace in 1811, of the *Western Intelligencer*, the first newspaper of Central Ohio. Its protagonist, also the founder of the village, was Col. James Kilbourne, of New England Revolutionary stock. Sometime in 1813 the organ was removed to Columbus, then recently established as the capital of the state. Its name was changed to the *Western Intelligencer and Columbus Gazette*. It then ran the gauntlet of several proprietors until 1837, when John M. Gallagher secured possession and consolidated it with his paper, *The Ohio Political Register*. The combination was entitled the *Ohio State Journal and Register*. Not long after the latter half of the name was dropped and the paper was known till this day as *The Ohio State Journal*. It became a daily in 1839. It has had a conspicuous career, having had upon its editorial staff a remarkable list of distinguished Ohioans: William B. Thrall, Oren Follett, John Greiner, William Dean Howells, William T. Coggsball, John James Piatt, James M. Comly, A. W. Francisco, Samuel J. Flickinger, Samuel G. McClure and.

ably sustaining the reputation of his predecessors, the present editor, Colonel E. S. Wilson.

The present writer of this article speaks with no little "suppressed emotion" concerning the *Ohio State Journal*, whose editors he has personally known during and since the Civil War, but more especially because the *Columbus Gazette* as a separate weekly was continued from 1839 to 1883. In the latter year it was purchased by the writer and continued as the *Saturday Gazette*. Its function was to administer to the higher literary tastes and demands of the Columbus community. As its initial number under the new and ambitious management advised, "No effort was to be spared to make it the brightest, best and most popular paper" of the Capital City. It was a daring and we do not deny a dazzling flight; we fulfilled the promise of the prospectus, without regard to energy or expense for some six months. Then came the awakening from a rainbow dream. "Literature for literature's sake" requires an "angel." The angels are lovely, but scarce; none came our way. We had tied our chariot to a star, but like the aspiring boy Icarus, with the wax-attached wings, we swooped too near the sun and took a tumble into the Icarian sea, yes, almost literally for we disposed of our "bonus" and subscription list to the publishers of a "dry" concern devoted to the interests of temperance; the new proprietors changed the name to one now lost to memory, moved the paper to Cleveland where the aqueous facilities were ample and there they "watered" the stock to such a degree that the venerated collateral relic of the *Western Intelligencer* sank beneath the billows of oblivion. *Sic transit Gazette mundi.*

The first newspaper in the Western Reserve district, the New Connecticut of Ohio, founded at Warren, Trumbull County, was the *Trump of Fame*, edited by Thomas D. Webb. Its initial appearance was on June 16, 1812, the date of the declaration of war against England. It was an enterprising and patriotic paper. Each of its four pages was set in large type. The paper went through the usual changing of hands, and in 1816 was enlarged and the title made *The Western Reserve Chronicle*, which it retains to this day.

A MOST DISTINGUISHED EDITOR.

Probably the most distinguished and brilliant journalist of the period in question was Charles Hammond. He was declared by Daniel Webster to be "the greatest genius who ever wielded the political pen." It was a federal pen in the *Ohio Federalist*, started in St. Clairsville, Belmont County, in 1811, by Mr. Hammond and continued till 1818, when the *Federalist* became the *Belmont Chronicle*. Mr. Hammond was also instrumental in the establishment, in 1806, of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, which, under his editorial management, acquired a wide circulation and reputation. It was originally a weekly and finally became an influential party organ. The *Gazette* many years ago was merged with the *Cincinnati Commercial*, later known as the *Commercial-Tribune*. Mr. Hammond, from 1813 to 1822, was a member of the Ohio Legislature, and a potent agent in state affairs. In 1821 he was appointed the first reporter of the Ohio Supreme Court, which office he filled till his death in 1840, in Cincinnati, to which city he had moved in 1822.

The *St. Clairsville Gazette* dates its beginning in 1812 though until 1825 it did not adopt that title.

On June 22, 1814, the *Hamilton Intelligencer* was first issued in that city. There were frequent changes of ownership, which is true of nearly all early Ohio papers, but the *Butler County Democrat* of today is its lineal successor.

John Saxton, whose granddaughter was the wife of President McKinley, established in 1815, the *Ohio Repository*, of Canton. A notable fact regarding Mr. Saxton's editorials was that, from 1815 to 1871, the year of his death, he composed his editorials and put them in type by hand, instead of writing them and handing them to another compositor, long since the universal custom. Upon the death of Mr. Saxton, his son, Thomas W. Saxton, succeeded him in the management of the paper, and so continued until his death in 1885. He established the daily edition in 1878. This paper was the administration mouthpiece of Mr. McKinley in his presidential campaigns of 1896 and 1900, and came into national prominence thereby.

The present *Union Herald*, of Circleville, was first estab-

lished in August, 1817, by James Foster, a bookbinder, under the name of *The Olive Branch*. Several changes in name were effected, and at the time of the Civil War it became the *Circleville Union*. It is now called the *Union Herald*.

Messrs. Hughes and Drake, ministers of the Gospel, in 1818, inaugurated the *Delaware Gazette*, which has borne that title ever since. In 1834 Abram Thompson acquired an interest in the paper and continued the editorial control for sixty-two years, excepting during the period 1869-71 when Captain Alfred E. Lee acted as editor. The latter, a talented and facile writer, became private secretary to Governor R. B. Hayes, and later, when the governor was elevated to the presidency, was appointed Consul General to Germany.

GOVERNOR COX'S SPRINGFIELD NEWS.

The Springfield Republican, whose daily edition was called the *Press-Republican*, dates from 1817, when *The Farmer* was started—the first paper in that city and county. After many changes of name and proprietors, it was entitled *The Republic* in 1849. It is now known as the *Springfield News*, owned by James M. Cox. He is also proprietor of the *Dayton News*. Both of these papers he has raised to the front rank of success and influence. Indeed, the Governor has displayed the same energetic talent as a journalist that he has as an eminent executive of the state, which has three times elected him to its highest office.

The *Cleveland Leader* claims to date from 1818, assuming that the *Gazette and Commercial Register*, then founded, was the predecessor of the *Herald*, whose first issue was in October, 1819, just one century ago. The *Leader* became a daily in 1837. Two years ago, under the ownership of Dan Hanna, it was combined with the *News* as a Sunday morning paper, the *News* remaining an evening paper.

The same year, 1818, witnessed the birth of the *Hillsboro Gazette*, when the only other newspapers in Southern Ohio were those at Cincinnati and Chillicothe. The *Hillsboro Gazette*, typical inland county paper, in force and stability, still bears its original name. Also in the same year (1818) came the initial

appearance of the *Gallia County Gazette*, which since that date has been in continuous circulation, though from 1835, it has been known as the *Gallipolis Journal*. Likewise in 1818, there appeared at Cadiz, the first journal in Harrison County. It had several names and many proprietors successively till 1840, when it assumed the title of the *Republican*, which it still bears. The *Mansfield Shield*, recently suspended, was the pioneer paper of Richland County, claiming to be the lineal descendant of the *Olive Branch*, founded in 1818, a prolific year for the nativity of newspaper ventures; they were all lusty babies and grew to vigorous manhood and with the exception noted, are now enjoying successful and venerable age. The year 1819, which completes the time of our limitation for century-old newspapers, marked the output of the *New Philadelphia Advocate Tribune*.

It is thus seen Ohio was fertile soil for the planting and growth of that "lever of public opinion" known as the newspaper. In 1813 the whole number of newspapers in the United States was 159; of these 14 were published in Ohio. In 1819, just a century ago, there were 40 newspapers issued in Ohio, representing almost as many small and young, but enterprising and news-reading towns. Ohio was still a forest state, with a large Indian population and the prevalence of pioneer conditions. In 1824 there were 500 newspapers in the United States, 50, one-tenth, of which were being published in Ohio, evidencing the rapid social and intellectual progress made in its early years by the people of the first state carved out of the Northwest Territory.

The Marquis de Lafayette, on his visit to this country in 1825, was received by Governor Morrow and staff, at Cincinnati, in the presence of thousands of people. The welcome songs of hundreds of school children and the evidences of cultured society on a site which at the time of his services in the American Revolution was a wilderness of waste, inhabited solely by savages and wild beasts, so impressed Lafayette that he exclaimed, "Ohio is the eighth wonder of the world."

OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENT.

RECOLLECTIONS OF ROYALTY.

Elsewhere in this issue reference has been made to an address delivered by our late Secretary, Emilius Oviatt Randall, before the Kit-Kat club, entitled "Recollections of Royalty". This address will long be remembered by those who heard it as one of the most interesting and entertaining ever delivered before a Columbus gathering. It was published in the April number of the *Kit-Kat* for 1918. The reader who peruses one or two of its pages will not lay it aside until he has read it through. Excellent as it is in printed form, it lacks, of course, something of the charm of Mr. Randall's personality and his inimitable presentation. On the evening of its delivery he was at his best. A year or more previous to this date he had been in failing health and some of his close friends feared that he would not regain his former strength and be able to actively participate in the numerous societies to which he belonged. On the evening that he presented his "Recollections of Royalty", however, he brought to his assembled friends of the Kit-Kat Club and numerous guests not only the rich treat and rare humor of his paper but joy at beholding him again at his best and apparently restored to health and vigor.

Mr. Randall in company with his father visited the Paris Exposition of 1867. In speaking of this he said:

"The international expositions of later years have surpassed it in size, but none of them have been so artfully organized, so admirably proportioned in its several parts, so perfectly adjusted to facilitate the display of the character and culture of each country. All eyes were turned toward France, all roads led to Paris; it outrivalled the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold'; never before nor since, such a concourse of distinguished guests; within three months, the Emperor Napoleon and Empress Eugenie entertained three Emperors, eight Kings, one Sultan, one Shah, one Viceroy, five Queens, twenty-four Princes, seven Princesses, nine

Grand Dukes, two Grand Duchesses, two Arch-Dukes, five Dukes, two Duchesses, and last but not least one member of the Kit-Kat Club. It is said a 'cat may look at a king;' certainly a Kit-Katter is no less privileged and your writer begs to submit his report as your special correspondent on the spot."

This introduction he followed with a glowing account. "This comment," he tells us reveals that he "was then in this susceptible period of youth—the threshold of seventeen—embryo beau Brummel interval between the callow chrysalis and the full-fledged male butterfly." In his diary, which he carefully kept, he had written, "Here I notice the little boys are gentlemen, and many of them — not near as tall as I — wear stovepipe or plug hats and carry little canes." Then follow his impressions of the distinguished rulers and scions of royalty, all of whom he saw, with scintillating comment on their later careers and the relegation of many of them to humble uncrowned and untitled estate, which he humorously describes as the "International Society of Royal Hoboes." As a sample of the speaker's descriptive powers we here quote his impressions of Napoleon Third and his beautiful Empress, as he had seen them a little over half a century before:

"Our introduction to the observed of all observers was happily staged. It was a gala occasion as, floating in the ceaseless tide of sight-seers on the Champs Elysees, one merry afternoon, soon after our arrival, the bands suddenly ceased their brazen blare; the hum of the multitudinous voices was hushed as there rang out the shrill notes of a silver-tongued trumpet; a tumultuous rush to the street curb; a moment of breathless silence; a squadron of mounted soldiery; six milk-white horses in glittering harness, bestriden by red-coated, white breeched postillions; a low open barouche, in the rear seat of which smiling and graciously bowing, were the Third Napoleon and his beautiful Empress Eugenie; they were attired in street custom, he in the conventional black frock coat and tile silk hat, she in plain, walking dress, a small turban shaped hat, which gave almost full view of her dark auburn hair, a ringlet of which, obtrusively large it seemed to me, like a golden rope hung down upon her shoulder; her features were surpassingly attractive, not only for their physical beauty but for the sweet, charming expression indicative of her disposition and gracious manner which so won the adoration of her people and the immediate favor of all beholders. The Emperor, as I noted him from this and many other opportunities of observation, was short and stocky, rather Roman necked, large headed and heavy featured;

his countenance betokened a sensual rather than an intellectual quality of character; he had not inherited the Napoleon cast of face; he was Beauharnais, not Bonaparte; the forehead was broad, the nose prominent, suggesting a certain German type; the eyes small, grayish-blue in color, rather expressionless; as one biographer said, 'if they were windows of his soul, their blinds were constantly drawn;' his hair was iron-gray; his natural 'make-up' was given a distinguished air by the famous imperial goatee and the spreading, heavy, mustachios, each curled to a sharp point and stiffly waxed. He bore an expression of extreme placidity, almost of sadness, an absent-minded look as if harboring some serious thought that dominated his environment; pallid and apparently careworn, he was the living embodiment of Shakespeare's lines, 'All sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.' Doubtless his prophetic soul unconsciously glimpsed the gory aftermath, lurking just beyond the glory of the present halcyon days."

One is tempted to quote at greater length but no quotation can do justice to the address which deserves a wider circulation than it has been accorded in the literary magazine from which this extract is taken.

LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

Reference has been made in preceding pages to Mr. Randall's newspaper work. Following is a list of his writings, including books and his more important contributions to periodicals and other publications:

CONTRIBUTIONS TO OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

- Blennerhassett. 1888. v. 1, p. 127-163.
 The Separatist Society of Zoar. An experiment in communism, from its commencement to its conclusion. 1900. v. 8, p. 1-105.
 Ohio in early history and during the Revolution. 1902. v. 10, p. 395-434.
 The Dunmore War. 1903. v. 11, p. 167-197.
 Clark's Conquest of the Northwest. 1903. v. 12, p. 67-94.
 *Pontiac's Conspiracy. 1903. v. 12, p. 410-437.
 Ohio Day at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. 1905. v. 14, p. 101-120.
 Tecumseh, the Shawnee Chief. 1906. v. 15, p. 419-499.

* This monograph was republished in *Great Events by Famous Historians*, volume 13, pages 267 to 288.

- Washington and Ohio. 1907. v. 16, p. 477-501.
The Mound Builders and the Lost Tribes. The "Holy stones" of Newark. 1908. v. 17, p. 208-218.
Tallmadge Township. 1908. v. 17, p. 275-306.
Rutland--"The cradle of Ohio." A little journey to the home of Rufus Putnam. 1909. v. 18, p. 51-78.
David Zeisberger Centennial. November 20, 1908. 1909. v. 18, p. 157-181.
Washington's Ohio Lands. 1910. v. 19, p. 304-319.
Brady's Leap. 1911. v. 20, p. 457-465.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORKS SEPARATELY
PUBLISHED.

- Bench and Bar of Ohio. A compendium of history and biography. Illustrated with steel plate and half tone engravings. By George Irving Reed editor; Emilius O. Randall and Charles Theodore Greve, associate editors. 1897. 2 v. 470 and 397 p.
Syllabus of the leading principles of negotiable paper in Ohio. 76 p. 1899.
Dunmore's War. 1902. 33 p.
Ohio Centennial Celebration at Chillicothe, May 20-21, 1903. Edited by E. O. Randall. 1903, 730 p.
Ohio in the American Revolution. (In Ohio Centennial Celebration, 1903. p. 120-146.)
The Mound Builder. (In Pearson and Harlor, Ohio History Sketches. 1903. p. 1-11.)
"Land Bill" Allen. (In *The Hesperian Tree*, 1903. p. 253-257.)
Law Reporting and Indexing. 1901. 17 p.
The Serpent Mound of Adams county, Ohio. 1905. 125 p.
The Serpent Mound. (In *The Ohio Illustrated Magazine*, 1906. v. 1, p. 530-542.)
Washington in Ohio. (In *The Ohio Illustrated Magazine*, 1907. v. 2, p. 121-133.)
The Cahokia Mound. (In *The Ohio Illustrated Magazine*, 1907. v. 3, p. 249-253.)
The Masterpieces of the Ohio Mound Builders; the hilltop fortifications, including Fort Ancient. 1908. 120 p.
History of Ohio; the rise and progress of an American state, by E. O. Randall and Daniel J. Ryan. 1912. 5 v. V. 1 and 2 were written by Mr. Randall; v. 3 and 4 by Mr. Ryan; v. 5 by Mr. Randall and Mr. Ryan.
Recollections of Royalty. (In *the Kit-Kat*, 1918. v. 8, p. 57-104.)
Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications. Edited by E. O. Randall. v. 4-28. 1894-1919.

WILSON L. GILL.

Wilson Lindsley Gill younger by one year than Emilius O. Randall with whom he was associated in 1866 in the editorship of *Whip-poor-will* was born in Columbus, Ohio, September 12, 1851. His biographer states that he was a member of the first kindergarten class in America, taught by Caroline Louise Frankenberg who had been for a number of years an associate of Froebel. Mr. Gill was educated in the schools of Columbus, at Dartmouth College, Sheffield Scientific school and was graduated from the Yale Law School in 1874. He pursued post graduate studies in social and political sciences at Yale. He was general manager of the Gill Car and Car Wheel Works of Columbus from 1874-1884 and was afterwards engaged in various mercantile and manufacturing enterprises. He was editor of *Our Country*, a patriotic magazine from 1895-1901. He was projector and engineer of the tunnel under 42nd Street, New York, and East River.

After the Spanish-American War he was general supervisor of moral and civic training in the Island of Cuba during the first American occupation, where he introduced methods that had been previously applied in the New York City public schools. Later he was United States supervisor-at-large of Indian schools in the department of the Interior and was charged especially to organize every government Indian school as a democracy for moral and civic training. He was president of the American Patriotic League and prominently identified with other patriotic societies, and was awarded the Elliott Cresson Gold Medal, by the Franklin Institute, for originating the school republic method of moral and civic training. He was author of a number of books, including *City Problems*; *Gill's System of Moral and Civic Training*; *The School Republic*; *The Boys' and Girls' Republic*; *Civic Practices for Boys and Girls*; *A New Citizenship*.

TRIBUTE OF THE CLARK COUNTY HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

The press, prominent citizens and organizations in editorials, in personal letters and formal resolutions gave expression to their appreciation of the character and service of Mr. Randall. The Historical Society of Clark County, Ohio, on March 3, 1920, recorded its tribute and adopted resolutions as follows:

Occasionally in life we find a rare character, who, though anchored to the routine of daily tasks, still finds time for self-development; and on that account is able to perform advanced scientific and literary work for which but few are inclined, or are capable. Mr. E. O. Randall was such a character. The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was indeed fortunate when his inclinations toward the subjects of history and archaeology led him to become the associate Secretary and Editor of the Society, November 10, 1894; having become a member in 1885, and a Trustee in 1893.

Mr. Randall has left the imprint of his literary ability on all of the publications of the society in the last twenty-five years. Perhaps the greatest and most successful literary work of Mr. Randall was in the writing and publication, in connection with the Honorable Daniel J. Ryan, of a history of Ohio, in five large volumes, in which is shown his clear diction and his invincible descriptive and narrative style of composition.

Mr. E. O. Randall was a speaker of marked ability and members of our Society will remember the several occasions on which we have had the pleasure of hearing him in Springfield.

Be it resolved, That in the death of Mr. Randall our Society has lost an honored leader along the lines of our organization, and many of us a personal friend.

Resolved, That this Resolution be filed in the archives of the Society, and that a copy be sent to the State Archaeological and Historical Society, for their files.

A scrapbook carefully kept by Rev. D. A. Randall contains much interesting information and is made up almost entirely from his own contributions to various papers covering dates from 1853 to 1883. Notes accompanying these clippings, some of which were from *Whip-poor-will*, indicate that he contributed some of the material which appeared in that paper.

Rev. Randall wrote not only interesting prose but creditable verse. A few of the poems that appeared in *Whip-poor-will* were written by him. Brief accounts of travels in foreign lands by "Uncle Austin" were also from his pen.

A vacancy existed in the secretaryship of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society after the death of Mr. Randall until March 16th, when C. B. Galbreath was elected to the position. The contributions that appear in this issue of the *QUARTERLY* were collected by him and, with the approval of the committee, arranged for publication.





MARIE JEAN PAUL ROCH YVES GILBERT MOTIER DE LAFAYETTE,
From a portrait by Sully in 1824 for the city of Philadelphia, now in
Independence Hall

LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO OHIO VALLEY STATES.

BY C. B. GALBREATH.

The fame of those who rose to eminence in the American Revolution is secure. Time has not dimmed the luster of their achievements or our gratitude for their patriotic service. The monument reared to them in the hearts of the American people has withstood the test of the critic, the sneer of the cynic and the hammer of the iconoclast. This is well. If they have been idealized and idolized it is not to the discredit of their posterity and the Republic that they founded.

In the quest for historic truth, however, it is inevitable that there should be a revision of opinions in regard to incidents and men. No serious fault can be found with "the man from Missouri" who wishes "to be shown." There can be no objection to his doubt so long as it is a reasonable and honest doubt. Dispassionate consideration of evidence in the determination of facts is as timely in historic investigation as in the study of the natural sciences. This, however, does not warrant conclusions based upon unsupported assertion, however novel and original they may be and however startling because they run counter to long established public opinion.

The "higher criticism" is entitled to respect and some of its revelations may well provoke a smile when applied to the romance and legends of the Revolution. But the story of the famous hatchet and cherry tree does not diminish the regard for the Father of His Country, however much it may shake faith in the narrative of the Reverend Mason Locke Weems. Nor shall mirth provoking humor, even when used to camouflage the keen shafts of sarcasm, prevail against the substantial worth, the generous enthusiasm and the distinguished achievements of the compatriots of Washington.

Lafayette has been fittingly styled "the fortunate friend of liberty in Europe and America," but the success that crowned his career on this side of the Atlantic was the meed of merit as well as good fortune. The crowning testimonial to his achieve-

ment, the welcome accorded him in 1824 and 1825 on the occasion of his second visit to America, was so spontaneous and pronounced that it has, in recent years, invited at least one challenge by an apostle of "the higher criticism."

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for May, 1919, a gifted writer from classic Princeton, a spot hallowed by stirring events and traditions of the Revolution, has essayed in a brilliant and somewhat disconcerting contribution, entitled "Since We Welcomed Lafayette", to pluck a few feathers from the plume of this "knight errant of liberty," and incidentally to take a fall out of the schoolbook historians and our French "propaganda" through the World War.

In this style the "higher criticism" goes to the bat:

"No single phenomenon of America's participation in the Great War has been more striking than the instant response, in the average American heart, to the name of Lafayette. It is one of the most curious, the most absurd, the most fortunate, of moral accidents. We did not go into the war because of Lafayette; but who can say what help that name has rendered in sustaining the enthusiasm of the draft army?"

The foes of Germany, we are given to understand, had a weapon of which they had scarcely dreamed in the credulity of the American people:

"Allied propaganda had an instrument to its hand which perhaps it did not, itself, suspect. Like a sword from its sheath, like Lazarus from the tomb, the figure of Lafayette leaped forth from the collective memory. People who knew nothing else; people who found it difficult to credit German turpitude or to feel a vital interest in any European war whatsoever, knew all about him. 'Why, yes,' they said, rubbing their eyes; 'of course we owe a debt to France; we don't know much about France, but France is a good scout, you bet: she sent Lafayette to help us fight the English.' For millions, France meant Lafayette."

We are then enlightened as to the comparative insignificance of Lafayette:

"But he was never a great fighter, and his military career in America, though respectable, was not distinguished. Except by loving the insurgent Americans when most people did not, it is

hard to know what peculiar and signal service he rendered. Even at that time of counting noses and husbanding pitifully small talent, he was not indispensable."

Our "ridiculous, unscientific schoolbooks" and their young dupes are the next exhibit:

"How much good Lafayette accomplished in 1777 is problematical; the good he accomplished in 1917 is, frankly, incalculable. We really needed no French propaganda; you said, 'Lafayette,' and you had all the young throats cheering."

"American youths did not stop to read what the Committee on Public Information printed. They had learned what was necessary in their ridiculous, unscientific schoolbooks. Didn't France help us out? And didn't France, on top of it, have a revolution of her own and turn into a republic?"

The discovery of the influence of Lafayette is presented as a "joke:"

"And the joke of it is that no one had suspected the power of that name. When politicians and public speakers first used it, because there was no argument they dared omit, they did not dream that it would, for so many millions, make any other argument unnecessary. It was sheer, stupendous luck."

Reference is made to General Pershing's famous speech with the observation that when he said, "Lafayette, we are here," he said just what the school boy would have him say:

"The propagandists here used Lafayette in the beginning; and General Pershing made him, as it were, official. The French themselves lagged a little behind, but they did not lag for long. They were too well-informed to suspect Lafayette's importance in the first place; but they were far too intelligent not to use him as soon as they saw what, to uninformed young America, he stood for."

The "higher criticism" then concludes with this somewhat remarkable deduction:

"The near-historian might point to the Lafayette legend as one of Bismarck's 'Imponderables.' But we, if you please, will let it go at what it most obviously is: an Arabian-Night-ish tale of irrelevant magic and incommensurate rewards; a proof that

Haroun-al-Raschid and Abraham Lincoln were both right; that not only to the gayety, but to the positive benefit, of nations, you can fool all the people some of the time."

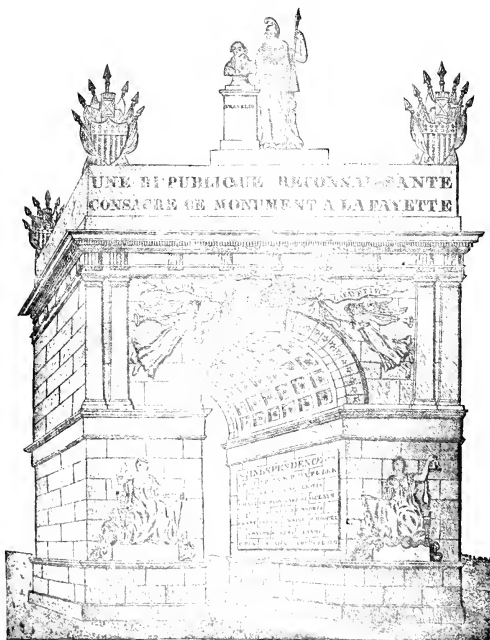
With the hope that those who have followed these quotations thus far may read in full the article from which they are taken, we beg to observe that if the fame of Lafayette is "a joke", based largely on a misconception of services to the patriot cause, the American school boys of today are not the first to have been misled by its influence, or, to put it in another form, led aright by its unwarranted influence. From the "higher criticism" of 1919, we appeal to the testimony of those who welcomed Lafayette almost a century ago, who were closer to him and his achievements and whose spirits were aflame with the story and the memories of the Revolution.

He first came to America in 1777, when he was a youth of nineteen years, when disaster seemed about to overwhelm the American cause. He joined Washington at the Brandywine and was wounded in the battle there, was with the commander in chief through the terrible winter at Valley Forge and fought without pay until the crowning triumph of American and French arms at Yorktown.

He first made a brief visit to the United States in 1784. Later when the young Republic had expanded westward and was fast becoming a nation wide and strong, after the French revolution, his long imprisonment in an Austrian dungeon and the downfall of Napoleon, Lafayette came again and as "the nation's guest" visited every state in the Union.

In the latter part of February, 1825, he started on his southern and western tour. Down the Potomac and the Chesapeake, through Virginia and the Carolinas he went, down to the sunny southland to meet the early spring. Overland across Georgia he passed and down the Alabama. Out from the bay of Mobile the vessel steamed and bore him to New Orleans — the French-American city that welcomed him in a delirium of joy. Up the "Father of Waters" he came, visiting new states, then the western frontiers of civilization, and marveling at the prodigies of progress in the wilderness.

As his delighted eyes dwelt upon the happy prospect, he



TRIUMPHAL ARCH,

Erected in honor of Lafayette, New Orleans, April, 1825.
(From an old print.)

forgot age and fatigue and felt bounding through his veins again the enthusiasm of revolutionary days. In what had been the Northwest Territory he rejoiced to see the principles that claimed his youthful heart embodied in the structures of three noble states, prophetic of what the greater Republic was to be when slavery under the flag should cease and liberty should become universal in America.

The fame of Lafayette's reception in the East gradually reached the frontier settlements of the West and stimulated a lively desire to see and greet the nation's guest. Late in November of 1824 the legislature of Illinois appointed a committee who formulated the following address to Lafayette:

"To General Lafayette:

SIR:—The General Assembly now in session, in behalf of the people of the state of Illinois, feel it their duty to express to you, how largely its citizens participate in the feelings of joy and gratitude, which your arrival in the United States has inspired. All our sentiments are in perfect harmony with those of our fellow citizens of the East, who have so warmly greeted your visit to this Republic. They have spoken the language of our hearts. The voice of gratulation which has been sounded from Maine to Louisiana, is echoed from the banks of the Mississippi. Remote as we are from the Atlantic states, we have not been able to join with our fellow-citizens in their congratulations, and say to the Guest of the Nation: "Welcome Lafayette." But though we have not spoken it, we feel it. No sooner had the news of your arrival reached this distant part of the country, than every eye sparkled with joy, every heart beat high with gratitude, and every bosom swelled with patriotic pride, that Lafayette was in America. With your name is associated everything that can command our respect, admiration and esteem. Your early achievements in the war of the Revolution, and the uniform devotion to the cause of American liberty, have written the name of Lafayette upon the tablet of our hearts, and secured to you the brightest page of our history. The same pen that records the virtues and glories of Washington, will perpetuate the name of Lafayette. Few of us, in Illinois, have any recollection of the eventful scenes of the Revolution; but our fathers have told us, and when they have rehearsed to us its interesting events, the names of Washington and Lafayette have adorned the recital. There are few men living, if any, who have such claims upon the gratitude of the American people, as yourself. You largely contributed to

lay the foundation, on which are erected our present political institutions; and even here, in Illinois, a thousand miles from the scenes of your early exploits, we reap the rich reward of your toil and blood. When you were fighting by the side of Washington, Illinois was scarcely known, even by name. It has now become an important member of the great American family, and will soon assume a prominent rank among the sister states.

"The uniformity of your character particularly endears you to the hearts of the American people. Whether we behold you amid the storms of revolution or the oppressions of despotism, you appear the same consistent friend of liberty and of man throughout the world.

"We scarcely indulge the pleasing hope of seeing you among us; but if circumstances should induce you to make a visit to the western country, be assured, sir, that in no part of it will your reception be more cordial and welcome than in Illinois; and you will find hearts deeply penetrated with that gratitude which your visit to the United States has awakened in every part of our happy country. We entreat heaven, that the evening of your life may be as serene and happy, as its morning has been brilliant and glorious."

The invitation was forwarded, together with a letter by Governor Coles. Under date of April 12, 1825, Lafayette writing from New Orleans signified his eager desire to visit Illinois and suggested points at which he might meet representatives of the state. Governor Coles in his reply informed the General that Colonel Hamilton* would meet him in St. Louis and arrange the details of his visit to Illinois.²

*William S. Hamilton was the son of Alexander Hamilton. His name was William Stephen, not William *Schuyler*, as written by Governor Coles. He was aid-de-camp to Governor Coles with the rank of Colonel. (For interesting sketch of Colonel Hamilton see Washburne's "Sketch of Edward Coles.")

²The following letters passed between Lafayette and Governor Coles:

LAFAYETTE TO EDWARD COLES.

NEW ORLEANS, April 12, 1825.

My Dear Sir: Notwithstanding many expostulations I have received on the impossibility to perform between the 22 of February, and the fifteenth of June, the tour of visits which I would have been very unhappy to relinquish, we have arrived thus far, my companions and myself, and I don't doubt but that by rapid movements, we can gratify my ardent

On Saturday, April 30, 1825, Lafayette and party accompanied by prominent citizens, chiefly from Missouri, on board the steamer *Natches*, arrived in Kaskaskia. The visit was entirely unexpected at that time and no military parade was attempted. The news of the arrival soon spread, and the streets and way leading to the landing were thronged with people. The party landed about one o'clock in the afternoon. The guests proceeded to the residence of General Edgar where a reception was held. After partaking of refreshments the General was welcomed by Governor Coles in the following address:

desire to see everyone of the western states, and yet fulfil a sacred duty as the representative of the Revolutionary Army, on the half secular jubilee of Bunker Hill. But to do it, my dear sir, I must avail myself of the kind, indulgent proposal made by several friends to meet me at some point near the river, in the state of Illinois—I would say, could Kaskaskia or Shawneetown suit you to pass one day with me? I expect to leave St. Louis on the 29th of April, but being engaged for a day's visit at General Jackson's I might be at Shawneetown on the 8th of May, if you don't take me directly from St. Louis to Kaskaskia or some other place. Excuse the hurry of my writing, as the post is going, and receive in this private letter, — for indeed, to the Governor I would not know how to apologize for this answer to so polite a proposal, — receive I say, my high and affectionate regards.

LAFAYETTE.

His Excellency, Governor Coles, Illinois.

GOVERNOR COLES TO LAFAYETTE.

EDWARDSVILLE, Apr. 28, 1825.

Dear Sir:—This will be handed to you by my friend and aid-de-camp, Colonel William Schuyler Hamilton, whom I take particular pleasure in introducing to you, as the son of your old and particular friend, General Alexander Hamilton. As it is not known when you will arrive at St. Louis, or what will be your intended route thence, Colonel Hamilton is posted there for the purpose of waiting on you as soon as you shall arrive and ascertaining from you, and making known to me, by what route you propose to return eastward, and when and where it will be most agreeable for you to afford me the happiness of seeing you and welcoming you to Illinois.

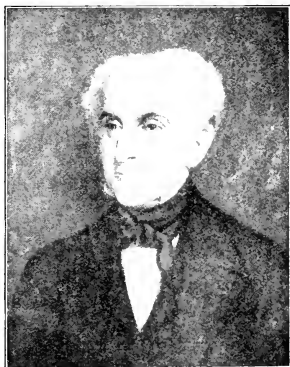
I am, with the greatest respect and esteem, your devoted friend,

EDWARD COLES.

General Lafayette.

General Lafayette:

In the name of the citizens of Illinois, I tender you their affectionate greeting and cordial welcome. Entertaining for you the most sincere affection, veneration and gratitude, they have largely participated in the joy diffused throughout our extensive Republic by your arrival in it; and are particularly gratified that you have extended your visit to their interior and infant state.



EDWARD COLES,
Governor of Illinois.

For this distinguished mark of respect, I tender you the thanks of Illinois. Yes, General, be assured I speak the feelings of every citizen of the state, when I tell you that we experience no common gratification on seeing you among us. We are not insensible to the honor done us by this visit, and only regret that we are not able to give you a reception more consonant with our feelings and wishes. But you will find our excuse in the recent

settlement of the state, and the infancy of our condition as a people.

"You will doubtless bear in mind that Illinois was not even conceived at the period of the Revolution, that she has come into existence but a few years since, and of course has not yet procured those conveniences and comforts which her elder sisters have had time to provide. But, General, though her citizens can not accommodate you as they would wish, believe me they receive you with all those emotions which swell the bosom of the affectionate child, when receiving its kind parent, for the first time, at its new and unfinished dwelling.

"Your presence brings most forcibly to our recollections an era of all others the most glorious and honorable to the character of man, and most propitious to his high interests; — when our fathers aroused to a sense of their degradation, and becoming sensible of their rights, took the resolution to declare, and called into action the valor to maintain, and the wisdom to secure, the Independence of our country and the liberty of themselves and their posterity. In the performance of this noble but arduous service, you acted a distinguished part, — the more so as your conduct was prompted by no motive of self-interest. You were influenced by an enlarged philanthropy, which looked on mankind as your kindred, and felt that their happiness was near and dear to yours. You saw a far distant and alien people, young and feeble, struggling for their rights and liberties, and your generous and benevolent bosom prompted you to surmount the many restrictions and obstacles by which you were encompassed, and with a disinterested zeal, chivalrous heroism, and pure and generous philanthropy, surpassing all praise, flew to the assistance of the American patriots, and aided by your influence, counsel, services and treasure, a cause you had so magnanimously espoused.

"The love of liberty, which is the most prominent trait in the American character, is not more strongly implanted in every bosom than is an enthusiastic devotion and veneration for the patriotic heroes and sages of the Revolution. We glory in their deeds, we consecrate their memories, we venerate their names, we are devoted to their principles and resolved never to abandon

the rights and liberties acquired by their virtue, wisdom and valor. With these feelings, and looking upon you as one of the most virtuous and efficient, and the most disinterested and heroic champion of our rights and liberties, a Father of the Republic, an apostle of liberty, and a benefactor of the human race, our emotions can be more readily conceived than expressed.

“Language can not describe our love for the individual, our gratitude for his services, our admiration of his character; a character which has under the most adverse and trying circumstances, throughout a long and eventful life, remained pure, consistent and unsullied, by an act of injustice, cruelty, or oppression. Whether aiding the cause of liberty in a foreign and distant country, or in your own dear native France; whether at the zenith of power, commanding millions of men, and wielding the destinies of a great nation, or imprisoned by the enemies of freedom in a foreign dungeon, suffering for many years all the pains and privations which tyranny could devise, we still see displayed the same distinguished traits of character;—never tempted by power, nor seduced by popular applause; always devoted to liberty, always true to virtuous principles; never desponding, but ever firm and erect, cheering and animating the votaries of freedom; and when overtaken by adversity, beset with difficulties, the victim of your virtues, preferring the loss of wealth, of power, nay of liberty, and even of life itself, to the smallest sacrifice or compromise of your principles.

“I would not have ventured, on this occasion, to have said thus much, but for the difficulty I have met with in restraining my feelings when addressing General Lafayette; and also from a belief that it would have a good effect on those of our countrymen about us, to hold up to their admiration the strong and beautiful traits of your character. In this view your visit to America will not only make the present generation better acquainted with the Revolution, but will, by exhibiting so perfect a model, render more attractive and impress more forcibly upon their recollections the republican principles, and the pure and ennobling virtues of that period.

“I must be permitted to say, in addition to that joy which is common to all portions of the Union, there is a peculiar grati-

fication felt in receiving you, one of the fathers of our political institutions and the friend of universal freedom, in the bosom of a state, the offspring of those institutions, which has not only inherited the precious boon of self government, but has been reared in the principles and in the practice of liberty, and has had her soil in an especial manner protected from oppression of every description.

"In addition to this, what reflections crowd the mind when we consider who is our Guest, and when and where we are receiving him. Not half a century has elapsed since Jefferson penned the declaration of America's wrongs and of man's rights; Washington drew the sword to maintain the one and avenge the other; and Lafayette left the endearments of country and family to assist in the arduous contest. Then our population was confined to the sea-board and extended back no further than the mountains. Now our republic stretches from ocean to ocean, and our population extends 1200 miles into the interior of this vast continent. And here 1000 miles from the ocean and from the interesting scenes of your glorious achievements at Brandywine, Monmouth, and Yorktown, we, the children of your compatriots, enjoy the happiness of beholding the great friend of our country.

"These reflections expand our imaginations, and make us delight in anticipating the future. And, judging from the past do I hazard too much in saying the time is not far distant when the descendants of the revolutionary worthies, inheriting the spirit of their fathers, and animated with the same attachment to liberty, the same enthusiastic devotion to country, and imbued with the same pure and divine principles, will people the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific; irradiating this whole continent with the diffusion of intelligence, and blessing it by the establishment of self government, in which shall be secured personal, political and religious liberty? When, in the progress of our country's greatness this happy period shall arrive, the philanthropist may look with confidence to the universal restoration of man to his long lost rights and to that station in the Creator's works and to that moral elevation to which he was destined. And then, my dear General, the world will resound with the

praises of Washington and Lafayette, of Jefferson and Franklin, of Madison and of the other patriots, sages, and heroes of the glorious and renovating era of 1776."

To which General Lafayette replied:

"It is to me, sir, an exquisite gratification to be in the state of Illinois, and in the name of the people, welcomed by their worthy governor, whose sentiments in my behalf, most kindly expressed, claim my lively acknowledgments, at the same time that his patriotic, liberal anticipations and observations excite the warmest feelings of my sympathy and regard. — Obligated as I am by a sacred engagement well understood by all the citizens



Lafayette

of the United States, to shorten my western visit, I will take with me the inexpressible satisfaction to have seen the growing prosperity and importance of this young state, under the triple guarantee of republican institutions, of every local advantage, and of a generous determination in the people of Illinois to improve those blessings, on the soundest principles of American liberty. To those cordial congratulations, my dear sir, I join my thanks for the honor you have done me, to associate my name with those of my illustrious, dear and venerated friends, and I request you to accept in behalf of the citizens of Illinois, of their represent-

atives in both houses, and of their chief magistrate, my gratitude for their affectionate invitation, for the reception I now meet in this patriotic town of Kaskaskia, my best wishes, my devotion and respect."

After the address the crowd of citizens pressed forward to grasp the General by the hand. Among them were some old revolutionary soldiers who had fought with him at the Brandywine and at Yorktown. They were affectionately greeted by their old commander. The meeting of these revolutionary veterans deeply affected those who witnessed it. The company then proceeded to the tavern kept by Colonel Sweet where an ample

dinner awaited them.* The decorations, though hastily prepared, were most appropriate. The walls of the room were hung round with the laurel wreath tastefully displayed, while over the chair of the guest was erected an arch of roses and other flowers which presented the form and colors of the rainbow.²

After dinner the following toasts were offered:

By General Lafayette — Kaskaskia and Illinois; may their joint prosperity more and more evince the blessings of congenial industry and freedom.

By Governor Coles — The inmates of La Grange — let them not be uneasy; for though their father is 1000 miles in the interior of America, he is yet in the midst of his affectionate children.

By G. W. Lafayette — The grateful and respectful confidence of my father's children and grandchildren, in the kindness of his American family towards him.

By Governor Bond — General Lafayette — may he live to see that liberty established in his native country which he helped to establish in his adopted country.

By General Edgar — John Quincy Adams.

By Col. Scott, of Mississippi — The memory of General Washington.

By Col. Morse — Gratitude to an old soldier, which equally blesses the giver and receiver.

*Order of procession — General Lafayette, George Washington Lafayette, Colonel Levasseur, De Syon, Governor Coles; Colonel Morse and Colonel Ducros, aids of the Governor of Louisiana; Mr. Caire, Secretary of Governor of Louisiana; Mr. Prieur, Recorder of N. Orleans; Colonel Scott, aid to Governor of Mississippi; General Gibbs, General Stewart, Colonel Rutledge, Colonel Balch, Tennessee Committee; Judge Peck, General Dodge, Colonel Wash, Colonel O'Fallon, St. Louis Committee; Citizens of Kaskaskia and vicinity; Committee of arrangements — General Edgar, Governor Bond, William Morrison, Sr., Capt. Stacy McDonald, Judge Pope, Hon. E. K. Kane, Col. Menard, Col. Greenup, Col. Mather, Major Maxwell, Major Humphreys, Doctor Betz, Pierre Menard, Jr.

²We joined the procession and took our places at the table, where the General was seated under a canopy of flowers prepared by the ladies of Kaskaskia with much skill and taste; and which produced by the blending of the richest and most lively colors the effect of a rainbow.

By Gen. Dodge — General Lafayette, the champion of the rights of man in the old world — the hero who nobly shed his blood in defense of American liberty.

By S. Breese, Esq. — Our illustrious Guest — in the many and trying situations in which he has been placed, we see in him the same consistent friend of liberty and of man.

By Col. Stewart — Boliver, the South American liberator.

By S. Smith — General Lafayette, the protector of American liberties.

By Col. O'Fallon — The states of Illinois and Missouri — united by the same interests, their citizens should regard each other as members of the same family.

By Wm. Morrison, Esq. — The land we live in.

By Col. Balch — Governor Coles — sound in his principles, amiable in his manners; his efforts to promote the interests of his state will be received with gratitude by the freemen of Illinois.

By William Orr — The American revolution — May the patriotic feeling which distinguished that period never cease to exist in this Union.

The General and other guests now proceeded to the house of William Morrison, Sr., by whom a ball was given on this occasion. Here the ladies of the town and vicinity were presented to the General; and far into the night, in honor of the illustrious guest "youth and pleasure chased the glowing hours" that vanished all too soon.

While General Lafayette was taking a short rest at General

NOTE — The following account of the reception is given by Levasseur, the private secretary of Lafayette:

"In the escort which formed to accompany him, we saw neither military apparel nor the splendid triumphs we had perceived in the rich cities; but the accents of joy and republican gratitude which broke upon his ear was grateful to his heart, since it proved to him that wherever American liberty had penetrated there also the love and veneration of its people for its founders were perpetuated.

"We followed the General on foot and arrived almost at the same time at the house of General Edgar, a venerable soldier of the revolution, who received him with affectionate warmth and ordered all the doors to be kept open that his fellow citizens might enjoy, as well as himself,

Edgar's before the banquet, Mr. George Washington Lafayette and Mr. Levasseur walked through the streets of the town with some of the citizens and viewed with much interest the life of this frontier capital. The attention of Levasseur was attracted to the Indians who were present in great numbers, several tribes being represented. It was the season of the year when they came to sell the furs that they had accumulated as the result of their winter's trapping and hunting. He soon engaged in conversation with these sons of the forest, many of whom could speak French. At the suggestion of Mr. Caire, private secretary of the Governor of Louisiana, the two visited an Indian camp about half an hour's walk distant. With the exception of an old woman cooking at a fire in the open air there was no one in the camp. She did not answer questions, and maintained a stolid indiffer-

the pleasure of shaking hands with the adopted son of America. After a few minutes had been accorded to the rather tumultuous expression of the sentiments which the presence of the General inspired, Governor Coles requested silence, which was accorded with a readiness and deference which proved to me that his authority rested not only on the law but still more on popular affection. He advanced towards Lafayette, about whom the crowd had increased, and addressed him with emotion in a discourse in which he depicted the transports his presence excited in the population of the state of Illinois, and the happy influence which the remembrance of his visit would produce hereafter on the youthful witnesses of the enthusiasm of their fathers for one of the most valiant founders of their liberty.

"During an instant of profound silence, I cast a glance at the assembly in the midst of which I found myself, and was struck with astonishment in remarking their variety and fantastic appearance. Beside men whose dignity of countenance and patriotic exaltation of expression readily indicated them to be Americans, were others whose coarse dresses, vivacity, petulance of movement, and the expansive joy of their visages strongly recalled to me the peasantry of my own country; behind these, near to the door, and on the piazza which surrounds the house, stood some immovable, impassive, large, red, half-naked figures, leaning on a bow or a long rifle: these were the Indians of the neighborhood.

"After a pause of some seconds, the Governor resumed his address, which he concluded by presenting, with great eloquence, a faithful picture of the benefits which America had derived from its liberty and the happy influence which republican institutions would one day exercise on the rest of the world. When the orator had finished, a slight murmur of approbation passed through the assembly, and was prolonged until it was perceived that General Lafayette was about to reply, when an attentive silence was restored.

ence while they examined the huts and surroundings. When they were about to leave, Levasseur, on crossing a stream that ran through the camp, saw a small water wheel which appeared to have been thrown on the bank by the rapidity of the current. "I took it up," said he, "and placed it where I thought it had originally been put by the children, on two stones elevated a little above the water, and the current striking the wings made it turn rapidly. This puerility, which probably would have passed from my memory, if, on the same evening, it had not placed me before the Indians in a situation sufficiently extraordinary, excited the attention of the old woman, who by her gestures, expressed to us a lively satisfaction."

On returning to Kaskaskia, Levasseur met Mr. De Syon, a young Frenchman who at the request of Lafayette had accompanied the party from Washington. He also had made an excursion into the adjacent country and had met among the Indians a handsome young woman who spoke good French and asked if Lafayette was at Kaskaskia. When told that he was, she manifested a strong desire to see him. "I always carry with me," she said, "a relic that is very dear to me; I wish to show it to him; it will prove to him that his name is not less venerated in the midst of our tribes than among the white Americans for whom he fought." Thereupon she drew from her bosom a pouch, which contained a letter carefully wrapped in paper. "It is from La-

"After these reciprocal felicitations, another scene not less interesting commenced. Some old revolutionary soldiers advanced from the crowd and came to shake hands with their old general, while he conversed with them, and heard them, with thought and feeling, cite the names of their ancient companions in arms who also fought at Brandywine and Yorktown, but for whom it was not ordained to enjoy the fruits of their toils nor to unite their voices with that of their grateful country. The persons whom I have remarked as having some likeness in dress and manners to our French peasants,¹ went and came with vivacity in all parts of the hall, or sometimes formed little groups, from the midst of which could be heard, in the French language, the most open and animated expressions of joy. Having been introduced to one of these groups by a member of the committee of Kaskaskia I was received at first with great kindness and was quickly overwhelmed with a volley of questions, as soon as they found I was a Frenchman, and accompanied General Lafayette."

*These were French Canadians who had emigrated to Illinois.

fayette," she said. "He wrote it to my father a long time since and my father, when he died, left it to me as the most precious thing he possessed." This interested Mr. De Syon and he asked her to accompany him to the city. She declined the invitation but requested him to come to her camp that evening if he wished to speak further. "I am well known in Kaskaskia," she said. "My name is Mary."

De Syon's story so impressed Levasseur that he determined to see the young Indian princess and bring about a meeting between her and the General. When he and De Syon reached General Edgar's residence where Lafayette and a number of friends had been entertained, they joined the procession as it crossed to Col. Sweet's where they were to dine.

We can not do better than relate the story of the daughter of Panisciowa in the words of Levasseur, of which the following is a translation:

MARY, THE DAUGHTER OF CHIEF PANISCIOWA.*

"I spoke to General Lafayette of the meeting with the young Indian girl; and from the desire he manifested to see her, I left the table with Mr. De Syon, at the moment when the company began to exchange patriotic toasts, and we sought a guide to Mary's camp. Chance assisted us wonderfully in directing us to an Indian of the same tribe that we wished to visit. Conducted by him we crossed the bridge at Kaskaskia, and notwithstanding the darkness, soon recognized the path and rivulet I had seen in the morning with Mr. Caire. When we were about to enter the enclosure, we were arrested by the fierce barking of two stout dogs which sprang at, and would probably have bitten us, but for the timely interference of our guide.

"We arrived at the middle of the camp, which was lighted by a large fire, around which a dozen Indians were squatted, preparing their supper; they received us with cordiality, and, as soon as they were informed of the object of our visit, one of them conducted us to the hut of Mary, whom we found sleeping on a bison skin. At the voice of Mr. De Syon, which she recognized, she arose, and listened attentively to the invitation from General Lafayette to come to Kaskaskia; she seemed quite flat-

* Known to Americans by the name "Chief Jean Baptiste Du Coigne," or "Du Quoin."

tered by it, but said before deciding to accompany us that she wished to mention it to her husband.

"While she was consulting with him, I heard a piercing cry; and turning round I saw near me the old woman I had found alone in the camp in the morning; she had just recognized me by the light of the fire and designated me to her companions, who, quitting immediately their occupations, rushed round me in a circle, and began to dance with demonstrations of great joy and gratitude. Their tawny and nearly naked bodies, their faces fantastically painted, their expressive gesticulations, the reflection of the fire, which gave a red tinge to all the surrounding objects, everything gave to the scene something of an infernal aspect, and I fancied myself for an instant in the midst of demons. Mary, witnessing my embarrassment, put an end to it, by ordering the dance to cease, and then explained to me the honors which they had just rendered me.

" 'When we wish to know if an enterprise which we meditate will be happy, we place in a rivulet a small wheel slightly supported on two stones; if the wheel turns during three suns without being thrown down, the augury is favorable; but if the current carry it away, and throw it upon the bank, it is certain proof that our project is not approved by the Great Spirit, unless, however, a **stranger** comes to replace our little wheel before the end of the third day. You are this stranger who have restored our *manitou* and our hopes, and this is your title to be thus celebrated among us.' In pronouncing these last words, an ironical smile played on her lips, which caused me to doubt her faith in the *manitou*.

"She silently shook her head, then raising her eyes, 'I have been taught,' she said, 'to place my confidence higher; — all my hopes are in the God I have been taught to believe in; the God of the Christians.'

"I had at first been much astonished to hear an Indian woman speak French so well, and I was not less so in learning that she was a Christian. Mary perceived it, and to put an end to my surprise, she related to me her history, while her husband and those who were to accompany her to Kaskaskia, hastily took their supper of maize cooked in milk. She informed me

that her father, who was a great chief of one of the nations that inhabited the shores of the great lakes of the north, had formerly fought with a hundred of his followers under the orders of Lafayette when the latter commanded an army on the frontiers; that he had acquired much glory, and gained the friendship of the Americans. A long time after, that is, about twenty years ago, he left the shores of the great lakes with some of his warriors, his wife and daughter; and after having marched a long time he established himself on the shores of the river Illinois.

“I was very young then,” she said, “but have not forgotten the horrible sufferings we endured during this long journey, made in a rigorous winter, across a country peopled by nations with whom we were unacquainted; they were such that my poor mother, who nearly always carried me on her shoulders, already well loaded with baggage, died under them some days after our arrival; my father placed me under the care of another woman, who also emigrated with us, and occupied himself with securing tranquil possession of the lands on which we had come to establish ourselves, by forming alliances with our new neighbors. The Kickapoos were those who received us best, and we soon considered ourselves as forming a part of their nation. The year following my father was chosen by them with some from among themselves, to go and regulate some affairs of the nation with the agent of the United States, residing here at Kaskaskia; he wished that I should be of the company; for, although the Kickapoos had shown themselves very generous and hospitable towards him, he feared that some war might break out in his absence as he well knew the intrigues of the English to excite the Indians against the Americans. The same apprehension induced him to accede to the request made by the American agent, to leave me in his family, to be educated with his infant daughter. My father had much esteem for the whites of the great nation for which he had formerly fought; he never had cause to complain of them, and he who offered to take charge of me inspired him with great confidence by the frankness of his manners, and above all, by the fidelity with which he treated the affairs of the Indians; he, therefore, left me, promising to return to see me

every year after the great winter's hunt; he came, in fact, several times afterwards; and I, notwithstanding the disagreeableness of sedentary life, grew up, answering the expectations of my careful benefactor and his wife. I became attached to their daughter who grew up with me, and the truths of the Christian religion easily supplanted in my mind the superstitions of my father, whom I had scarcely known; yet, I confess to you, notwithstanding the influence of religion and civilization on my youthful heart, the impressions of infancy were not entirely effaced.

“If the pleasure of wandering conducted me into the shady forest, I breathed more freely, and it was with reluctance that I returned home; when, in the cool of the evening, seated in the door of my adopted father's habitation, I heard in the distance, through the silence of the night, the piercing voice of the Indians, rallying to return to camp, I started with a thrill of joy, and my feeble voice imitated the voice of the savage with a facility that affrighted my young companion; and when occasionally some warriors came to consult my benefactor in regard to their treaties, or hunters to offer him a part of the produce of the chase, I was always the first to run to meet and welcome them. I testified my joy to them by every imaginable means, and I could not help admiring and wishing for their simple ornaments, which appeared to me far preferable to the brilliant decorations of the whites.

“In the meantime my father had not appeared at the time for the return from the winter's hunting; but a warrior, whom I had often seen with him, came and found me one evening at the entrance of the forest, and said to me: “Mary thy father is old and feeble, he has been unable to follow us here; but he wishes to see thee once more before he dies, and he has charged me to conduct thee to him.” In saying these words he forcibly took my hand and dragged me with him. I had not even time to reply to him, nor even to take any resolution, before we were at a great distance, and I saw well that there was no part left for me but to follow him. We marched nearly all night, and at the dawn of day we arrived at a bark hut, built in the middle of a little valley. Here I saw my father, his eyes turned towards the just

rising sun. His face was painted as for battle. His tomahawk, ornamented with many scalps, was beside him. He was calm and silent as an Indian who awaited death. As soon as he saw me he drew out of a pouch a paper wrapped with care in a very dry skin, and gave it me, requesting that I should preserve it as a most precious thing.

"I wished to see thee once more before dying," he said, "and to give this paper, which is the most powerful charm (*manitou*) which thou canst employ with the whites to interest them in thy favor; for all those to whom I have shown it have manifested towards me a particular attachment. I received it from a great French warrior, whom the English dreaded as much as the Americans loved, and with whom I fought in my youth." After these words my father was silent. Next morning he expired. Sciakape, the name of the warrior who came for me, covered the body of my father with the branches of trees, and took me back to my guardian.'

"Here Mary suspended her narrative and presented to me a letter a little darkened by time, but in good preservation. 'Stay,' said she to me, smiling, 'you see that I have faithfully complied with the charge of my father; I have taken great care of his *manitou*.' I opened the letter and recognized the signature and handwriting of General Lafayette. It was dated at headquarters, Albany, June, 1778, after the northern campaign, and addressed to Panisciowa, an Indian chief of one of the Six Nations, to thank him for the courageous manner in which he had served the American cause.

"'Well,' said Mary, 'now that you know me well enough to introduce me to General Lafayette, shall we go to him that I may also greet him whom my father revered as the courageous warrior and the friend of our nations?' "Willingly," I replied, "but it seems to me that you have promised to inform us in what manner, after having tasted for some time the sweets of civilization, you came to return to the rude and savage life of the Indians?"

"At this question, Mary looked downwards and seemed troubled. However, after a slight hesitation, she resumed in a lower tone: 'After the death of my father, Sciakape often re-

turned to see me. We soon became attached to each other; he did not find it difficult to determine me to follow him to the forest, where I became his wife. This resolution at first very much afflicted my benefactors; but when they saw that I found myself happy, they pardoned me; and each year, during all the time that our encampment is established near Kaskaskia, I rarely pass a day without going to see them; if you wish, we can visit them, for their house is close by our way, and you will see, by the reception they will give me, that they retain their esteem and friendship.' Mary pronounced these last words with a degree of pride, which proved to us that she feared that we might have formed a bad opinion of her, on account of her flight from the home of her benefactors with Sciakape.

"We accepted her suggestion and she gave the signal for departure. At her call, her husband and eight warriors presented themselves to escort us. Mr. De Syon offered her his arm, and we began our march. We were all very well received by the family of Mr. Menard; but Mary above all received the most tender marks of affection from the persons of the household. Mr. Menard, Mary's adopted father, was at Kaskaskia as one of the committee charged with the reception of Lafayette, and Mrs. Menard asked us if we would undertake to conduct her daughter to the ball which she herself was prevented from attending by indisposition. We assented with pleasure; and, while Mary assisted Miss Menard to complete her toilet, we seated ourselves round a great fire in the kitchen. After we had spent some time talking to a colored servant who claimed to be more than one hundred years old and who grew remarkably reminiscent as we listened*, Mary and Miss Menard came to inform us that they were ready, and asked if we would be on our way as it began to grow late.

"We took leave of Mrs. Menard and found our Indian escort, who had waited patiently for us at the door and who resumed their position near us at some distance in front, to guide and protect our march, as if we had been crossing an enemy's country. The night was quite dark, but the temperature was

*Adapted by omitting the "reminiscences."

mild, and the fireflies illuminated the atmosphere around us. M. De Syon conducted Miss Menard, and I gave my arm to Mary, who, notwithstanding the darkness, walked with a confidence and lightness which only a forest life could produce. The fireflies attracted and interested me much; for, although this was not the first time I had observed them, I had never before seen them in such numbers. I asked Mary if these insects, which from their appearance seem so likely to astonish the imagination, had never given place among the Indians to popular beliefs or tales. 'Not among the nations of these countries, where every year we are familiarized with their great numbers,' said she to me, 'but I have heard that, among the tribes of the north, they commonly believe that they are the souls of departed friends who return to console them or demand the performance of some promise. I even know several ballads on this subject. One of them appears to have been made a long time since, in a nation which lived farther north and no longer exists. It is by songs that great events and popular traditions are ordinarily preserved among us, and this ballad, which I have often heard sung by the young girls of our tribe, leaves no doubt as to the belief of some Indians concerning the firefly.' I asked her to sing me this song, which she did with much grace. Although I did not comprehend the words, which were Indian, I observed a great harmony in their arrangement, and, in the very simple music in which they were sung, an expression of deep melancholy.

"When she had finished the ballad, I asked her if she could not translate it for me into French, so that I might comprehend the sense. 'With difficulty,' she said, 'for I have always found great obstacles to translating exactly the expressions of our Indians into French, when I have served them as interpreter with the whites; but I will try.' And she translated nearly as follows:

Legend of the Firefly.

'The rude season of the chase was over. Antakaya, the handsomest, the most skilful, and bravest of the Cherokee warriors, came to the banks of the Avolachy, where he was expected by Manahella, the young virgin promised to his love and bravery.

'The first day of the moon of flowers was to witness their

union. Already had the two families, assembled round the same fire, given their assent; already had the young men and women prepared and ornamented the new cabin, which was to receive the happy couple, when, at the rising of the sun, a terrible cry, the cry of war, sent forth by the scout who always watches at the summit of the hill, called the old men to the council, and the warriors to arms.

'The whites appeared on the frontier. Murder and robbery accompanied them. The star of fertility had not reached its noontide height, and already Antakaya had departed at the head of his warriors to repel robbery, murder and the whites.

'Go, said Manahella to him, endeavoring to stifle her grief, go fight the cruel whites, and I will pray to the Great Spirit to wrap thee with a cloud, proof against their blows. I will pray him to bring thee back to the banks of the Avolachy, there to be loved by Manahella.

'I will return to thee, replied Antakaya, I will return to thee. My arrows have never disappointed my aim, my tomahawk shall be bathed in the blood of the whites; I will bring back their scalps to ornament the door of thy cabin; then I shall be worthy of Manahella; then shall we love in peace, then shall we be happy.

'The first day of the moon of flowers had brightly dawned, and many more had passed away, and none had heard from Antakaya and his warriors. Stooping on the shores of the Avolachy, the mournful Manahella every evening raised to the evil spirits little pyramids of polished pebbles, to appease their anger and avert their resistance to her well beloved; but the evil spirits were inflexible, and their violent blasts overthrew the little pyramids.

'One evening of the last moon of flowers, Manahella met on the banks of the river a pale and bloody warrior. 'Die, poor ivy,' said he to Manahella; 'die! the noblest oak of the forest, that proud oak under whose shade thou hopedest to enjoy repose and happiness, is fallen! It has fallen under the redoubled strokes of the whites. In its fall it has crushed those who felled it, but it is fallen! Die, poor ivy, die! for the oak which was to

give thee support is fallen!" — Two days after, Manabella was no more.

'Antakaya, whose courage had been deceived by fate, had fallen covered with wounds into the hands of the whites, who carried him far away. But he escaped; and after wandering long through the forest, he returned to mourn his defeat and meditate vengeance with Manabella. When he arrived, she was no more. Agitated by the most violent despair, he ran in the evening to the banks of the Avolachy, calling Manabella, but echo alone replied to the accents of his grief.

'O Manabella! he exclaimed, if my arrows have disappointed my skill, if my tomahawk has not spilt the blood of the whites, if I have not brought thee their scalps to ornament the door of thy cabin, forgive me! It is not the fault of my courage, the evil spirits have fought against me. And yet I have suffered no complaint to escape me, not a sigh, when the iron of my enemies tore my breast: I have not abased myself by asking my life! They preserved it against my will, and I am only consoled by the hope of one day avenging myself, and offering thee many of their scalps. O Manabella! come, if but to tell me that thou pardonest me, and that thou permittest me to follow thee into the world of the Great Spirit.

'At the same instant a vivid light, pure and lambent, appeared to the eyes of the unfortunate Antakaya. He saw in it the soul of his beloved, and followed it through the valley during the night, supplicating it to stay and to pardon him. At the dawn of the day he found himself on the border of a great lake: the light had disappeared, and he believed that it had passed over the water. Immediately, although feeble and fatigued, he made a canoe of the trunk of a tree which he hollowed, and with a branch he made a paddle. At the end of the day his work was achieved. With the darkness the deceptive light returned; and during all the night Antakaya pursued the delusion on the face of the unsteady waters. But it again disappeared before the light of the sun, and with it vanished the slight breath of hope and the life of Antakaya.'

"Mary ended her ballad, and I expressed to her my thanks as we arrived at the bridge of Kaskaskia. There, Sciakape col-

lected his escort, said a few words to his wife, and left us to enter the village alone. We approached the house of Mr. Morrison, at which the ball was given to General Lafayette. I then felt that Mary trembled; her agitation was so great that she could not conceal it from me. I asked her the cause. 'If you would spare me a great mortification,' she said, 'you will not conduct me among the ladies of Kaskaskia. They are now without doubt in their most brilliant dresses, and the coarseness of my clothes will inspire them with contempt and pity, two sentiments which will equally affect me. Besides I know that they blame me for having renounced the life of the whites, and I feel little at ease in their presence.' I promised what she desired, and she became reassured. Arrived at Mr. Morrison's, I conducted her into a lower chamber and went to the hall to inform General Lafayette that the young Indian girl awaited him below. He hastened down and several of the committee with him. He saw and heard Mary with pleasure and could not conceal his emotion on recognizing his letter and observing with what holy veneration it had been preserved during nearly half a century in a savage nation, among whom he had not even supposed his name had ever penetrated. On her part, the daughter of Panisciowa expressed with vivacity the happiness she enjoyed in seeing him, along with whom her father had the honour to fight for the *good American cause*.

"After a half hour's conversation, in which General Lafayette was pleased to relate the evidences of the fidelity and courageous conduct of some Indian nations towards the Americans, during the Revolutionary War, Mary manifested a wish to retire, and I accompanied her to the bridge, where I replaced her under the care of Sciakape and his escort and bade them farewell."

Shortly before midnight Lafayette bade farewell to the citizens of Kaskaskia and accompanied by his party and Governor Coles embarked for Nashville, Tennessee. Levasseur was very favorably impressed with the Governor as may be gathered from his journal where he recorded the following tribute:

All persons agree in saying that he fulfills his duties as Governor with as much philanthropy as justice. He owes his

elevation to the office of governor to his opinions on the abolition of the slavery of the blacks. He was originally a proprietor in Virginia, where, according to the custom of the country, he cultivated his lands by negro slaves. After having for a long time strongly expressed his aversion for this kind of culture, he thought it his duty to put into practice the principles he had professed, and he decided to give liberty to all his slaves; but knowing that their emancipation in Virginia would be more injurious than useful to them he took them all with him into the state of Illinois, where he not only gave them their liberty, but also established them at his own expense, in such a manner that they should be able to procure for themselves a happy existence by their labor. This act of justice and humanity considerably diminished his fortune, but occasioned him no regret. At this period, some men, led astray by ancient prejudices, endeavored to amend that article of the constitution of the state of Illinois, which prohibits slavery. Mr. Coles opposed these men with all the ardor of his philanthropic soul, and with all the superiority of his enlightened mind. In this honorable struggle he was sustained by the people of Illinois. Justice and humanity triumphed, and soon after Mr. Coles was elected Governor, by an immense majority.* This was an honorable recompense, and to this there is now joined another which must be very grateful to him; his liberated negroes are perfectly successful, and afford a conclusive argument against the adversaries of emancipation."

TENNESSEE.

The boat steamed down the Mississippi to the Ohio, and ascending this, reached the mouth of the Cumberland the following evening. Soon after the arrival, the steamboat *Artisan* came down the river. To this Lafayette and his companions, after bidding an affectionate farewell to their friends from Louisiana and Mississippi, were transferred, and the journey was continued up the river to the capital of Tennessee. On the 4th of May they reached Nashville where a great ovation was tendered the illustrious guest. At the landing he was met by General Andrew

*While the above statements in regard to Governor Coles and his attitude toward slavery are correct, he was not elected by an "immense majority," but by a very small plurality. The vote was as follows: Coles, 2,810; Phillips, 2,760; Brown, 2,543; Moore, 522. Coles was therefore elected by a plurality of only fifty votes. By these votes Illinois was saved to freedom.

Jackson with whom he rode in a carriage at the head of a long procession under a triumphal arch and through streets strewn with flowers. Here forty officers and soldiers of the Revolution greeted Lafayette, among them a German veteran by the name of Hagy who had come with the General on his first voyage to America and had served under him through the Revolution. The white haired old soldier who had walked many miles to see his General, threw himself into Lafayette's arms exclaiming: "I have enjoyed two happy days in my life; one when I landed with you at Charleston, and the present. Now that I have seen you once again, I have nothing more to wish for; I have lived long enough."

Lafayette was welcomed by the Governor of Tennessee and the mayor of the city. He visited the camp of the militia, Cumberland College, and the home of General Jackson. The ceremonies in his honor closed with a ball, after which he started down the river to resume his journey toward the east.

ILLINOIS — SHAWNEETOWN.

On the 7th of May the boat again entered the Ohio, and on the day following the party with Governor Coles and other members of the committee from the state of Illinois, landed at Shawneetown. Here the greeting of the people was most cordial. As the boat approached the landing, a salute of twenty-four rounds was fired. The people were out in great numbers to welcome the hero. Two lines were formed extending from Rawling's Hotel to the river. Down this passed the committee of reception, town officials and other dignitaries, and received the nation's guest, who with the distinguished party accompanying him passed up the line, the citizens standing uncovered in perfect silence, until he arrived at the hotel where many ladies were assembled. Here James Hall, one of the judges of the state and a literary man of note in his day, delivered the following address of welcome:

"Sir:— The citizens of Shawneetown, and its vicinity, avail themselves with infinite pleasure of the opportunity which is this day presented to them, to discharge a small portion of the na-

tional debt of gratitude. The American people are under peculiar obligations to their early benefactors. In the history of governments, revolutions have not been unfrequent, nor have the struggles for liberty been few; but they have too often been incited by ambition, conducted with violence, and consummated by the sacrifice of the noblest feelings and the dearest rights. The separation of the American colonies from the mother country was impelled by the purest motives, it was effected by the most virtuous means, and its results have been enjoyed with wisdom and moderation. A noble magnanimity of purpose and of action adorned our conflict for independence;—no heartless cruelty marked the footsteps of our patriot warriors, no selfish ambition mingles in the councils of our patriot sages. To those great and good men we owe, as citizens, all that we are, and all that we possess; to them we are indebted for our liberty—for the unsullied honor of our country—for the bright example which they have given to an admiring world!

“Years have rolled away since the accomplishment of those glorious events, and few of the illustrious actors remain to partake of our affection. We mourn our Hamilton—we have wept at the grave of our Washington—but Heaven has spared us LAFAYETTE, to the prayers of a grateful people.

“In you, sir, we have the happiness of recognizing one of those whom we venerate—the companion of those whom we deplore. We greet you as the benefactor of the living, we greet you as the compatriot of the dead. We receive you with filial affection as one of the fathers of the Republic. We embrace with eager delight an opportunity of speaking our sentiments to the early champion of our rights—but we want language to express all we feel. How shall we thank you, who have so many claims upon our gratitude? What shall we call you, who have so many titles to our affection? Bound to us by a thousand fond recollections—connected with us by many endearing ties—we hail you by every name which is dear to freemen. Lafayette—friend—father—fellow citizen—patriot—soldier—philanthropist! We bid you welcome! You were welcome, illustrious sir, when you came as our champion; you are thrice welcome as

our honored guest. Welcome to our country and to our hearts — to our firesides and altars.

“In your extensive tour through our territories, you have doubtless beheld many proofs that he who shared the storms of our infancy has not been forgotten amid the genial beams of a more prosperous fortune. In every section of the Union, our people have been proud to affix the name of Lafayette to the soil, in fighting for which that name was rendered illustrious. This fact, we hope, affords some testimony that although the philosophic retirement in which you were secluded might shelter you from the political storms which assailed your natal soil, it could not conceal you from the affectionate solicitude of your adopted countrymen. Your visit to America has disseminated gladness throughout the continent, but it has not increased our veneration for your character, nor brightened the remembrance of those services, which were already deeply engraven in our memories.

“The little community which has the honor, today, of paying a tribute to republican virtue, was not in existence at the period when that virtue was displayed in behalf of our country. You find us dwelling upon a spot which was then untrodden by the foot of civilized man; in the midst of forests whose silent echoes were not awakened by the tumults of that day. Around us are none of the monuments of departed patriotism, nor any of the trophies of that valor which wrought the deliverance of our country. There is no sensible object here to recall your deeds to memory — but they dwell in our bosoms — they are imprinted upon monuments more durable than brass. We enjoy the fruits of your courage, the lesson of your example. We are the descendants of those who fought by your side — we have imbibed their love of freedom — we inherit their affection for Lafayette.

“You find our state in its infancy, our country thinly populated, our people destitute of the luxuries and elegancies of life. In your reception we depart not from the domestic simplicity of a sequestered people. We erect no triumphal arches, we offer no exotic delicacies. We receive you to our humble dwelling and our homely fare — we take you to our arms and our hearts.

"The affections of the American people have followed you for a long series of years — they were with you at Brandywine, at York, at Olmutz, and at La Grange — they have adhered to you through every vicissitude of fortune which has marked your virtuous career. Be assured, sir, that you still carry with you our best wishes — we firmly desire you all the happiness which the recollection of a well spent life and the enjoyment of venerable age, full of honor, can bestow — we pray that health and prosperity may be your companions, when you shall be again separated from our embraces, to exchange the endearments of a people's love for the softer joys of domestic affection, and that it may please heaven to preserve you many years to us, to your family, and to the world."

The reply of Lafayette was short and extempore. His voice was tremulous with emotion. He said, in substance:

"I thank the citizens of Shawneetown for their kind attention. I am under many obligations to the people of the United States for their manifestations of affectionate regard since I landed on their shore. I long wished to visit America, but was prevented by circumstances over which I had no control. This visit has afforded me unspeakable gratification. I trust that every blessing may attend the people of this town and the state of Illinois."

A collation prepared by the citizens was then served, at which General Joseph M. Street presided, assisted by Judge Hall. A number of toasts followed, appropriate to the occasion. After spending a few hours in pleasant converse and greeting many citizens, the General was conducted back to the steamer. Here Governor Coles bade him adieu and proceeded by land to Vandalia. A salute was fired as the vessel bearing the guest ascended the river and vanished from the sight of loving eyes.

UP THE OHIO — SINKING OF "THE MECHANIC."

The Ohio was ever the "River Beautiful". In the spring-time of long ago, before the adventurous white explorer first gazed upon its waters, it rushed round the rocky angles of green in its rugged mountain home, and coyly checking its pace as it traversed a widening valley, moved in curves majestic through the

forest primeval to meet the mighty "Father of Waters". Then, as now, the canopy of sky and sun and fleecy clouds by day, of moon and stars by night, reflected in the bright waters, between vistas of fern and forest fringed shore, yawned like an inverted subterranean heaven. Falls and rapids left behind, the waters ceased to murmur, the valley widened, the hills receded and in gentle curves stood dimly outlined against the distant horizon.

Who can tell what volumes would be revealed if rock and hill and sentinel star could speak the unwritten history of the "River Beautiful"? What records of "men and things" are hidden in the unknown graves on its shores. Gone are the days when the architects of the stone age laid the *via saca* at the mouth of the Muskingum. Beacons no longer blaze on sentinel hills or sacrificial altars, and the hands that raised the mounds have mingled with the earth that they heaped high through unrecorded time as their only memorial. The French trader and the picturesque savage have departed, and the pioneer at the dawn of a new century bids a last farewell. The Past keeps her secrets well, but those who have looked upon the meandering river may know at least that through the generations the limped waters have gladdened loving eyes and inspired brave hearts to deeds heroic for home and native land.

As *The Mechanic* with a numerous company of distinguished passengers on board, steamed up the noble river, a moving panorama of wild and romantic beauty spread out before them. The day was calm; the sun high in heaven; and the river a winding mirror with green islands that seemed floating in mid air. The forests along the shore, for miles unbroken by the habitation of civilized man, were clothed in the virgin verdure of May. At the river's marge, white armed sycamores leaned over, holding aloft wreaths of green; stately elms here and there waved trailing vines in salutation, while underneath flowers bloomed and ferns kissed the silent waters. All this passed in pleasing review before the eyes of the passengers who moved languidly along the deck as the vessel steamed rapidly up the river, calling echoes from the woodland as the engine sent up volumes of smoke and steam.

But Lafayette rested not nor did he gaze long on the back-

ward moving shores. The boat was crowded with passengers. The General, his son George, Mr. De Syon and M. Levasseur, his private secretary, were assigned to the ladies' cabin, in the stern of the vessel, which could only be reached by a flight of about a dozen steps. Here with the aid of his private secretary Lafayette was answering letters that had accumulated to the number of more than two hundred. They came from all sections of the United States and even from beyond the Atlantic. The typewriter had not then been invented and the handling of heavy mail was slow and tedious. The General worked industriously and happily, cheered by the thought that his health and strength were not only proving adequate to the long journey, but that he had been able to meet the expectations of a grateful people and had not been compelled to disappoint even his humblest correspondent.

The afternoon passed swiftly by. The weather continued calm, but gathering clouds shut out the light of the declining sun. Twilight faded into night. Fireflies danced along the shore, and at long intervals a distant taper sent its ray through the deepening gloom. An occasional scream came from some wild denizen of the forest, and near the screech owl and the whip-poorwill made solemn music. As the long hours passed, these sounds became less frequent; the passengers sought their berths, and there was little to break the profound silence save the puffing of the engine and the rush of waters through which the boat plowed her way right onward.

Wearied at last with his correspondence, after dictating a letter to the superintendent of La Grange, his estate in France, relative to improvements he wished made before his return, he lay on his couch and was soon asleep. His son George came down from the deck when the clock struck ten and remarked as he entered the cabin:

"I am surprised that in a night so dark our captain does not make a stop or at least abate his speed."

Similar thoughts had been in the minds of Levasseur and De Syon, but they had become so thoroughly accustomed to river navigation at all hours in fair and stormy weather, that their conversation soon drifted to other subjects. At length George

Lafayette lay down and slept. Levasseur corrected his notes and talked at intervals with De Syon. With the exception of the pilot and two of the crew, all others had fallen asleep when the clock struck eleven. The grating of the engine and the dash of waters alone broke the silence. Sleep began to weigh heavily on the two in the cabin. Twelve o'clock struck. With a terrible shock the vessel stopped short. The timbers creaked ominously and a tremor ran through the boat.

The General and his son sprang from their berth and a number of passengers ran to the deck.

"We have struck a sand bank," said one. "We are in no danger."

"I am not so sure of that," said Levasseur, as he entered the great cabin where he found the passengers much agitated, but still in doubt of the nature of the accident; some had not even quited their beds. Deciding not to go below without ascertaining the real state of things, Levasseur proceeded with the captain and opened the hatches. The hold was found half filled with water, which rushed in torrents through a large opening.

"A snag! A snag!" cried the captain. "Hasten Lafayette to my boat! Bring Lafayette to my boat!"

The cry of distress reached the great cabin and the deck but General Lafayette did not hear it in the room below. Here Levasseur found him half dressed with his servant.

"What news?" he asked.

"That we shall go to the bottom, General, if we do not extricate ourselves," said Levasseur, "and we have not a moment to spare."

George Lafayette and Levasseur began gathering together papers and other articles of value. They begged the General to leave the room at once.

"Go first and prepare for our escape," said the General, "while I complete my toilet."

"What," cried his son, "do you think that under such circumstances we would leave you for a moment?"

The two took the General by the hand and hurried him towards the door. He followed, smiling at their haste, and ascended the steps.

At this time the rolling of the vessel was so violent and irregular, and the tumult so great that those on board were in imminent danger of a watery grave. At last Lafayette and his friends emerged on deck where confusion reigned in the darkness. Half dressed passengers were running wildly about; some were dragging trunks; some were looking for the boat; others were calling for Lafayette. He was already in their midst, but in the uncertain light they did not recognize him.

The dim lantern revealed only the complete confusion; the boat heeled to starboard; scarcely could the affrightened men keep their footing.

The captain and two sailors brought his boat to this side and lowered it.

"Lafayette, Lafayette," rang out the captain's sonorous voice.

The confusion was so great that the General could not reach the boat. Again the vessel rolled violently.

"Here is General Lafayette," shouted Levasseur.

This had the desired effect. The crowd parted, and those about to leap down into the boat made way for the General.

He hesitated to descend before provision had been made for the safety of the other passengers, but he was obliged to yield to their will. He was almost forced to descend.

The rolling of the vessel and the rocking of the little boat in the darkness made the passage difficult and dangerous. Levasseur descended first. He received Lafayette in his arms as he was lowered by two strong men. Losing his equilibrium under the great weight, both fell, and had it not been for Mr. Thibeaudot who prevented the boat from capsizing, both would have been thrown into the river.

The boat pushed off into the darkness, but the danger was not wholly past. The land was to be reached,—but at what distance, and toward what shore should they direct their course? The captain promptly made up his mind. Holding the rudder, he directed the oarsmen to pull for the left bank. In a few moments the boat reached the shore, and those on board disembarking found themselves in the midst of a dense forest.

On landing, those who were so fortunate as to be in the

boat found their number to be nine: the captain, two sailors, General Lafayette, Mr. Thibeaudot, Dr. Shelly, carrying in his arms a little daughter of a Presbyterian clergyman, the father of the child, and Levasseur. Then the General perceived for the first time that his son was not with him, and his habitual coolness in the presence of danger deserted him.

"George, George," he called aloud, but his voice was drowned by the cries that went up from the sinking vessel and the roar of the steam escaping from the boiler.

His friends tried in vain to reason with the General. He was reminded that his son was a good swimmer and it was suggested that he had probably remained on the vessel voluntarily, and that with his coolness he would certainly escape all danger. The General continued to walk up and down the shore calling for his son.

The captain and Levasseur returned to the vessel. The former had scarcely reached the deck, when twelve men clinging to the wreck leaped down into the boat and were rowed to the shore, but neither young Lafayette nor De Syon was among the number. The boat was again approaching the vessel which now stood almost on her beam ends, when a terrible crash and cries of despair announced that she was rapidly sinking. The passengers began leaping overboard, and the water was agitated in many directions as they attempted to reach land through the darkness.

On the shore, Mr. Thibeaudot coming down to the water's edge to render assistance to the unfortunates, found a man drowning near the bank of the river, and drawing him out of the water, laid him on the grass. The poor man delirious with fear and agitation, and not realizing that he was on land, made motions as if attempting to swim, and continued to struggle violently. He was at length calmed by the reassuring words of his rescuer.

Others now began to arrive on shore, but young Lafayette was not among them, nor could any one tell what had become of him. The General's anxiety increased. It was known that the vessel had not entirely sunk; that her starboard was under water,

but that the larboard and gangway were still above it; and that a number of passengers had taken refuge there.

Again the little boat approached the wreck, and Levasseur called loudly for his missing companion. No voice replied. Rowing to the stern he called once more.

"Is that you, Mr. Levasseur?"

It was the servant Bastien who spoke. He was clinging to the roof of the upper cabin. He loosened his hold and slid down, fortunately alighting in the boat.

"George Lafayette," shouted Levasseur.

"Here I am," was the calm reply from the stern.

"Are you safe?"

"I never was better."

Mr. Walsh, of Missouri, who was standing on the deck near all the effects of Lafayette and his party that could be rescued from the intruding flood, handed them down to the boat. Among them were about sixty letters that had been prepared for post.

Lafayette was promptly assured of the safety of his son. Levasseur, having learned that the boat had struck the bottom of the river and could sink no further, turned his attention to the General for whom a comfortable bivouac had been established around a large fire of dry branches. Here George Lafayette, De Syon and others soon arrived.

As the discomfited passengers and crew dried their clothing and conversed about the fire, the General learned that his son had won the admiration of those on the wreck by his coolness and the assistance that he kindly rendered his fellow passengers. Standing at times waist deep in the water, he calmed those beside themselves with fright, assisted others to places of safety, and refused to leave the vessel until all the passengers were out of danger.

"Mr. George Lafayette must have been shipwrecked before," said the captain, "for he has behaved tonight as if he were accustomed to such adventures."

From accounts of passengers it appeared that General Lafayette had rather a narrow escape. A few moments after he left, the water rushed into the ladies' cabin making entrance or egress impossible.

Careful inquiry at last brought the gratifying assurance that passengers and crew had all been saved. It was very dark and a storm seemed impending. A number of fires had been lighted and swarms of sparks were rising through the arms of the huge trees to be swallowed up in the blackness of the night. A floating mattress, almost dry on one side, was brought for the General, and on it he soon slept. Some occupied themselves in collecting wood for the fire and others stood about endeavoring to dry their soaking garments. At length the rain began to patter down, but fortunately it soon passed by.

At daybreak trips were recommenced to the vessel and an endeavor made to save baggage and food supplies. Captain Hall, Governor Carroll of Tennessee, and Mr. Crawford, a young Virginian, directed the work. The foreign passengers were somewhat surprised to see the Governor of a state without shoes, stockings or hat, seriously doing the work of a boatman, more for the benefit of others than for himself, as he had very little on board to lose by the shipwreck. The searchers brought to shore a small part of the baggage belonging to the passengers, the General's trunk containing some of his most valuable papers, also wine, biscuits, and a leg of smoked venison. With these provisions the men numbering about fifty, repaired their strength, exhausted by a night of labor and anxiety.

Day on its return revealed an interesting picture. The shore was covered with wreckage of many kinds, in the midst of which each eagerly searched for his own property. Some mournfully recounted their own losses; others who had lost most of their wardrobe or had soiled what was rescued from the flood could not keep from laughing at the grotesque appearance that they made in their scant and disordered raiment. The mirth provoked by the situation was contagious; pleasantries circulated around the fires of the bivouac, smoothed the visages of the sorrowful, and almost transformed the shipwrecked travelers into a pleasure party.

Upon investigation they found themselves near the mouth of Deer Creek, Indiana, about one hundred and twenty-five miles below Louisville.

At nine o'clock General Lafayette, with Mr. Thibeaudot and

Bastien, was induced to cross to a house on the other side for protection from a threatening storm. Soon after he had left one of the party announced a vessel descending the river, and immediately afterwards another. Joyful salutations greeted the vessels as they arrived opposite and stopped. One of them, a steamer of large size and remarkable beauty, was *The Paragon*. She came from Louisville and was on her way with a heavy cargo for New Orleans. Fortunately for those on shore, one of their number, Mr. Neilson, owned an interest in the vessel and promptly offered it to the committee from Tennessee, that General Lafayette might continue his voyage up the river.

The party now abandoned the bivouac and were soon aboard *The Paragon*. Before leaving the captain of *The Mechanic*, who remained with his wrecked vessel, they offered their services which he promptly refused, assuring them that he had hands enough for the work. It was easily seen, however, that he was much depressed, not because of the loss of the vessel, the twelve hundred dollars on board, or the fear of not finding employment; his grief rose from having shipwrecked the nation's guest.

"Never," said he, "will my fellow citizens pardon me for the peril to which Lafayette was exposed last night."

To calm the agitation arising from this apprehension, a statement was reduced to writing and signed by all the passengers of *The Mechanic*, declaring that the loss of the vessel could not be attributed either to the unskilfulness or imprudence of Captain Hall, whose courageous work in bringing them safely to land had been witnessed and appreciated by all.* This gave the captain much satisfaction, but did not entirely console him.

*The statement in part is as follows:

"We would deem it a great injustice to Captain Hall, should his character for skill and prudence, as an officer, sustain any injury from this occurrence. The accident was such as neither prudence nor foresight could have avoided. The snag which produced this disaster was concealed some distance under water, and at a distance of more than fifty yards from the shore. The depth of the water where the boat sunk was not less than eighteen feet

"We feel it a duty to ourselves, as well as to Captain Hall, to make

As soon as *The Paragon* got under way, Levasseur and George Lafayette went in a boat to bring the General on board. They found him on the opposite shore, and after about half an hour's rowing joined the vessel which without further incident worthy of special note reached Louisville.

Stormy weather marred the entertainments given in honor of Lafayette at Louisville. The vessel landed at Portland, a few miles below the city, at nine o'clock Wednesday morning, May 10, and was welcomed with the national salute. Lafayette was met at the landing by the local military organization and committees representing the city and state. Solomon P. Sharp delivered the address of welcome on behalf of Kentucky. He said in part:

"No lapse of time can make you a stranger to the American people. On the historic page your name is destined to be enrolled with the names of Washington and Bolivar; and so long as enlightened and civilized man shall love freedom, its founders will live in his memory and claim the first place in his affection.

"The distinguished men of our own country acquired fame in the good cause, but that cause was their own. You came a volunteer and staked your fortune and your life in defense of the rights of others; you found us destitute of arms, of money, of knowledge of the military art, of every aid but heaven — yet you found us a people with banner unfurled, resolved for freedom to die. In that moment of holy enthusiasm a kindred feeling was born that will never permit you to be considered a for-

known the above facts; so highly honorable to the worthy but unfortunate subject of these remarks."

To this statement signed by all the passengers the General added the following:

"I eagerly seize this opportunity of doing justice to Captain Hall's conduct, and acknowledging my personal obligations to him."

LAFAYETTE.

The statement above referred to may be found in full in *The National Republican*, Cincinnati, May 17, 1825. For Captain Hall's account of the steamboat disaster, see his letter to Dr. Hildreth on page 250

eigner. We must ever esteem you one of the founders of the Republic.

"The care which a kind providence has taken to preserve you, in all the perils of war to which you have been exposed, and to deliver you safe from varying imminent and recent danger in the wreck of your vessel on our waters, elicits the grateful emotions of the heart toward the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and inspires the pious hope that you may continue to enjoy His beneficence."

The General replied:

"While, in the last days of the Revolution, we were indulging in patriotic anticipation, our fancy was entertained with distant and half credited reports from this part of the vast wilderness. You may judge, sir, what must be my feelings when I have lived to see these remote hopes not only verified, but far surpassed by the creations and prosperity of the state of Kentucky, where I have been most kindly invited and where you are pleased to welcome me in most gratifying terms. I beg you, gentlemen of the state committee, to accept my grateful acknowledgement."

Judge Rowan next addressed Lafayette on behalf of Louisville and Jefferson county. Among other things he said:

"Permit me, General, as the organ of the citizens of the town of Louisville and the county of Jefferson to express to you the very great pleasure which your visit to this place affords them. They have felt an ardent desire to see you from the moment they have had reason to anticipate your arrival. Their wish to see and honor you was not the impulse of that curiosity which seeks its gratification in beholding and admiring the man of whose virtues and services to mankind fame has spoken so loudly, so universally, and so justly; nor was it a wish merely to swell, by the contribution of their humble mite, the moral spectacle which the United States has been exhibiting to the world ever since your arrival within the precincts of the nation -- a spectacle entirely new to mankind, that of a great nation, twelve millions of freemen, spontaneously and eagerly tendering to one man the gratitude of its heart. The singularity and grandeur of the spectacle might justify their wish to partici-

pate. But they had other and higher motives for their eagerness to see and honor you — motives which spring from associations inseparably connected with the freedom they possess and the liberties they enjoy. * * * * * An attempt to delineate your claims to their homage and that of mankind would be to recount your heroic services, sacrifices and sufferings throughout a long life devoted to the cause of liberty and humanity; the task is one to which I feel unequal, and which the occasion forbids. They are destined to enrich and instruct posterity. Your fame, General, will be as extended and as durable as the principles of liberty; and the gratitude of mankind will be coextensive with their love of liberty and durable as your fame.

“But it was not the object of this address to eulogize General Lafayette. It was to bid him welcome. Welcome, then, General — a cordial welcome to the town of Louisville and the county of Jefferson.”

Lafayette responded as follows:

“I feel highly obliged, sir, for the gratifying welcome, which in the name of the people of Jefferson county, you are pleased most kindly to express. It is to me a great satisfaction to visit the town of Louisville, the flourishing emporium of this important state. Among the inexpressible enjoyments of my visit to the United States, where twelve millions of citizens are pleased so very affectionately to greet one of their earliest soldiers, I am particularly flattered to have been an additional occasion for the people of those happy states to testify their attachment to the principles for which we fought. Accept, sir, the expressions of my gratitude to the citizens of Louisville and Jefferson county.”

The General was then assisted to an open carriage, drawn by four horses, and accompanied by Colonel Anderson, one of his aides in the revolution, was escorted to the city preceded by cavalry and followed by the artillery, light infantry, and a large procession of citizens. As he passed Shippingport, the steamboats there each fired a national salute, and on reaching Louisville he found ten thousand people on the streets awaiting his arrival. The windows of the houses along the line of march were filled with ladies, and little misses from the schools, ar-

rayed in white and stationed along the sidewalks, bowed, waved their handkerchiefs, and strewed the street with flowers as the venerated guest passed along. As the procession moved up Main street, the vast crowd moved with it to the lodgings prepared for the General at Union Hall. A little later a deputation from Indiana formally invited the General to visit their state. He signified a desire to grant their request, and the following day was fixed for the visit.

At night, accompanied by his son and suite, General Lafayette attended a ball given in his honor at Washington Hall. Among the distinguished guests present were Governor Carroll of Tennessee, Governor Duval of Florida, and Governor Ray of Indiana.

In the midst of the joy occasioned by the arrival of Lafayette, the citizens of Louisville did not forget the generous service of Mr. Neilson to whom they showed substantial evidences of their gratitude. His name was coupled with that of the General in the toasts at the public dinner, and the city presented him a costly piece of plate, on which was engraved the thanks of the Tennesseans and Kentuckians for his generous act that prevented inconvenience and delay in the journey of the nation's guest.

On the day after his arrival in Louisville, General Lafayette, accompanied by a numerous party, on board the steamer General Pike, crossed the river to Jeffersonville, Indiana, where he was received in a manner that did credit to the young state.

INDIANA.

When the word went abroad that General Lafayette would probably visit the western states before returning to France, the legislature of Indiana then in session promptly provided for the selection of a committee who reported the following resolution in reference to Major General Lafayette:

"The Senate and House of Representatives of the state of Indiana, in General Assembly convened, would be deficient in respect to the feelings of their constituents and unmindful of their obligations to a distinguished benefactor, did they fail to

join the pæan of national gratitude and unanimous welcome to Major General Lafayette, on the occasion of his late arrival in the United States. It is scarcely necessary for them to say, that they unanimously accord with the sentiments expressed toward their illustrious friend, by the Chief Magistrate of the Union, and cordially add their sanction to the provision in his favor recently enacted by Congress. The latter they view as the smallest return for his preeminent services and sacrifices the American people could make, or the National Guest receive. It is the dignity of a spectacle unparalleled in the history of man, which they particularly feel and admire.

“Ten millions of hearts, spontaneously offering the homage of their gratitude to a private individual, unsupported by rank or power, for services long past, of the purest and most exalted character;— whilst they furnish consoling evidence that republics are not ungrateful, also carry with them the delightful conviction that the sons of America have not degenerated from their fathers of the Revolution.

“In pausing to contemplate with appropriate feelings this sublime example of popular gratitude, united with reverence for character and principle, the General Assembly learn, with peculiar satisfaction, that it is the intention of General Lafayette to visit the western section of the United States. The felicity denied by a mysterious providence to the father of his country, has, it is hoped, been reserved for his adopted son. What the immortal Washington was permitted to see only through the dark vista of futurity, will be realized in the fullness of vision by his associate in arms and glory.

“The General Assembly hail, with inexpressible pleasure, the prospect of this auspicious visit. They can not, they are aware, receive their benefactor in the costly abodes of magnificence and taste, nor vie with their sister states in the embellishments of a hospitality more brilliant than it is theirs to offer, but not more sincere.

“But they can, and do, in common with the whole American people, welcome him to a home in their hearts. They feel persuaded that he will take a deep interest in this part of our

country, which though not the actual theatre of his generous labor, has emphatically grown out of the glorious results of his revolutionary services. On the west of the Alleghany Mountains, our illustrious guest will behold extensive communities of freemen, which within the period of his own recollection, have been substituted for a trackless wilderness; where forty years ago primeval barbarism held undisputed sway over man and nature, civilization, liberty, and law now wield the mild sceptre of equal rights. It is here that our illustrious friend will find his name, his services, and, we trust, his principles flourishing in perennial verdure. Here, too, may he enjoy the exulting prospect of seeing them in the language of a favorite son of the West, 'transmitted, with unabated vigor, down the tide of time to the countless millions of posterity.'

"In accordance with the preceding sentiment the General Assembly adopt the following resolution:

Resolved, That this General Assembly, in common with their fellow citizens of this state and Union, entertain the highest admiration for the character, and the most heartfelt gratitude for the services of Major General Lafayette, and most cordially approve of every testimonial of kindness and affection he has received from the people and government of the United States.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of the General Assembly, it would afford the highest gratification to the citizens of Indiana, to receive a visit from their revered and beloved benefactor, the only surviving General of the American Revolution, and that the Governor of this state be requested, without delay, to transmit to General Lafayette this and the preceding resolution and preamble, accompanied by an invitation to visit this state, at the seat of government or such town on the Ohio River as the General may designate.

Resolved, That the Governor of this state, together with such officers and citizens as may find it convenient, attend at the point selected by General Lafayette to receive him with the honor due to the illustrious guest of the state and nation, and that the Governor draw on the contingent fund for the payment of all expenses incurred in executing these resolutions.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to the president of the United States, and to each of our senators and representatives in congress.

S. C. STEVENS,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

JAMES B. RAY,
President of the Senate, pro tem.

“Approved Jan. 28, 1825.

“WILLIAM HENDRICKS.”

Soon after the arrival of General Lafayette in Louisville Colonel Farnham, aid to the governor of Indiana, accompanied by Messrs. Gwathmey, Merriwether, Beach, and Burnett, waited upon him with the congratulations of the state which were expressed as follows:

“General Lafayette — We have the honor to present ourselves as a committee, in behalf of the executive, the legislature and the people of Indiana, to tender you our warmest felicitations on your progress thus far, in a tour grateful and exhilarating to every American heart! We particularly congratulate you on your recent escape from a disaster that menaced your personal safety and the destruction of our fondest hopes. Accept, sir, on the soil of a sister state the preliminary welcome of Indiana. She anticipates with eagerness the satisfaction of indulging at home, those effusions of sensibility and affection which your presence can not fail to inspire. She bids us tell you that her citizens, one and all, impatiently await the happy privilege of rallying around a national benefactor, and of wreathing in the shrine of gratitude a garland of honor to republican freedom! In yielding yourself to their affectionate wishes, you will consummate the claims you already possess to their choicest affections.”

To this greeting the General replied:

“A visit to Indiana, where I shall have the opportunity in person to express my sense of gratitude to her executive, representatives and citizens for their very kind invitation and gener-

ous expressions of regard, has been among the fond wishes of my heart."

He then appointed the following day to make his visit to the state, at Jeffersonville.

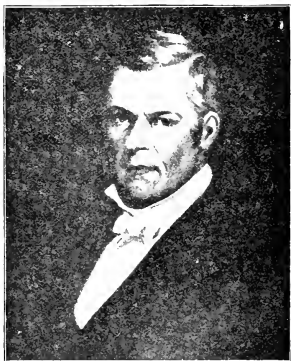
At eleven o'clock, Thursday forenoon, the Indiana committee met Lafayette on board of the Steamboat *General Pike* to which he had been escorted by the committee of arrangements and marshals of Louisville and Jefferson county. The General was greeted on the Indiana shore by a salute of thrice twenty-four guns, discharged from three pieces of artillery, stationed on the river bank, at the base of three flag staffs each seventy-five feet high and bearing flags with appropriate mottoes. He was received at the shore by Generals Clark and Carr, marshals of the day, and escorted by a detachment of three artillery companies, commanded by captains Lemon, Mifford, and Booth, to the pleasant mansion of the late Governor Posey; on his entrance to which he was welcomed by his excellency, James B. Ray, in the following address:

"General Lafayette — You have already been apprised of the sentiments of the General Assembly of this state, through resolutions which my predecessor had the honor of transmitting to you, and which have received on your part, the most affectionate acknowledgment.

"Permit me, as the organ of their feelings, and of those of the people of this state, to hail with delight this auspicious visit. Your presence on our soil, whilst it satisfies the wishes of the present generation, will be marked by posterity as the bright epoch in the calendar of Indiana. Accept, dear General, our cordial congratulations, our heartfelt welcome, our devoted aspirations for your happiness.

"In presenting this free will offering of our hearts, we do not obey exclusively the impulses of personal affection and gratitude. In the language of our legislature, we unite with these 'reverence for character and principle.' We exult, in cooperating with our brethren of this Union, to demonstrate to the world that a benefactor and friend, superadding to these sacred claims those of patriot, philanthropist and republican, 'without fear and without reproach,' will ever receive the unanimous acclama-

tion of a free people. If we look in vain into the history of other nations for this concentration of feeling and sentiment on any individual, it is because we shall find but one nation enjoying the preeminent felicity of claiming as its citizens a Washington and a Lafayette! Allow me, General, on this grateful occasion, to intimate a hope that our sister republic of Columbia may find in the illustrious Bolivar a legitimate successor in their hearts to these venerated titles in ours.



JAMES B. RAY,
Governor of Indiana

"General, when you first landed on our shores and were received with outstretched arms by all our citizens who had the happiness to be near you, the enemies of freedom in Europe derided these genuine impulses of gratitude as the results of popular effervescence and caprice. It is now approaching a twelve-month since your presence diffused joy and gladness among us, and twenty-one states out of twenty-four have

recorded by public demonstrations, their deliberate sense of the honor and happiness you have conferred on them by your visits.

"The states of this Union west of the Alleghany Mountains were, — at the commencement of your generous services in the cause of America, unknown, except as boundless tracts of an unsubdued wilderness.

"This extensive territory you now behold, reclaimed and fertilized, with a population of millions all cherishing with enthusiasm your principles, and emulating each other with harmonious rivalry in rendering to illustrious merit the grateful offices we now attempt.

"This population is daily extending with increasing strides to the western limits of our continent, where your name, in conjunction with that of the immortal father of his country, will be repeated, as it now is here, in accents of love and veneration, and where in all human probability, some of the immediate descendants of those you see around you this day will rehearse the passing scene to their posterity, till the tones of joy and exultation shall be lost in the murmurs of the Pacific ocean.

"Once more, General, Indiana greets you with a cordial welcome."

To which the General returned the following answer :

"While I shall ever treasure in grateful memory the manner in which I have been invited by the representatives of Indiana, it is now an exquisite satisfaction to be, in the name of the people, so affectionately received by their chief magistrate on the soil of this young state and in its rapid progress to witness one of the most striking effects of self government and perfect freedom.

"Your general remarks on the blessings and delightful feelings which I have had to enjoy in this continued series of popular welcomes, — as they sympathize with my own inexpressible emotions, so the flattering personal observation you have been pleased to add claim my most lively acknowledgment ; and nevermore, sir, than when by a mention of my name you honor me as the filial disciple of Washington and the fond admirer of Bolivar.

"Be pleased to accept this tribute of my thanks to you, sir,

to the branches of the representatives of Indiana, and my most devoted gratitude and good wishes for the people of this state."

The General was then conducted to rooms where refreshments were provided and presented to a numerous company of ladies assembled to welcome him, and to several hundred citizens, including a few revolutionary soldiers. Though the crowd was large, the stormy weather prevented some from attending.

At three o'clock the General was escorted to dinner by the military accompanied by a band of music. The table was handsomely prepared under an arbor, about two hundred and twenty feet in length, well covered and ornamented throughout with forest verdure and foliage, among which roses and other flowers were tastefully interwoven by the ladies of Jeffersonville. At the head of the table a large transparent painting was hung, on which was inscribed, "INDIANA WELCOMES LAFAYETTE, THE CHAMPION OF LIBERTY IN BOTH HEMISPHERES." Over this was a fine flag, bearing the arms of the United States. At the foot of the table was a similar painting, with the following inscription: "INDIANA, IN '76 A WILDERNESS—IN 1825 A CIVILIZED COMMUNITY! THANKS TO LAFAYETTE AND THE SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION." Many distinguished gentlemen from Kentucky, Tennessee and other states were present, among whom were recognized Governor Carroll and suite, Hon. C. A. Wickliffe, Judges Barry and Bledsoe, Attorney-General Sharp, Col. Anderson, the Hon. John Rowan, committee of arrangements from Louisville and Jefferson county, Kentucky, Major Wash, Mr. Neilson and others.

After dinner the following toasts were offered amid frequent and hearty applause:

1. Our country and country's friend.
2. The memory of Washington.
3. The Continental Congress of the thirteen united colonies and their illustrious coadjutors.
4. The congress of 1824—They have expressed to our benefactor the unanimous sentiments of our hearts.
5. The president of the United States—A vigorous scion from a revolutionary stock!
6. Major General Lafayette, united with Washington in our

hearts—We hail his affectionate visit with a heart cheering welcome.

In reply to this General Lafayette gave the following:

“Jeffersonville and Indiana—May the rapid progress of this young state, a wonder among wonders, more and more evince the blessings of republican freedom.

7. The classic birthplace of freedom—The crescent and scimeter are no longer terrible to the descendants of Leonidas and Aristides!

8. Simon Bolivar, the liberator of Columbia and Peru—May the example of Washington continue to direct his course and consummate his glory.

9. The surviving revolutionary compatriots of General Lafayette—They have lived years of pleasure in one interview with their illustrious associate!

10. The ordinance of '87 containing fundamental laws for the government of the northwestern territory, and providing a perpetual interdiction to slavery—Immortal gratitude and honor to its framers!

11. The native soil of our illustrious guest, the classic land of chivalry and the arts, the smiling region of hospitality, honor, and refinement—Americans can never forget their first “great and magnanimous ally.”

12. The memory of George Rogers Clark, the brave and successful commander of the Illinois regiment—His achievements at Kaskaskia and St. Vincent extinguished the empire of Great Britain on the Ohio and the Mississippi.

13. The fair of America—It will be their delightful task to instil in our children those exalted lessons of honor and virtue taught in the life of our distinguished guest, and thus embalm his memory in the hearts of posterity!

General Lafayette, on being invited to propose a toast, gave “The memory of General Greene.”

The following volunteer toasts were then offered by

1. Governor Ray. The people of the United States—Gratified with the opportunity of expressing to the world their gratitude to their friend and benefactor.

2. Governor Carroll. The State of Indiana. Rich in natural resources, her industrious and virtuous citizens know how to improve them.

3. Judge Barry. General Andrew Jackson — The hero of New Orleans!

4. General M. G. Clarke. The rights of man and the memory of Thomas Paine, their intrepid and eloquent advocate.

5. Colonel Ford. Henry Clay — The statesman, the patriot and orator.

6. J. H. Farnham. Our amiable guest, William H. Neilson — His noble conduct towards the guest of the nation claims the tribute of our sincere admiration.

7. General Carr, (one of the marshals of the day). General Andrew Jackson — Posterity will view with admiration the deeds of glory achieved by the hero whose motto was, "The country held sacred to freedom and law."

8. A. P. Hay, Esq. The late war with England — It has evinced to the world that republican government is able to withstand the attack of the best regulated monarchy.

9. Henry Clay — Gold from the crucible, seven times refined.

10. Samuel Gwathmey, Esq. The day we now celebrate — Long will it be engraved on the hearts of the citizens of Indiana!

After the banquet, in the midst of reluctant farewells, General Lafayette and his party re-embarked in the evening for Louisville.

KENTUCKY — SHELBYVILLE, FRANKFORT, LEXINGTON.

On Friday morning, May 12th, after presenting a stand of colors to the Lafayette Guards, a corps of volunteer cavalry that had been expressly formed to escort him on his arrival in Kentucky, he proceeded on his journey to the state capital. Governor Carroll of Tennessee, yielding to pressing invitations, accompanied the General. Shelbyville was reached at the end of the first day's journey. At four o'clock Saturday afternoon the General and his escort entered South Frankfort.

A contemporary witness tells us that "the long and brilliant procession winding down the hill and through the streets, the

sound of bugles, the shrill notes of the fife, the rattling of the drums, and the reports of cannon echoing from a hundred hills, rendered this the most imposing and interesting spectacle ever exhibited in the capital of Kentucky." As the procession passed through the streets enthusiasm rose high. From crowded windows ladies waved handkerchiefs and showered roses down in the way of the General. As his carriage approached the hotel, the people welcomed him with long continued cheers. He was



JOSEPH DESHA,
Governor of Kentucky.

conducted to the large porch where Governor Desha delivered an address of welcome. In concluding he said:

"We receive you, General, as a chieftain of freedom, as a military chieftain of revolutionary memory, and glory in having the opportunity of expressing our gratitude. * * * You see joy lighted up in every countenance at your arrival. Permit me, then, in the name of the people of Kentucky, to thank you for honoring us with this visit. That your days may be many and as happy as your

course has been honorable, and that ultimately when you leave this terrestrial globe you may meet in the mansions of bliss with our beloved Washington, is the sincere and heartfelt prayer of a grateful people."

To which Lafayette replied substantially as follows:

"My old and endearing connection with those parts of America from which Kentucky has made a splendid offspring

could not but make me very anxious to visit this state where the splendid results of fertility and industry have surpassed our most romantic hope and where in the gallant and spirited Kentuckians I recognize the sons of my revolutionary contemporaries. Thanks to the kindness of friends, among your fine corps of volunteers I have had the pleasure of meeting a body of my old companions, and those also who in that Revolutionary War fought on the western frontier. Here also I meet many of the patriots who in the last war proved themselves the glorious defenders of their country. While my lively gratitude is excited by the affectionate welcome I now receive from the people of Kentucky, and which at this seat of government you are pleased most kindly to express, I have also personally to acknowledge anterior obligations: for from this place, by the two branches of the legislature and the chief magistrate of the state, I have been invited in most flattering terms, for which I beg leave to join my thanks with the tribute of my grateful and devoted respects to the citizens of this commonwealth."

After the General had rested from the fatigue of his journey the military re-formed and he was conducted along the serried columns under a gorgeous arch, to a large pavilion. Here a touching scene occurred. A band of revolutionary soldiers, wearing on their hats the figures '76, were drawn up in line to meet the General. Gray and bent with age they stood up proudly to look once more upon their commander of other years. The General walked along the line and warmly greeted each veteran. In his sturdy frame and in his face as yet unmarred by time, they saw no traces of the slender boy General of the days "that tried men's souls." From their faces the freshness of youth and the pride of vigorous manhood had departed. "Half a century had obliterated the features that once made these brave men known to each other, but they mutually recalled a number of incidents which had occurred in their former service." As they grasped the hand of the man who in his youthful days had led them to danger and glory, grateful emotions found expression, and down the furrows of war and time tears freely found their way.

Later in the evening over five hundred guests sat down to

dinner, the General occupying the place of honor. To his right and left sat the aged men who had been his companions in arms. Around the tables were seated officers of the war of 1812, senators, representatives in congress, members of the state legislature, judges, clergymen and distinguished guests from other states.

Among many toasts offered were the following :

By General Lafayette — Kentucky and this seat of government — May the gallant and patriotic Kentuckians forever unite in the enjoyment of the principles for which we have fought and of the blessings to which their industry, their valor, and their republican spirit give them a triple right.

By Governor Desha — Generals Lafayette and Jackson — One fought to obtain American liberty ; the other to perpetuate it.

By Colonel Richard M. Johnson — Joseph Desha, Governor of Kentucky — distinguished for services in the field and the un-deviating support of republican principles.

By Chief Justice Barry — The captain, crew, and passengers of the Steamboat *Mechanic* — They showed their love for liberty in their anxiety to preserve its great apostle.

By Judge Bledsoe — Washington, Lafayette, Bolivar, and Manrocordato — apostles of liberty in two worlds.

In the evening a ball was given in honor of the General, in one of the most spacious halls of the then western country. It was surmounted with an arched roof supported by two rows of columns. A description of the room as it appeared that night has been preserved :

“It was hung around with crimson drapery, relieved at intervals by gilt laurel wreaths, from which were suspended festoons of white drapery ornamented with red roses. Wreaths of evergreen and roses were displayed on the entablatures of the capitals and entwined around the shafts of the columns. At the upper end of the room was a large military trophy, in the center of which was an oval transparency, exhibiting a striking likeness of the General, surrounded by festoons of crimson drapery and enclosed in a triangular frame of stacked muskets, from behind which the projecting points of bayonets and swords formed brilliant rays of glory. The trophy was surmounted by the fol-

lowing motto; 'Welcome, Champion of Freedom.' In the orchestra opposite the trophy, the French and American colors were displayed above the tops of cedars ornamented with roses. On the floor between the columns was drawn a beautiful design — the French and American flags entwined around a shield surmounted by a laurel wreath and surrounded by the motto, 'Lafayette, Our Country's Guest.' On the walls hung several portraits tastefully ornamented, among which were those of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and General Scott. Two elegant chandeliers and numerous candles illuminated the fairy scene."

On the day following, the General and his party started to Lexington. On their way they stopped for dinner at the town of Versailles, whose citizens with those of the surrounding country were out in great numbers to honor the General. That afternoon the party traveled to within three miles of Lexington, where they spent the night. On Monday morning a large body of state cavalry, headed by a deputation from Lafayette county, came to escort the General into the city.

On an eminence from which Lexington could be dimly seen in the distance, the procession formed. By eight o'clock the column was in motion. Rain was falling in torrents and the sky covered with dark clouds, portended a bad day; but when the cavalcade was entering the city, at the discharge of artillery on a neighboring hill as if by enchantment the rain ceased, the clouds scattered, and the returning sun revealed the landscape of living green, the city in holiday attire and a great concourse of people anxiously awaiting the arrival of the nation's guest.

The entertainments at Lexington were especially brilliant, but the General was most interested in the evident educational progress of all classes of the people. He was not a little surprised to find so far west a town of six thousand inhabitants, rivaling in culture the favored communities of Europe. The first place he visited was Transylvania College, the university of Kentucky. Here he was welcomed by John Bradford, president of the Board of Trustees, and Dr. Holley, president of the university.

In his reply General Lafayette paid the following compli-

ment to Henry Clay, who was a trustee of the university, but was not present on this occasion:

"To your interesting remarks on the diffusion of light through the western states, I will add that already the western stars of the American constellation have shone with splendid lustre in the national councils. South America and Mexico will never forget that the first voice heard in congress for the recognition of their independence was the voice of a Kentuckian;* nor can they any more forget that to the wise and spirited declaration of the government of the United States they have been indebted for the disappointment of hostile projects, and for a more speedy recognition by European powers."

The General and his party then proceeded to a spacious hall where the students honored him with addresses in Latin, English and French. To each of these he made a brief response that showed his familiarity with the languages. The addresses of the young men have been preserved.

The General next visited the academy for young ladies, conducted by Mrs. Dunham under the name of Lafayette Academy. Here students welcomed him with a patriotic song composed by Mrs. Holley and addresses similar to those delivered at the university. Lafayette was agreeably surprised and deeply affected at the interest of the young in his visit and their familiarity with the incidents of his life. The affectionate welcome tendered him here made him reluctant to leave, and when finally he bade farewell to the young ladies and their teachers he said, "I am proud of the honor of having my name attached to an institution so beneficial in its aim and so happy in its results."

While in Lexington, Lafayette visited Mrs. Scott the widow of General Scott of revolutionary fame. He also drove to Ashland, the charming home of Henry Clay, recently appointed Secretary of State. Mr. Clay was not there to receive him, but Mrs. Clay and her children did the honors in a manner that was highly appreciated by the distinguished guest.

*Henry Clay was one of the earliest and most enthusiastic advocates of the recognition of the independence of the South American republics.

At Lexington the General parted with Governor Carroll and almost all of his friends from Louisiana, Tennessee, and Frankfort, and turning northward with Governor Desha, other state officials, and a detachment of volunteer cavalry from Georgetown, at the end of thirty-six hours arrived, on the nineteenth of May, at ten o'clock in the morning, on the bank of the Ohio River opposite the city of Cincinnati.

OHIO.

Lafayette's entry into the city of Cincinnati was most auspicious. The day was cloudless; the spirit of peace seemed to fall upon the expectant landscape and the laughing waters. In the Queen City a great concourse of people was eagerly awaiting the signal that should announce the approach of the "Nation's Guest." When this was given an elegant barge, prepared and manned for the occasion and commanded by midshipman Rowan, crossed the river. The moment it commenced its return with Lafayette on board a salute was fired by the artillery and he approached the shores of Ohio "amidst the roar of cannon and the shouts of a joyful multitude that thronged the banks of the river."

Governor Jeremiah Morrow at the head of a large body of gorgeously uniformed soldiery met him at the landing. As he came ashore the Governor grasped his hand and proceeded to address him as follows:

"General— On behalf of the citizens of the State of Ohio, I have the honor to greet you with an affectionate and cordial welcome.

"This state, from the circumstances of its recent origin, was not a member of the American confederation until many years after the termination of the Revolutionary War. Her territory has not been the theatre of those military operations so important in their results, nor have her fields been rendered memorable by the then sanguinary conflicts. Hence, in visiting a country barren of revolutionary incidents, those recollections and associations with which you were impressed on lately traversing Bunker's Hill and the scene of hostile action and victory at Yorktown cannot be produced

“Still, sir, we flatter ourselves that your visit to the western country, which has excited on our part the most lively emotion, will not be wholly uninteresting to yourself. To you it must be interesting to witness, in the social order which prevails and the rapid progress of improvement in our country, a practical illustration of the effects produced on the condition of man, by those principles of rational liberty of which you have been the early defender, the consistent advocate, and the uniform friend; and



JEREMIAH MORROW,
Governor of Ohio.

the same people welcome you here as on the more classic ground over which you have passed; for here, as in the elder states, many of those patriots who achieved our nation's independence have fixed their residence. They and their descendants form a large portion of our population, and give a like tone to the feelings and character of our community. With the sentiments of gratitude and veneration common to our fellow citizens throughout the United States, we hail you, General, as the early and

constant friend of our country, of rational liberty, and of the rights of man."

General Lafayette replied as follows:

"The highest award that can be bestowed on a revolutionary veteran is to welcome him to a sight of the blessings which have issued from our struggle for independence, freedom, and equal rights. Where can those enjoyments be more complete than in this State of Ohio, where even among the prodigies of American progress, we are so particularly to admire the rapid and wonderful results of free institutions, free spirit, and free industry; and where I am received by the people and in their name by their chief magistrate, with an affection and concourse of public kindness, which fill my heart with most lively sentiments of gratitude. While I am highly obliged for your having come so far to meet me, I much regret the impossibility to present to you my acknowledgments, as I had intended, at the seat of government. You know, sir, the citizens of the state know, by what engagements, by what sacred duties, I am bound to the solemn celebration of a half secular anniversary, equally interesting to the whole Union. I offer you, sir, my respectful thanks for the kind and gratifying manner in which you have been pleased to express your own and the people's welcome; and permit me here to offer the tribute of my grateful devotion and respect to the happy citizens of the State of Ohio."

The soldiers then stood in open order and presented arms, while the General proceeded in a "barouche and four", accompanied by the escort from Kentucky and the city authorities, to a platform in front of the Cincinnati Hotel where he was received by the committee of arrangements for the city. "The crowd of citizens was immense. The whole common in front of the town presented an unbroken mass of freemen, anxiously looking for the object of their admiration, and occasionally rending the air with shouts of the most enthusiastic joy." Ladies thronged the doors, windows and balconies of adjacent buildings. Handkerchiefs fluttered, flags waved, the crowd swayed, and the troops with military precision performed their evolutions as the General and his party mounted the platform. Here he was warmly greeted by a number of old revolutionary soldiers

and prominent citizens of the state. General William Henry Harrison, chairman of the committee, delivered the following welcome on behalf of the city:

"General Lafayette — In the name of the people of Cincinnati, I bid you welcome to their city.

"In other places, General, your reception has been marked by a display of wealth and splendor which we could not imitate, even if it were not incompatible with the simplicity of manners and habits which distinguish the backwoodsmen of America. But let me assure you, General, that in no part of the Union or of the whole earth is there to be found a greater respect for your character, a warmer gratitude for your services, or a more affectionate attachment to your person than in the bosoms of those who now surround you.

"But, if we cannot rival some of our sister states in the splendor of an exhibition, or in the fascinating graces of a highly polished society, to a mind like yours we can present a more interesting spectacle — the effect of those institutions, for the establishment of which your whole life has been devoted, in producing in the course of a few years a degree of prosperity and a sum of human happiness which you have nowhere seen surpassed in the wide circuit of your tour. When you last embarked from your adopted country, General, the bounds of this extensive state did not contain a single white inhabitant. No plow had yet marked a furrow on its luxuriant soil. One unbroken mass of forest equally sheltered a few miserable savages and the beasts which were their prey.

"In this immense waste no human being offered the song of praise and thanksgiving to the throne of the Creator; the country and its wretched inhabitants presented the same appearance of wild, savage, uncultivated nature. But now see the change, 'the wilderness and the solitary places have been made glad, and the desert to blossom as the rose.'

"There is no deception, General, in the appearances of prosperity which are before you. This flourishing city has not been built like the proud capital of the frozen Neva, by command of a despot, directing the labor of obedient millions. It has been reared by the hands of freemen. It is the natural mart of a

highly cultivated country. These crowded streets are filled with the inhabitants of this city and its vicinity, and are a part of the 700,000 Christian people who daily offer up their orisons to heaven for the innumerable blessings they enjoy. The youth who form your guard of honor are a detachment of the 100,000 enrolled freemen, whose manly bosoms are the only ramparts of our state. They have all assembled to present the freewill offering of their affections to the benefactor of their country.

"Happy Chief! How different must be your feelings from those of the most distinguished commander who, in the proudest days of Rome, conducted to the capitol the miserable captives and the glittering spoils of an unrighteous war. This, your triumph, has not brought to the millions who witnessed it, a single painful emotion. Your victories have not caused a sigh from the bosom of any human being, unless it be from the tyrants whose power to oppress their fellowmen they have curtailed.

"Happy man! The influence of your example will extend beyond the tomb. Your fame, associated with that of Washington and Bolivar, will convince some future Caesar that the path of duty is the path of true glory; and that the character of the warrior can never be complete without faithfully fulfilling the character of the citizen.

"Welcome, then, companion of Washington, friend of Franklin, Adams and Jefferson—devoted champion of liberty, -- welcome."

The General was visibly moved, and replied as follows:

"The wonders of creation and improvement which have happily raised this part of the Union to its present high degree of importance, prosperity and happiness, have been to me, from the other side of the Atlantic, a continued object of attention and delight; yet, whatever had been my patriotic and confident anticipations, I find them still surpassed by the admirable realities which, on entering this young, beautiful and flourishing city offer themselves to my enchanted eye, and by the testimonies of affection which the kind and happy multitude of citizens which surround us are pleased to confer upon me. So, while I here enjoy the blessed results of our revolutionary action, of the last war,

and the fine appearance of the numerous corps of volunteers who have turned out to meet me, in these young patriots, I see a most gratifying specimen of the hundred thousand citizen soldiers of this state, ever ready to stand in defense of national rights and American honor. Here, also, I meet revolutionary companions in arms, the sons of my old friends, and the sound of names most dear to me. Accept, sir, my best thanks for the kind manner in which you and the gentlemen of the committee are pleased to welcome me and a tender of my respectful and affectionate gratitude to the citizens of Cincinnati for their brilliant and, you will allow me to observe, my dear sir, their so very affectionate reception."

At the conclusion of these ceremonies the military retired and the General held an informal reception at the hotel. At five o'clock he attended the masonic lodge, which bore his name, which had been organized in anticipation of his visit, and of which he was made an honorary member. An ode prepared for this occasion by Morgan Neville, was read. George Graham made the principal address to which the General feelingly replied. Later in the evening he witnessed a "brilliant exhibition of fire works" at the Globe Inn and on his return visited the Western Museum which was brilliantly illuminated in his honor as was the entire city. "At a seasonable hour", says a writer who was present, "he returned to his lodgings at the house of Mr. Febiger on Vine Street."

Early the next morning the streets were thronged with people eager to see and honor the nation's guest. The committee had arranged to give the Sabbath school children of Cincinnati precedence in the parade. At nine o'clock they were formed in procession and marched, "bearing appropriate banners, to the foot of Broadway, where under the guidance of the teachers they were arranged in a hollow square ready to receive the General." He was soon presented among them and seemed more delighted with this exhibition of gratitude than with any other which the best efforts of the citizens could present. He took the children affectionately by the hand, proceeding with his salutations through the greater part of them, amounting in all to more than fifteen hundred, besides the pupils of Dr. Locke's female

academy. These last were dressed in uniform and added much to the beauty of the procession. Rev. Ruter, in behalf of the children and teachers addressed the General:

"General Lafayette — The return to our Republic, of one of its principal founders, after an absence of almost half a century, brings to the mind an association of ideas and emotions not easily described. When this part of the United States was a wilderness, without inhabitants to appreciate your cause, you came to our shores and fought and bled in defense of our national rights. Success attended your efforts; you left America in peace and returned in triumph to your native land. Years have rolled on, revolutions have shaken Europe, kingdoms have risen and fallen. By a gracious providence you have been preserved to see the end of those perils. You have outlived the storm. And now, in the bright evening of your days, returning to the theatre of that memorable revolution in which you bore so conspicuous a part, you behold its happy effects in the widespread blessing which crowned the American people. From the East to the West, over the land of the free, over the homes of surviving patriots once your companions, and over the tombs of our departed heroes, liberty reigns.

"During your absence, the wilderness has become a fruitful field, filled with inhabitants, abounding with plenty, favored with religious toleration and flourishing in the arts and sciences. Our citizens who first emigrated to the western country brought with them the principles which you have uniformly defended, and their children have received them. The rising generation of our land have been taught the origin of our political institutions; they have learned your history as being interwoven with that of their nation; they cherish and will transmit to posterity a grateful remembrance of your sufferings and your achievements in the sacred cause of freedom. General, the people of the West, while they give thanks to God who first sent you to our shores, receive you as their benefactor, as their friend, and as the former friend and companion of the great Washington. All hearts greet you, and perhaps none with more sincerity than these juvenile companies, gathered from our schools and from our principal female academy, with the instructors and guard-

ians, whom I have the honor of representing, and in whose name I am happy to welcome your arrival in Cincinnati."

After greeting the children*, the General replied:

"Amidst the affectionate and universal greeting from the people of Ohio whom I have the happiness to meet in this admirable city of Cincinnati, I have with peculiar delight noticed the eagerness and warmth of juvenile feelings in behalf of an old American soldier. There I rejoice to find not only additional testimonies of the personal kindness of their parents and tutors, but a most gratifying mark of their own early attachment to the principles for which their forefathers fought and bled. Their eyes have first opened on the public prosperity and domestic happiness which are the blessed lot of this American land. Here liberty and equal rights surround them in every instance, in every progress of their tender years, and when admitted to compare their country with those parts of the world where aristocracy and despotism still retain their baneful influence, they will more and more love their republican institutions and take pride in the dignified character of American citizenship. So when they reflect on the toils in the war of independence, on the source to which they owe these various institutions, they will be more disposed to cherish the sentiments of mutual affection between the several parts of the confederacy.

"I beg you, sir, to accept my affectionate thanks for your kind address, and I also present my acknowledgments to the worthy teachers and to my friends of both sexes in your so very interesting schools and seminaries."

At eleven a. m. the grand procession was formed. In addition to the local military, companies from Springfield, Madison, and Vevay, Indiana, participated. Mechanical organizations with

*When the General appeared before them, their young hands scattered flowers under his feet, and Dr. Ruter advancing delivered him an address in their name, the sentiments of which sensibly affected the General, who wished to express his acknowledgments to the doctor, but, at the moment was surrounded by the children, who in a most lively manner stretched out their little hands to him, and filled the air with their cries of joy. He received their caresses and embraces with the tenderness of a parent who returns to his family after a long absence, and then replied to Dr. Ruter's address.

appropriate banners were in line: printers, cordwainers, hatters, shipwrights, carpenters, engravers, saddlers and other labor societies numbering in all more than thirty.

The shipwrights, several of whom carried models of boats on their shoulders, were preceded by the barge in which the General had crossed the river, now mounted on wheels and drawn by three horses. On the stern was painted, 'Yorktown, Oct. 19, 1781.' The star spangled banner floated proudly at her bow and stern and the barge was manned by young men who had volunteered to uniform themselves for the honor of conveying the General to the city.

Never had Cincinnati witnessed a more impressive spectacle. Fresh arrivals from the surrounding country swelled the crowd beyond the bounds of the city. Streets, doorways, windows and roofs were thronged with people. After traversing the principal streets the procession halted on the open plain back of the city. Here was erected for the accommodation of the General and suite an elegant pavilion, decorated with roses and evergreens and sufficiently elevated to command a view of the surrounding multitude. After the General was seated and the hum of the crowd had been silenced, Mr. Samuel M. Lee sang the following ode which had been composed for the occasion:

(AIR — Marseilles hymn.)

With wealth and conquest grown delirious,
A foreign despot seized the rod,
And bade us in a tone imperious
To bow submissive to his nod.
His hostile navies plowed the ocean,
His threatening armies thronged our shore;
But when we heard his cannon roar,
Thousands exclaimed, with one emotion,
Columbia's sons, to arms!
Oh who would be a slave!
March on! march on! unchecked, unawed,
To freedom or the grave.

The god of battles, from his dwelling
Of light and glory in the skies,
Heard from a thousand temples swelling
Our heart-felt prayers and praises rise,
And nerved each arm, inspired each spirit
To fight, to conquer, and be free,
And bade each son of liberty
His father's freeborn soul inherit.
Columbia's sons, to arms!
Oh who would be a slave!
March on! march on! unchecked, unawed,
To freedom or the grave.

See, one by one, those heirs of glory,
Forever fled their health and bloom,
In freedom's cause grown weak and hoary,
Descending to the patriot's tomb.
But yet of this great constellation
A few bright planets have not set:
We yet behold thee, Lafayette!
The guest, and glory of our nation.
Columbia's sons, to arms!
Oh who would be a slave!
March on! march on! unchecked, unawed,
To freedom or the grave.

With comrades, kindred, friends surrounded —
With ease and wealth and titles blest —
The gallant youth, when freedom sounded
Her trumpet-blast, sprang from his rest;
And flew, when tyrants sought to enslave us,
To western wilds, o'er ocean's tide —
Took ours, and heaven's and glory's side,
And toiled, and fought, and bled to save us.
Columbia's sons, to arms!
Oh who would be a slave!
March on! march on! unchecked, unawed,
To freedom or the grave.

Welcome, Fayette! with arms extended,
And hearts as boundless as our soil,
We hail thee to a land, defended
By thy own prowess, wealth and toil,
In glory's page while bards and sages
Enroll the patriot's honored name,
Beloved Fayette! thy deathless fame
Will pass unsullied through all ages.
Columbia's sons, to arms!
Oh who would be a slave!
March on! march on! unchecked, unawed,
To freedom or the grave.

From a stand opposite the pavilion, Joseph S. Benham,* the orator of the day, then delivered the following address:

"The love of liberty, natural as the love of life, is an instinct common to all animals. In man, beneficently endowed with intellect by which he is preeminently distinguished, it dis-

*A discourse upon the solemnity of the day succeeded the patriotic song. The orator who was to pronounce it arose, advanced toward the expecting multitude, before whom he remained some moments silent, his countenance depressed, his hand placed upon his breast, as if overcome by the greatness of the subject he was to treat. At length his sonorous voice, although slightly tremulous, was heard, and the whole assembly soon became fascinated with his eloquence. The benefits and advantages of freedom, the generous efforts made for its establishment in the two hemispheres by Lafayette, the picture of the present and future prosperity of the United States, furnished the topics of Mr. Benham's address. He took such possession of the imagination of his auditors that even after he had ceased speaking the attentive crowd remained some time silent as though they still heard his voice.

Popular eloquence is one of the distinctive characteristics of the Americans of the United States. The faculty of speaking well in public is acquired by all the citizens from the universality and excellence of their education, and is developed in a high degree by the nature of their institutions, which call upon each citizen for the exercise of that power in the discussion of public affairs. In each town, in every village, the number of persons capable of speaking before a numerous assembly, is truly surprising; and it is not uncommon to meet among them men who, although born in obscurity, have justly acquired great reputation for eloquence.

plays itself in every action of his life. It is the center of all his affections — the key to his heart, — no less essential to his greatness than to his felicity. Subject his destiny to the arbitrary will of a tyrant, and you mar the beauty and majesty of his form, which is so 'express and admirable'; you extinguish every noble and godlike aspiration, and 'tame him into dullness.' All order is subverted, all harmony is destroyed. Subordinate the social mass to one feeble and impotent will, ever influenced by narrow and contracted views, by tumultuous passions, by self aggrandizement, or by the adulation of courtiers, and it either pines in a passive lethargy, or, if called into action by extraordinary excitements, exhausts its strength by its efforts, while its produce is wholly drawn off by the privileged part, — like to the aged oak, on which we see a few of the higher branches verdant, while the trunk is rotten and sinking speedily to the dust.

"Despotic governments exert a like baleful influence upon the inhabitants and the country. Their wealth is in the hands of the nobility — a few haughty lordlings who regard the populace as an inferior race of beings, forming a portion of their inheritance, and fit only to minister to their sensual gratifications. The inestimable rights of person and property are alike insecure: industry receives no encouragement; the arts and the sciences languish and commerce is in the hands of strangers, while poverty, ignorance, degradation and wretchedness brood upon the face of the country like primitive darkness upon the face of the waters, and form the national character.

"Fix your eye upon the map of the Ottoman Empire, and you have a glaring example of these truths. You there see an extensive region of exuberant soil, in a genial climate, salubrious air, and benignant skies; yet, such is the despotism of the government, that with all these blessings, it is the poorest and most barbarous upon the continent. This, too, was once the seat of the muses and is now the scene of every classic reminiscence: the land of Homer, the country of Epaminondas, of Themistocles and Leonidas! But, alas! liberty, the muses, and the arts, like the last flight of the dove from the ark, have wended their course from those inhospitable regions. Ignorance has here shown her natural hostility to taste by mutilating the statues, demolishing

the temple, and defacing the elegant forms of sculpture and architecture. On the rock of the Acropolis, where once stood the magnificent temple of Minerva, famed for its golden statues, marble fragments are all that remain. The odeum of Pericles, which once resounded with the notes of the lyre and the sublime strains of the choral song, is now appurtenant to a Turkish castle. These are the deleterious effects of despotism upon the moral and physical world.

“Compare this picture, though feebly crayoned (for the original would justify darker shades and deeper hues) with the government of these United States, the prosperous, cheerful, and happy condition of her citizens, and how vivid is the contrast. All the trans-Atlantic dynasties have been fortuitously formed. They have mostly begun in bloody anarchy, and after describing the whole circle, have at last terminated in sullen despotism. They have passed from infancy to manhood, and from manhood speedily to old age. The American government no less prudent, cautious and circumspect than those of the old world, like Minerva from the head of Jove, sprang at once into full maturity and symmetry, armed in sovereign panoply and took her rank among the kingdoms of the earth.

“The Greeks and Romans boasted that their laws and government were divine emanations. We propagate no such delusions. Our government is universally acknowledged to be the production of human reason, consecrated by the free will of the people. The constitution delineated by their mighty hand, in their sovereign and unlimited capacity, establishes certain first principles of fundamental law, and is predicated upon the indestructible pillars of justice and equality. In its shade, like that of a great rock in a weary land, the pilgrims of the old world repose peaceful and happy. The philanthropists, philosophers and sages who formed this charter of our rights never lost sight of the self-evident truths that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

“This beautiful fabric of free government which has excited so much envy and admiration, was no sooner formed than it was hailed as a ‘magnificent stranger’ in the world. Here the

wealth of the nation is equally distributed among her children, who are alike noble with the gaudy 'insignia of nobility.' We have no laws of primogeniture to create and foster an aristocracy. The rights of person and of property are sacred and inviolate. Industry in every branch of business is encouraged, the arts and the sciences flourish, and commerce unfurls her canvas; while contentment, independence, enterprise and intelligence form the bright escutcheon of the national character. Here civil liberty, in exile from the old world, has established her empire and fixed her throne. It is here our laws are equal, mild and beneficent; it is here that religious bigotry and intolerance are unknown; it is here a provision is made by government for the poor; it is here, in fine, that persecuted truth finds refuge and persecuted man an asylum and a home.

"These, Lafayette, are the fruits of thy toils and sacrifices. These are the laurels that bloom for thee in America — won by thy gallantry in the vales of Brandywine, on the plains of Monmouth and at Yorktown, and which like the aloe flower, blossom in old age. These form the bright constellation of thy glory. Let its shining radiance impart one cheering ray to guild the gloom of despotism, and like the star of Bethlehem conduct the king and wise men of the earth in the road to civil and religious freedom.

"At the mention of thy name, revered and venerated hero and sage, every countenance beams with joy, and every heart dilates with gratitude, while you 'read your welcome in a nation's eyes.' Most nations, when tyranny becomes intolerable, have had their benefactors and deliverers — daring spirits whom no dangers could appall, no difficulties dismay. Scotland had her Wallace — Switserland her Tell — Poland, dismembered, prostrate Poland, her Kosciusko; and America, thrice happy America, her Washington. But these immortal champions of human liberty were inspired by an ardent love of country to save from pollution their household gods and their altars. Lafayette, inspired by the same enthusiastic love of liberty, and prompted by a generous, disinterested sympathy, at the juvenile age of nineteen, relinquished the charms of nobility, the ease of affluence, the fascinations and endearments of friends, home and

country — crossed the ocean and in the true spirit of chivalry sustained, with his fortune and his blood, our fathers in the doubtful struggle for emancipation.

“It had been predicted by an orator from the mountains of Virginia that in their distress they would receive foreign succor. And lo! the youthful chieftain, wafted by the encouraging smiles of his countrymen, arrives upon our shores, at a crisis the most inauspicious and dark in the history of colonial suffering, when despair appeared legibly in the faces of many, and hope, the companion of the wretched, lingered only in the bosom of the brave.



LAFAYETTE,

As he appeared at the time of the American Revolution. From a painting by Peale.

“Our faithful little band of war-worn soldiers was at that period retreating through the Jerseys, almost naked and barefoot, leaving its traces in blood. To them the news of his arrival was “glad tidings;” like the beams of the glorious sun, after a night of triple darkness, it dispelled the gloom from every countenance. Hope elevated and joy brightened the soldier’s crest. He forgot the dangers and difficulties he had passed and looked forward to the day, not far distant, when the triumph of victory should be the knell of oppression.

“The disastrous condition of our affairs seemed to offer but an humble theatre to the aspirant for military fame. The cypress extended its mournful boughs over our army. But nothing could extinguish the ardor of the young hero. He immediately clothed, equipped, and organized, at his own expense, a corps of men, and entered as a volunteer into our service. All Europe gazed with admiration, mingled with regret, upon the eaglet that

had left the royal nest and soared into a distant hemisphere to fight the battles of liberty. In retracing the incidents of the eventful life of our benefactor, a duty which gratitude imposes, we find them alike illustrious. They exhibit a man passing with the constancy of truth, the sternness of stoicism and the resignation of Christianity, through greater trials and reverses of fortune than any other in the annals of biography. Behold him in his youth, contemning all patrician effeminacy, courting fatigue and danger in the tented field, and leading our fathers to independence and glory. See him soon after acting a conspicuous part in the most awful and appalling convulsion in the annals of the world, in which every old institution was covered in its cradle with blood. We see him a member of the national assembly, alike obnoxious to the Jacobins and the ancient regime, to bloody anarchy and frightful despotism, moving the abolition of the odious letters de cachet and the emancipation of the protestants, holding in his hands for adoption a constitution containing the elements of a representative monarchy. View him in the Champ de Mars, at the head of the national guards, in the midst of an amphitheatre containing half a million of his countrymen, kneeling at the altar and swearing on their behalf to a free constitution. But the Jacobins get the ascendancy. Lafayette and constitutional liberty are proscribed. Danton and Robespierre reign and France is deluged with blood! He now suddenly disappears; even his family know not where he is. Behold him in the Austrian dungeon, spurning all compromises with oppression upon dishonorable terms and claiming the protection of an American citizen. He is at length released and lives for many years patriarchal like, in the bosom of retirement, when we again after the battle of Waterloo hear his well known voice in the tribune, endeavoring to rally his bleeding countrymen around the ancient tri-colored standard of '89. In fine, we behold him in his old age, in the bosom of the Republic whose eagles he defended in his youth, the 'guest of the nation', and hear as he passes through it the united voices of millions saluting him in the accents of gratitude, — Welcome, welcome Lafayette!

"When we behold thee, General, after an absence of more than forty years, mingling affectionately among us, we involuntarily look around with an inquiring eye for others who are absent, the compeers of your toil and glory. Where are Greene and Wayne, Washington and Hamilton? Where is Franklin the sage? Their names are familiar among us; their actions are engraven upon our hearts. But 'honor's voice cannot provoke the silent dust'; in you we behold the only surviving officer of the general staff, while your companions 'rest in peace and in glory' in the bosom of the soil they redeemed:

"A tomb is theirs on every page,
An epitaph on every tongue."

"On your former visit to this your adopted country, they were all alive to welcome you. You now find yourself in the midst of a new generation. But they are not aliens; they are kindred spirits. They occupy the same country, shaded by the same vine and fig tree. They speak the same language and are characterized by the same simple manners and customs. They support the same good government, feel the same devotion to liberty and worship the same God.

"Who can unveil the future glories of this rising Republic? When these divine institutions, which now unite us in the bonds of fraternity, shall have received their fullest expansion, what political astronomer can 'cast the horoscope in the national sky' and count the stars that shall rise to emblazon the banner of our country? Calculating the future by the past, the imagination is overpowered, when we look down the vista of time and contemplate the growing millions which in a few years will fill the bosom of the West, united in one common brotherhood, by the same laws and government, language and consanguinity. Only fancy them, congregating on the same national jubilee, commemorating the same battles, and recounting the deeds of the same heroes. Methinks I hear the valleys of the Rocky mountains echoing the names of Washington and Lafayette.

"Less than forty years ago this beautiful and fertile country, stretching from the foot of the Alleghanies westward, now filled with intelligence and blossoming like the rose, was a howling

wilderness. Our rich valleys and green hills, which now reward the toil of the husbandman, so unbroken was the forest, had never felt the genial influence of the sun. Annually as he rises in his course, the circle of our free institutions is widening, and will continue to expand until the shores of the Pacific feel its cheering influence. Yes, this luxuriant 'tree of liberty' will continue to put forth new branches, until this vast continent, from the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific, is sheltered by its foliage. Then, and not till then, can we say to the heroes and sages who planted it, '*fruitur fama*.'

At the conclusion of the address the procession re-formed and escorted the General to the hotel. In the evening he attended a ball given in his honor. "The ball room was hung round with leaves of evergreen festooned with flowers, and richly ornamented with transparencies, some of them emblematic of the proudest scenes of the republic and the hero's youthful glory." At the theatre was recited a patriotic poem by Morgan Neville*, entitled "Address to Lafayette":

ADDRESS TO LAFAYETTE.

Recited at the Cincinnati Theatre on Friday night, May 20, 1825.

In the fair south we hail the genial sun
 That o'er the world extends its blissful ray,
 Brighter and lovelier, in its middle way,
 Than when at dawn its journey was begun.
 Yet who, as evening shadows claim their sway,
 And the mild orb its course has almost run,
 Can view unjoyed its more serene display,
 As with the richest tints it guilds the parting day?

*It was a source of great satisfaction to Lafayette to meet in Cincinnati Mr. Morgan Neville, son of his former aid-de-camp and friend, Major Presley Neville, and maternal grandson of the celebrated General Daniel Morgan, who won his laurels at the battle of the Cowpens. Major Presley Neville died at Fairview, O., in 1818. Morgan Neville was born in Pittsburgh, in 1786; edited the Pittsburgh *Gazette*; gained quite a reputation as a literary writer; moved to Cincinnati about 1824 where he died in 1839.

Then, while its light supernal we behold,
 And the wide landscape glows beneath its beam
Joy's calmest currents through our hearts are rolled,
 And hope is flowing in its clearest stream.
In that blest hour, the happiest here below,
 We sigh not for the past with fond regret,
When in the fervor of its noontide glow
 That globe resplendent was careering yet;
For now although its fiercest heat is spent,
 At its far bourne a more enlivening light,
To cheer desponding nature still is lent,
 In all her varied haunts of ocean, vale and height.

Thus on thy course, unsullied son of France,
 Does the glad world in admiration gaze,
As on the Day-God whom it sees advance,
 To the mid sky, and there unclouded blaze.
Thus hast thou shown at thy meridian hour,
 In honor's course, the heaven of thy career;
And still thine orb, undimmed its evening power,
 Glow with a ray serenely fair and clear;
With mellowed light, as slowly it descends,
 On freedom's western land its beams are shed,
With freemen's spirit its effulgence blends,
 And casts a halo round the patriot's head.

From Gallia's shores, where shines a genial sun,
 Where passed unblemished thy meridian prime,
Guest of the Free, loved Friend of Washington,
 We greet thy visit to Columbia's clime;
 What though historians of the ancient time,
Cursing the deeds ingratitude has done,
 May warn thee far from freedom's tainted shore:
What though their voice should bid thine ear distrust
 The joyful welcome that our hearts may pour;
Should name to thee the valiant and the just,
 Recount the wrongs which in their lives they bore,
And bid thee seek their unremembered dust?

Oh! hear them not, the land whose rights 'twas thine,
From foreign sway so nobly to defend,

With glory's wreath thy temples shall entwine,
And bless thee as her soldier and her friend.

From his high crag her Eagle wings his flight,
A laurel chaplet in his beak he bears;
With one bold sweep he leaves the airy height,
And Lafayette, that wreath perennial wears.

Patriot and hero, Friend of human kind!

Behold the blessings thou hast bled to gain
For our rejoicing millions, unconfined

By the cold claspings of oppression's chain;
Free as the breathing of the dauntless mind

That spurns at tyrants and defies their reign,
Like our own bird whose mountain spirit braves

The mid-day splendor, and the pathless air,
In liquid light his tireless pinions laves,

And roams unswayed, and lives unconquered there.

Look on our hills, our valleys, and our plains,

Our streams that pour the mighty floods along,
Upon whose borders boundless plenty reigns,

Whose fields are vocal with the peaceful song,
Unfold our laws, the image of our will;

In wisdom famed, our happiness their care;
Prompt to deter from error, and instill

The love of virtue and her precepts fair.
Survey the oceans that embrace our shore,

Our banner floating proudly o'er the wave;
Our white winged commerce that disdains to pour

Its countless treasures in the lap of slaves.
Turn to our cities and their crowded marts,

Where cheerful toil enjoys the wealth it gains,
Where science all her heavenly lore imparts,

And joined in friendship, with her sister arts,

Confirms our glory and our rights maintains.

And here on famed Ohio's beauteous side,
Where once the Indian formed his ambushade,
Where late his hands in white men's blood he dyed,
And waved in triumph his unsparing blade;
Even here, where wild beasts leagued with savage men,
In their close lair were watching for their prey,
And shouts of wrath pealed loud from hill and glen,
Foretold the scenes of carnage and dismay;
Now this fair city lifts its glittering spires,
The fertile fields their tribute harvests bring;
The daring mind feels glory's high desires,
And soars aloft on contemplation's wing.

To the wrapt youth, whose heart with grateful swells
Springs to the champion of his country's cause,
His honored sire in fervid accents tells,
The patriot's struggles and the world's applause.
"Behold, my boy, these plenteous harvests rise
From the broad surface of your native soil,
Mark yonder millions, whose contented toil
From their own fields a competence supplies,
The peace, the joy, the safeties that are theirs,
Free from the terrors of the tyrant's scourge;
The wealth, the learning that your country shares,
And scatters freely to her farthest verge:
These all, my child, the patriot hand bestowed,
His valor gained them, and his wisdom guards;
From him our dearest, noblest rights have flowed,
The boast of freedom and the theme of bards."

These grateful praises of the gray-haired sire,
Columbia's children deem are justly thine,
Whose soul the love of freedom could inspire,
To aid their fathers in embattled line,
Thine, who forsook thy country's lovely plains,
Where fortune, honors, kindred, bade thee stay,
For the far shores unknown to minstrel strains,
And held in bondage by a foreign sway.

Yes, generous chieftain, then thy victor blade
 Flashed in the ranks that formed our martial van;
There thy bright plume was fearlessly displayed,
 And thy life-tide in patriot battle ran.

Illustrious visitor! Once more we hail
 Thy welcome presence in our western clime,
Where fame so oft has told the glorious tale,
 Of purest virtues and of deeds sublime,
 That formed thy noblest praise in youthful time;
Where in the annals of the faithful page,
 Fondly and frequent we have viewed thee true,
In youth, in manhood, and in hallowed age,
 To the high charter nature's author drew,
Long as the temple where that sacred scroll,
 With eye unblenching glory's votaires trace;
Long as it braves time's storms that o'er it roll,
 And stands unshaken on its heaven-laid base,
 Thy memory in our hearts shall keep its place;
No chilling years shall blight that blooming flower,
 Or force the brave its nurture to forget,
In fortune's sunbeam and her midnight hour,
 O'er their affections it shall hold its power,
 And deck thy wreath of fame, immortal Lafayette.

The hour for the General's departure was approaching, and increasing crowds thronged round the ball-room to see him once more and to join in the universal "God speed" as he passed to the vessel that was waiting to bear him away. Inside of the gorgeous room, he was engaged in pleasant conversation with General Scott and other distinguished men. The eyes of the guests were upon him, and many paused within sound of his voice to catch some word to be treasured in sacred memory and repeated with the incidents of his visit and the story of his life at the firesides of succeeding generations. The clock struck the solemn midnight hour. The General, his party and many friends embarked on *The Herald* amid the booming of artillery, the prolonged cheers and the affectionate farewells of the multitudes

that thronged the shore. Slowly and majestically the vessel swung from its mooring, moved past the twinkling lights along the shore, out of the city, under the quiet stars and over the quiet stars reflected in the River Beautiful.

The General now hastened on his journey to the East. It was his intention originally, as already stated, to proceed overland to Columbus and thence to Wheeling. His itinerary through the state included the state capital, Chillicothe, Lancaster and Zanesville. Preparations had been made at these points to welcome him, but finding the time at his disposal too short for the tour, he proceeded up the river, passing Portsmouth and making a short stop at Gallipolis. Here he visited the family of Samuel F. Vinton, one of the small minority in congress who voted against the bill appropriating money to recompense Lafayette for the fortune that he had expended in aid of our struggle for independence.

Mr. Vinton was still in Washington, but his family received the General "with every mark of tenderness and affection" and Mrs. Vinton, remaining at his side until he departed for the vessel, even insisted upon accompanying him on foot to the landing. This cordial reception was most gratifying to Lafayette, as it bore evidence that those who voted against the appropriation were not personally opposed to him, but had so acted because they feared that the passage of the bill would establish a dangerous precedent.*

*This statement, which follows closely Levasseur's generous interpretation of the motives of those who voted against the bill to reimburse Lafayette, invited attention to the *Annals of Congress*, from which the following facts are gleaned:

In the senate the vote stood—yeas, 37; nays, 7. Senators Brown and Ruggles of Ohio both voted in the negative, and the former made a speech against the bill. In the house the vote is recorded—yeas, 166; nays, 26. The vote of the Ohio delegation stood as follows: Yeas, Duncan McArthur, Mordecai Bartley; nays, James Gazlay, Thomas R. Ross, William McLean, Joseph Vance, John W. Campbell, Samuel F. Vinton, William Wilson, Philemon Beecher, John Patterson, John C. Wright, John Sloane, Elisha Whittlesy. Why the vote of Ohio should have been so at variance with that of the other states, the writer has not been able to determine.

Leaving the town whose name is a constant reminder of its French founders, the General proceeded up the river. Passing the island that bears the name of the ill fated Blennerhassett and other spots famous in the pioneer history of America, they came on the morning of May 23rd to Marietta, where many years before revolutionary compatriots had laid the foundation for the first permanent settlement in Ohio. As the vessel came toward the landing a gun was fired as a signal that Lafayette was on board; and a little later his name was seen in large letters across the bow. The news spread rapidly, and the people crowded the wharf to welcome the illustrious visitor. His coming was a surprise as it was generally understood that Marietta was not on the line of his tour through the state. Some of the citizens, however, seemed to anticipate the visit for a reception committee, with Nahum Ward as chairman, had been appointed to act in such a contingency. Mr. Ward, who was grandson of General Artemus Ward, of revolutionary fame and a close personal friend to Lafayette, had visited the latter in Paris in 1823, where he was received with many marks of kindness.

A procession was quickly formed and Lafayette was escorted to Mr. Ward's home. The cannon continued to thunder a welcome and bells rang. The schools were dismissed and the children came to welcome the hero of whom they had heard so much since his landing in America. In Mr. Ward's home the General was warmly greeted by many citizens, including a number of revolutionary soldiers.

When a list of nearly fifty military officers who were among the pioneers of Marietta was read to Lafayette he said: "I know them all. I saw them at Brandywine, Yorktown and Rhode Island. They were the bravest of the brave."

The crowd outside ranged themselves in two long lines, down which and back again, Lafayette passed to shake hands with each and all. The children were not forgotten, and some of the "wee ones" were tenderly lifted in his arms and affectionately kissed.

After these ceremonies he stated informally that he was sorry so soon to part from the good people of Marietta, and was escorted by a large concourse of people to *The Herald*, on which

he departed, while practically the whole population of Marietta cheered on the shore and the artillery from the heights above roared a farewell salute that was echoed and re-echoed among the historic hills.

WESTERN VIRGINIA.

The following day dawned cloudless. Over the Virginian hills the sun gradually rolled into the clear sky, while the forest fringed shores were redolent with the odors of early spring and vibrant with the song of birds. In the constantly changing panorama presented by the winding river, the morning hours passed rapidly, and those on deck were looking forward to catch the first glimpse of the flourishing town of Wheeling. Before they saw the place the ringing of bells was heard and the roar of a cannon announced that the visit was anticipated. And now the town dawned upon their view, beautiful in holiday attire and radiant in the sunshine of May. "It was," said an aged spectator years afterwards, "a day fraught with joy and gladness, filling every patriotic heart with emotion and gratitude."

"The valleys shouted to the sun,
The great woods clapped their hands,
And joy and glory seemed to run
Like rivers through the lands."

On the wharf crowds of expectant citizens stood, eager to catch sight of the long expected guest as the boat moved majestically up to the landing.

They did not have long to wait. Lafayette, accompanied by Governor Worthington, his secretary and his son, appeared on deck and descended from the boat. Upon landing he was introduced to the authorities by Andrew Stewart of Pennsylvania, after which he was addressed by Judge Alexander Caldwell of the district court:

"General Lafayette:—The citizens of Wheeling welcome you to Western Virginia. After the lapse of forty-three years, you return to the United States, the scene of your former usefulness, the theatre of your former glory. We of the West scarcely permitted ourselves to hope that we should have the

happiness of seeing you among us. Your arrival revives in our recollection the debt of gratitude we owe to the patriot who sacrificed so much in the cause of liberty.

"Although, in a political point of view, it is impossible to foresee to the fullest extent, the beneficial consequences which may result to mankind from the establishment of this Republic, yet as the tree of liberty which your valor contributed to plant in these states has taken so firm a root, may we not indulge the hope that it will, in future times, extend its branches throughout the world and render the object for which you fought universal? Upon the seaboard since your first departure, new cities have arisen, and other indications of the nation's march to greatness are visible. But in the West populous towns and new states have sprung into existence. Liberty and the blessings pertaining to free government have triumphed—civilization has prevailed over savage life, and a new generation of people, taught by their fathers to venerate the name of Lafayette, welcome the arrival of their second parent. General, we receive you with the most lively sensibility and shall part from you with the deepest regret."

Lafayette replied as follows:

"It affords me great pleasure, after the interesting tour I have made, once more to arrive on the territory of Virginia. It recalls to memory the many interesting occurrences which befell me in this state, and the firm and endearing friendships I formed with so many of her citizens, some of whom have gone down to the tomb; yet enough remain to remind me of former days. During my long absence the people of the United States have established a government, founded on liberal and just principles, having liberty as its basis, and the happiness of the community for its aim. Such a government deserves to be perpetuated through all future time. May all nations profit by it; may its example have no other limit than the globe itself.

"Upon the seaboard new cities have indeed arisen, population trebled and commerce greatly extended. This was to have been expected. But in the West within the same period, cities and populous towns almost without number have been erected upon sites covered with forests and inhabited by beasts of prey.

New states have likewise been formed of territories then only known to the native Indian. Such are the effects of a fraternal and wise government.

"The affectionate reception with which the citizens of this town favor me, fills me with sensibility, and the manifestations of regard so generally bestowed, affect my heart. I beg them to accept of my best wishes for their health and happiness."

At the conclusion of his address a procession was formed in which Lafayette rode in a carriage with Noah Zane at his



LAFAYETTE.

(From an old print published in 1825.)

side. The order of the procession was as follows: The Independent Blues; citizens on horseback; the barouche with General Lafayette; carriage with George Washington Lafayette and M. Levasseur; the governor of Ohio and suite in two carriages; procession of citizens.

Lafayette was conducted to the Simms Hotel where he spent some time in writing letters. At two o'clock in the afternoon he was again presented to the people. The scenes witnessed at

other points of his tour were in a measure enacted again. Old revolutionary soldiers pressed forward to grasp by the hand their beloved but long absent commander. His greeting to the veterans was most affectionate. His gentle and sympathetic demeanor, his genial and benign face won all hearts. At four o'clock in the afternoon he sat down to dinner. Colonel Moses W. Chapline presided. No toasts were prepared but the following sentiments were proposed:

By the President — The health of our distinguished guest.

By Lafayette — Wheeling — the center of communication between the East and the West — may it be more frequent and more beneficial.

At seven o'clock in the evening he visited Ohio Lodge No. 1 of the Masonic order. Later he attended a ball given in his honor at the Virginia Hotel. Here many ladies were introduced to him.* As elsewhere on such occasions, the room was handsomely decorated, and the proprietor, Mr. Edward Graham, received the thanks of the citizens for the manner in which he entertained the honored guest. The next morning Lafayette and his companions started by stage for Washington, Pennsylvania, and the Ohio hills, which for a week had gladdened his eye, faded from sight beyond the River Beautiful.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

From Wheeling Lafayette proceeded on his eastward journey, passing over the boundary line into Pennsylvania and visiting Washington, Brownsville and Uniontown. At Brownsville he crossed the Monongahela "in a batteau bearing twenty-four young girls dressed in white, who came to receive the General and who crowned him with flowers" as he entered the town. At Uniontown he was welcomed by Albert Gallatin in a notable address, with references to the French Revolution which greatly

*Of those who were in attendance at the ball, only one survived in 1898, when Lafayette day was celebrated by the school children of the United States. John K. Botsford, then a nonagenarian, was a youth of seventeen at this memorable function. He died Feb. 13, 1899.

A detailed account of this visit was published in the *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, Nov. 1st, 1898.

pleased Lafayette and Levasseur. The General was then entertained at New Geneva, the home of Mr. Gallatin.

On May 28th the party proceeded to Elizabethtown and embarked on a boat for Braddocks Field, where Lafayette was met by a deputation sent from the city of Pittsburgh to conduct him thither. On the morning following detachments of cavalry arrived to escort him to the city.

The people began to assemble in great numbers along the road and the General's progress was somewhat delayed. His triumphal entry into Pittsburgh was a repetition, in many respects, of the receptions accorded him in other cities on his tour. There were addresses of welcome on behalf of the municipality and the public schools and responses by Lafayette. Here a group of veterans of the Revolution met and welcomed him. One of them asked him if he remembered the young soldier who first offered to carry him on a litter when he was wounded at the battle of Brandywine. Lafayette looked at him a moment and then, throwing himself into his arms, cried: "No, I have not forgotten Wilson, and it is a great happiness to be permitted to embrace him today." Here he also recognized Reverend Joseph Patterson, a compatriot of the Revolution.

The first day of his visit to Pittsburgh was devoted to public receptions. The day following, at his request, he was conducted through the various manufacturing establishments of the city, which even at that early day had made great progress. Lafayette, we are told, "was struck by the excellence and perfection of the processes employed in the various workshops which he examined; but that which interested him especially was the manufacture of glass, some patterns of which were presented to him, that, for their clearness and transparency, might have been admired even by the side of the glass of Baccarat."

At Pittsburgh Lafayette noted the union of the Allegheny and the Monongehela, "forming the majestic river Ohio" bearing onward the tide of commerce, progress and civilization and preparing the way for the interior prestige and power of the Republic.

SINKING OF "THE MECHANIC."

CAPTAIN HALL'S NARRATIVE.

MARIETTA, April 25, 1859.

Doctor S. P. Hildreth,

DEAR SIR: —

At your request I have written out the narrative of Lafayette's visit to Nashville and, connected with it, the disaster of the Steamboat *Mechanic*, which was chartered by the Governor of Tennessee to carry him to Nashville and from thence to Louisville.

The Steamboat *Mechanic* was built by John Mitchell on the Little Muskingum river, about seven miles from Marietta, above the mill-dam of what was known as Rose's mill, and was owned by a company of mechanics at Marietta, viz.: Royal Prentiss, Aaron Fuller, Wyllys Hall, Joseph E. Hall, C. D. Bonney, Nathaniel Clarke, John S. Clarke, and John J. Preston, who fitted her up in good style after the manner of eastern boats, with her cabin in the hold. She was about one hundred feet long, and eighteen wide. Her engine was built by Phillips and Wise of Steubenville and was of ample power, which made her of good speed, — equal to any boat on the western waters. She was commanded first by John S. Clarke, next by Aaron Fuller, afterwards by myself, who by advice of the owners changed her cabin to the deck, which made her a very pleasant and attractive boat with good accommodations for passengers and a fine hold for freight. I was put in command of the boat by the company at Marietta, and after running her some time in the upper trade with good success was offered a freight and passengers for Nashville, Tennessee, which was accepted, and proceeded on our voyage about the middle of April, 1825, and arrived about the thirtieth. Lafayette had already arrived in the country and was visiting different cities. He was at this time in New Orleans and would proceed up the river by steam, and was expected at Nashville in eight or ten days. *The Mechanic* being of good speed and light draught was chartered by Governor Carroll, the then acting governor of the state of Tennessee, to go to the mouth of

the Cumberland and receive Lafayette on board and bring him to Nashville. The terms of the charter being agreed upon, with all possible speed we made the necessary arrangements for supplies of provisions and proceeded down the river, the governor and his suite and many distinguished citizens from Nashville being with us.

We had a pleasant passage to the mouth of the Cumberland. But the boat had not arrived yet which was to bring our distinguished guest. We then proceeded down to the mouth of the Ohio that we might intercept the boat, for it was reported that she would go up the Mississippi to St. Louis before she came to the state of Tennessee. We came near the mouth and waited half a day, when the boat hove in sight. We gave her a signal, which was answered, and she came to and, after some consultation, got under way and proceeded up to the mouth of the Cumberland. This gave us a fine opportunity to try our own speed and prove hers, which was not a little gratifying. The boat's name was *The Natches*.

On our arrival at the mouth, immediately we received the General on board, took leave of the New Orleans delegation and proceeded up the river, having on board the governor of Illinois and his suite, with other distinguished gentlemen, in addition to those already on board, which made us pretty full. The weather was pleasant; we had a fine stage of water and we arrived in the vicinity of Nashville on the second day. About eight o'clock in the morning we received a message from the committee of arrangements from the city, which detained us half an hour. After dismissing the committee, we held on awhile to give them time to report ahead of us. After a short detention we proceeded on to within five miles of the city, when we gave a signal of our approach which was immediately answered from a brass six pounder which had been taken from the British at the battle of New Orleans. When approaching near, we fired minute guns which were answered alternately until we arrived at the landing, at which place was assembled an immense concourse of people from the surrounding country and neighboring cities, waiting our arrival, among whom the most distinguished

was General Jackson, who received General Lafayette in a beautiful barouche drawn by six splendid horses.

A procession was immediately formed, including a splendid military escort of cavalry, artillery and infantry, which attended him through the principal streets of the city under triumphal arches and waving flags, amidst the hearty cheers and greetings of the entire populace. He was then escorted to an elevated platform erected for that purpose, where he was publicly received by the governor in a short but very appropriate address of welcome, which was happily responded to by General Lafayette. A short time was then devoted to the friendly greetings of his old companions in arms, several of whom were present. Immediately the procession was formed again to escort him to the boat, for he was to take dinner at the Hermitage that day, which was twelve miles from the city up the river. General Jackson had apprised me of this before, to which I objected on account of having no pilot and the difficulty of navigating the river. Jackson promptly replied that he would pilot the boat himself. This he did to the admiration of all present.

We arrived at the hermitage about two p. m., where a large number of ladies and distinguished guests were assembled and where was prepared a very sumptuous dinner. After partaking of the same freely, General Lafayette, General Jackson and the rest of the company entered into conversation on the happy results of the Revolution, in which Lafayette related some thrilling incidents in his own life. Afterward the conversation assumed a more mellow tone, interspersed with anecdotes and witticisms sharpened by the circumstances of the occasion.

Lafayette was very free in conversation, although he could not speak our language with that fluency that he could his own; yet he was very agreeable, interesting and instructive. I had frequent conversations with him. At one time I remember mentioning the circumstance of my father being a revolutionary soldier and riding express for Washington. He could not remember him, as that department of the war service did not in any way come under his supervision or knowledge, but he spoke in terms of high commendation and praise of those men who imperiled their lives for their country's cause.

The General [Jackson] then invited us into the parlor where he showed us all his trophies of war and the many testimonials received of his fellow citizens in token of their high regard for him in his military exploits and statesmanship, among which was a splendid sword presented to him after the battle of New Orleans, from a manufacturing house in Connecticut, a brace of pistols which Lafayette formerly made a present to Washington and which he recognized immediately, besides a great variety of Indian curiosities and weapons taken in war. A short time was occupied in this way when we were summoned again to the boat to which we went with all the company, and arrived in the city at six [o'clock] when another procession was formed that escorted Lafayette to his lodgings.

The next morning we were to take leave of the city, having been rechartered at the same rate to take the General to Louisville; and after getting a full and fresh supply of stores, we again received the General on board, accompanied by the governors of Tennessee and Illinois and their suites, with a large number of distinguished citizens and a company of volunteer infantry from Clarkville, and then took leave of the city with all its festivities, to try our fortune once more on the deceitful waters of the Cumberland and the Ohio.

We glided down rapidly, yet safely, arrived at the mouth the next morning and then proceeded up the Ohio to Louisville. The weather was fair through the day and everything seemed to contribute to make our trip agreeable and pleasant. But oh, what a sudden transition! That very night our beautiful boat was a wreck and all our prospects blighted. Early in the evening the weather changed and became somewhat boisterous; the sky was overcast with clouds. We ran up on the left shore near Rock Island, under an easy pressure of steam, to what was called the Sugarloaf Rock, which was the usual crossing place, when we veered away to the right and in a few minutes found ourselves on the other shore, in an easy current and under accelerated headway.

It was midnight. The second watch had been called, but had not taken their stations. I was giving some directions to the engineer when I heard a tremendous crash, and the boat seemed

all in a tremor. I hurried to the place to ascertain what was the matter, when to my surprise [I found that] the snag had pierced the bottom of the boat, up through the main deck, bringing one of the deck hands who slept in the forecabin with it, without being much hurt. This was a very extraordinary circumstance, but not more extraordinary than true. I went immediately to the place and ordered some mattresses and blankets thrown down to me, having a light by which to examine the place. I discovered at once it was useless to make any effort to save the boat. She must go down.

I went immediately back, taking with me a faithful deck hand, passed by the engineer, told him the boat would sink, directed him to let his engine run on, as the fire would soon be out, to take care of himself; passed through the cabin and gave the passengers the same notice. Some of them were already out of their berths half dressed. I went immediately to the stern of the boat, cast off the painter of the yawl from the taffrail and gave it into the hands of the deck hand that stood by me. I ran to the cabin and with all possible speed, hurried into the boat Lafayette, his son* and M. Levasseur, with a little girl twelve years old belonging to a passenger. I then sculled the yawl ashore with all possible speed, jumped them out, and hurried back again, plying backward and forward until I was entirely exhausted. I then gave her into the hands of Governor Carroll, who was a good boatman, and who with the assistance of some of our crew got all on shore in safety. As I passed by I admonished the clerk, John F. Hunt, who was a persevering, faithful young man, to take care of the books and money, for there was about a thousand dollars in specie and paper in a portable desk in the office. He seized hold of the desk and brought it out with the books, but in the effort to save them he came very near losing himself, for as the boat craned over he slipped down, and with the desk, money and books slid into the water.

All this transpired in less than twenty minutes, the scene closed in upon us in the dead hour of the night, and we were thrown on shore destitute of everything. We built a large bonfire, sat down in mournful silence and watched for the morning

* Captain Hall's memory, 34 years after the event, is here slightly at fault.

light, which revealed to us fully the unhappy position we were in and the perils we had passed. We felt thankful, notwithstanding, that we had all escaped and were all on shore, but how to provide for our present necessities was next to be considered. Some thought one thing and some another, and our wants began to press upon us with peculiar weight. We saved no provisions except a venison ham and a few biscuits which floated from the wreck. Instead of hearing the cheerful breakfast bell summoning us to our usual repast of beefsteak and coffee, we heard nothing but the rippling waters which hurried along without giving heed to our distress or for a moment listening to our complaints.

But a kind Providence, whose watchful care is over all for good and never fails to afford the necessary relief when needed, sent us relief much to our joy, for at this critical moment there hove in sight the Steamboat *Paragon*, bound for New Orleans, under the command of Captain Neilson, who on seeing our signal of distress, hove to immediately, and generously gave us all the assistance in his power, inviting us on board and giving us something to eat. We were very hungry, and after a little delay he gave us some dinner, treated us very courteously and offered to return to Louisville with his boat, which he did after giving us some assistance in fishing out some trunks and baggage belonging to Lafayette and others, furnishing us with some salt provisions and helping us secure what we could from the wreck. At twelve o'clock the boat was ready and General Lafayette and suite and Governor Carroll and suite and the Governor of Illinois and his suite and all the passengers went on board; after a few minutes delay we took leave of one another, but not without feelings of regret for having to separate under such circumstances.

Our crew then consisted of myself, mate, clerk, two engineers, one pilot, four deck hands, two firemen, steward and one cabin boy. The first thing to be done was to see what could be saved of baggage, furniture, etc., and if possible to recover our lost money, which we were apprehensive had floated down the river. We took the yawl and went down the shore and examined every object that gave any intimation of the wrecked vessel, but found it not. We returned in discouragement, went

to work and built a shanty with such materials as we could get — bark and some boards saved from the wreck — and fished out some trunks and baggage belonging to the passengers. The water falling a little gave us some hope of recovering our portable desk with the money. After more mature reflection and examination of the place, we came to the conclusion that the desk must have slipped overboard and sunk with the weight of specie in it near the place where it disappeared. We went to work with pike poles feeling around on the bottom. After a long search, we struck something that seemed to indicate that it was there; but how to get hold of it and get it up was the thing to be determined. We stuck down a pole by the side of the desk, as we supposed, and then one of the men who was a fine swimmer dove down, and seizing the desk brought it up, to our astonishment and joy. We were then in funds which enabled us to pay off our officers and hands, and have some left with which to pay off outstanding debts.

After a few days we were relieved by Mr. Prentis, and I returned home to make the necessary arrangements for raising the boat. Later I took her to New Albany where she was repaired and put into the St. Louis trade by Captain Prentis and afterwards by J. J. Preston, who took her into the upper Mississippi and ran her a while between St. Louis and Galena without much success. She afterwards was lost on her way in a flood when in course of repairs. Thus ends the eventful history of the Steamboat *Mechanic*.

Yours, &c.,

WYLLYS HALL.

LAFAYETTE IN CINCINNATI.

From the Journal of John Hough James.

AUGUST 27, 1824.

By the mail this evening we have received intelligence of General Lafayette's arrival in New York on the 15th inst. accompanied by his son and Mr. Auguste Levasseur. This is an event which has been anxiously looked for by every American citizen. Before his departure from France he had received

every testimonial of profiered welcome from the national and state governments and the municipal authorities of our most wealthy and populous cities. Preparations are everywhere made to honor him as man was never honored before.

MONDAY, MAY 9, 1825.

This morning we were aroused early by the sound of a gun which was quickly followed by others. I was certain that it announced the approach of Lafayette, who was expected today. We were told that he was at Fotaines (four miles below) where, at the request of the committee, he was waiting to be received by the military. Some hours afterwards we learned that it was the work of some wags who pretended to bear a message from the committee in Louisville to the commanders of the steamboats in port, requesting that they would fire the national salute at sunrise.

MAY 18, 1825.

For a week past we have been expecting General Lafayette to reach the city this day. It has been so announced in the papers and quite an immense number of persons have come in from the country. This morning we have learned from the driver of the Lexington coach that he will not come until tomorrow.

THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1825.

The intelligence that General Lafayette would arrive in Covington at twelve o'clock has thrown the whole town into a virtuous excitement that I never saw before. The whole shore was lined with people, and every window that commanded a view of his approach and reception was crowded with ladies. Through all the crowd there was a delight and anxiety which had attended him since his first landing, as we learn from the *Gazette*, but which I feared would not be anticipated in Cincinnati.

He, with his suite, and the Governor of Kentucky were conveyed over the Ohio in a beautiful six oared barge under the command of midshipman Rowan. Meantime a salute was fired

by the artillery company who had placed their guns on the bank of the river.

The General, having been received by the Governor of Ohio and the deputation from the committee on behalf of the city, was conveyed in a barouche through a long line of the city troops to the Cincinnati Hotel, where he was received by the committee and addressed by General Harrison.

At five o'clock he visited the Lodge, which had been in session for two hours, where he was received with the grand honors and addressed by each lodge represented. In the Lafayette Lodge, George Graham represented the W. M. In his reply the General alluded in most affectionate terms to our Master's illness. I delivered Mr. Neville's ode, which was the last address. I succeeded very well as I was distinctly heard and produced a good effect. Without the ode our lodge would have been last, as it was in the order of addressing, for Mr. Graham was not generally heard. Lafayette's reply to Samuel R. Miller was received with great enthusiasm. "Yes, I was a friend of your fathers and I love their sons" seemed to produce an electric effect. A procession was afterwards formed of all the lodges with the visiting brethren (between three hundred and four hundred in number) to attend our brother to his lodgings, which was done. On arriving at the hotel a portion of the brethren were introduced to him. As the procession returned through Broadway the members of Lafayette Lodge saluted their master who, for a moment, came to greet them. (Illumination and fireworks.)

FRIDAY, MAY 20, 1825.

At an early hour this morning Lafayette received the Sunday-schools, comprising about fifteen hundred children. Afterwards a procession was formed of all the military companies and mechanical societies, with Lafayette in a barouche, and the committee conspicuously placed in carriages. The procession moved to a place on the commons where an address was delivered by Joseph S. Benham. Having learned that in the afternoon he would receive calls from such as wished to see him, I went with Abby Bailey (who was anxious to be near him) to

the house of Mr. Febiger where she, with some other ladies present, were introduced. I had a desire to be presented myself, but before there was an opportunity (he was lying down when we went) a uniformed company requested to be introduced, and when I saw forty of them taking him by the hand — some of them so drunk they could not walk straight — I determined not to add to the oppression he must necessarily feel.

In the evening I went with my mother and sisters to a ball at the hotel. The room was excessively crowded. The General made his appearance about nine. There was a very general shaking of hands with the ladies. At twelve he went on board the *Herald* and sailed for Wheeling. He was accompanied by the Governor of Ohio.

In this visit of Lafayette, after the pleasure of seeing him, nothing has pleased me more than the established character which has been given my old friend, Colonel Denis. He had a long interview with the General in his bedchamber. His alleged rank and character can no longer be the subject of doubt, as they have been with some, but as they never were with me.

SATURDAY, MAY 21.

Today the excitement is all over and with some there is a natural depression of exhaustion and with a few of my friends I find absolute melancholy at the thought that we are not to see the good old man again. This reflection produces in me a deeper regret than I would have felt a month ago at the assurance of never seeing him. In the one case there is a melancholy remembrance, in the other there would have been a brief feeling of disappointed expectation.

Lafayette may, above all other beings, be styled the Honored Man. Ever since he landed in America he has had one continued triumph. During that period the whole nation has been thinking of him and his person has been constantly attended by a joyful greeting. The triumphs of victorious soldiers have often been enforced by the arms that won their battles. What Lafayette receives is given unsought. It is not a momentary burst of feeling from an ignorant multitude, but the free and heartfelt offering of his grateful children.

LAFAYETTE IN CINCINNATI.

From the Journal of Miss Abby Bailey, afterwards Mrs. John Hough James.

APRIL 28, 1825.

This morning sister Ellen and myself were waited upon by the Lafayette committee, so called, consisting of Mrs. Garard, Mrs. and Miss MacAllister, Mrs. Broom and their escort, Major Broom, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Haines and Mr. Drake, for the purpose of persuading us to join a troop of female cavalry under the direction of Mrs. Broom and her husband, which it was intended should meet General Lafayette five miles from the city and escort him in. One of the ladies is to deliver an address to the General. For the purpose of deliberating upon this business a meeting was called at Mrs. Benbridge's at 3 o'clock this afternoon, which I have promised to attend without the slightest intention of joining the party.

I have just returned from the committee, and it being a very novel thing to me afforded some amusement. There were not many ladies present besides the committee. The orator was chosen by ballot and the choice fell on Mrs. Broom. The next thing of consideration was the dress which would be proper to wear on the occasion, and black and green were the opposing colors. The war was not so fatal or bloody as that in olden times between red and white, but there were some smart squibs among the fair ladies. Green was at length chosen and the parties agreed to meet Tuesday afternoon to rehearse.

MAY 18, 1825.

This is one of the days set for the arrival of our beloved and honored guest, Lafayette, the last report having stated that he would reach this place this evening or tomorrow morning. The good people of the town are therefore on tip-toe and it looks as if it were a general holiday, for no one seems to think that he should do anything but look about. For the past month everything that was said and done had some reference to the arrival of Lafayette, and for some days past our city has been filling with strangers from the different towns in the neighbor-

hood. Many old revolutionary soldiers have traveled from the interior of the state to see their old friend and fellow soldier.

MAY 19, 1825.

I have seen *him* and I am truly grateful to heaven that I was not prevented from having that distinguished honor by the ill health of myself or that of some member of the family. At ten o'clock sister Ellen, Mrs. Irwin, Mr. and Mrs. Whiteman, Mr. Irwin and myself went to the hotel where we were invited to take possession of Benson's room in the front of the hotel where we had an excellent view of the other side of the river; saw him get into the barge, which was handsomely decorated with flags and bore the name of *Yorktown*. As soon as he entered the boat there was a salute fired and they continued to give tremendous discharges until he reached the shore. Having then entered an open carriage, he rode bare-headed to the hotel, surrounded by the military and an immense number of citizens. I shall never forget my sensation as the carriage came sufficiently near for me to distinguish his features. The pleased and benevolent expression of his countenance as he raised his eyes to the windows where we were waving our handkerchiefs was too much for me. I burst into tears, but as I knew I could not look and cry at the same time I made a strong effort to conquer my emotions and look to the last. In front of the hotel he alighted and was conducted to a platform erected for the purpose at the corner of Front and Broadway, where he was addressed at some length by General Harrison. I could just see his head whilst he was addressing, and the motion when returning an answer to General Harrison, but not the expression, nor could I hear any of the words.

In the afternoon I went to Mr. Raguets to see the procession of the lodge. I saw the General arrive and then returned to Mr. Reynold's to see them return. There was a very long procession of Masons and General Lafayette walked to the hotel in the procession. In the evening, after having lighted our house, which was ornamented to the best of our ability, we went out to see the illumination of the town in which I was rather disappointed. It was very partially lighted and had not a good effect. After walking some time, Mr. James proposed going to

the fireworks, which were made in honor of the General. We went and I was very much delighted, it being an entirely new sight to me. We saw the General there and his suite

FRIDAY MORNING.

This morning there was a procession of all the Sunday-schools, which formed at the corner of Broadway and Front streets. The General passed in among them and was, it is said, highly delighted. Mr. James and I then walked around to Mr. Reynold's in Main street to see the procession, military and civilian, which was to conduct the General to the commons on which seats and an arbor were erected, and where the General was to be addressed by Mr. Benham. I did not go out to hear the address, but have since read it in the paper, and was much pleased with it.

In the afternoon Mr. James came around to inform me that the General would be visible for a short time at Mr. Febiger's, so I got ready in haste and, accompanied by Mr. James and my brother, went up. The General was lying down when we went, but previous to his going out he came into the room where we sat and was introduced to us separately, and we had the honor of shaking hands with him. In the evening we went to the Lafayette ball where there was an immense crowd of people from all parts of the country and many from Kentucky. In the course of the evening I was so near him that I could hear him converse, which was what I was extremely anxious to do. General Scott arrived and I was witness to the meeting between him and Lafayette, which was very cordial. General Scott said he had been miserable since he had heard of his danger, alluding to the sinking of the boat in which he was traveling. In the course of the evening I had again the pleasure of shaking hands with him. At twelve o'clock he started for Wheeling in the steamboat *Herald*. His departure was announced by repeated firing of guns. We left the ball room immediately after him and went down to the bank to see the boat off.

Since his departure I have felt a blank which I never felt before, except on the loss of some near and dear friend, and when alone and unrestrained by fear of observation, I never

think of him without bursting into a flood of tears. Since I have commenced writing this brief notice of his visit I have been obliged to throw down my pen repeatedly to indulge in a burst of feeling so mingled in its nature that I can not define it, but the melancholy feeling that I shall see him no more predominates all. I have often said and always thought that there is nothing truly great but goodness, but before I saw Lafayette I never had a practical illustration of how great goodness is. His countenance is the most benign that can be imagined and is truly indicative of the heaven within.

REMINISCENCES.

MRS. W. L. RALSTON, MARIETTA, DECEMBER 12, 1898.

My father, Nahum Ward, was in France in 1823 and called on Lafayette, who was a personal friend of his grandfather, General Artemus Ward, during the war of the revolution. On that visit General Lafayette presented my father with a cane, the one with which he walked in the prison of Olmutz, and which he always highly prized. It is now the property of my brother's daughter.

When it was known that Lafayette would come from New Orleans by steamer up the Mississippi and Ohio, my father wrote to a friend of his who was in the party, asking that they make a stop in Marietta. But an accident delayed the trip and they could only land at the wharf about an hour or two.

Such word having been received, arrangements were made to receive the General and his escort at my father's house. The schools were dismissed and notice given by crier throughout the town. Old and young in great numbers arranged themselves on each side of the walk leading from the house to the gate. After a brief call in the house, General Lafayette walked down to the gate and up again, shaking hands with each one.

All this I remember, but as I was only five years old. I have no recollection of his personal appearance.

MARY LOVING WILLIAMS.

OCTOBER, 1898.

When I was about six years old General Lafayette visited Cincinnati, and how distinctly I remember the great preparations that were made for the reception! Steamboat excursions from the surrounding country added to the large crowd that welcomed the General. Arches were built across many of the streets in the city; one I distinctly remember was near my own home, corner Front and Vine streets. These arches were to be illuminated at night, and all the city was illuminated. In those days there was no gas nor electricity for illumination, only tallow candles. The arch near my own home caught fire from the candles, and was burned down. Lafayette did not ride under all the arches.

The greatest display was on Broadway, at that time the principal street of the city and very wide. The children of the Sunday-schools assembled here to see the great General. Houses were handsomely decorated. The middle of the street was left clear and Lafayette was driven down in a handsome barouche drawn by white horses. The top of the carriage was turned back so that all could see him. A gentleman standing near, seeing my disappointment, lifted me up on his shoulders saying, "The gentleman on the back seat with red hair is Lafayette." I saw him distinctly as he sat on the back seat with his hat in his hand bowing to the right and to the left as he passed through the street, the immense throng of people cheering.

The people of America are about to manifest their appreciation of this great and good man who accomplished so much for American independence, by erecting in Paris, France, a monument to his precious memory. All the school children of the country will make contributions for it. The monument will be unveiled July 4th, 1900.

Although I was very young the sight of Lafayette made a deep impression on my mind. I remember it distinctly, at the age of nearly eighty years. My older sister strewed flowers in General Lafayette's pathway in Cincinnati.

ACCOUNT OF LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO MARIETTA.

By George Woodbridge.

In December, 1898, Mr. George Woodbridge, one of the pioneers of Marietta, wrote the following account of Lafayette's visit:

The people of Marietta, and indeed those of all Washington county, were more or less acquainted with the daring deeds of Lafayette and his noble assistance rendered to the States in their struggle for independence. His visit was heralded with great joy by all the people. His promised visit to Marietta was much enhanced by the statements made by officers and crew of the steamboat *Mechanic*, built, owned and manned by Washington county men. On this boat Lafayette and his suite were transported to Nashville, and the crew had all witnessed the reception there and at the Hermitage, the home of General Jackson, and also the coolness of Lafayette in the hour of peril when their ill fated steamer, striking a snag, went to the bottom of the river.

At a meeting of the citizens of Marietta, a reception committee had been appointed with Nahum Ward as chairman and the day announced for Lafayette's arrival.

One peaceful morning in May, 1825, the citizens of the town were startled by the booming of cannon. A great concourse of people assembled at the river bank, and soon a little steamer, *The Herald*, was descried, and across her bow in great white letters was seen the name of Lafayette.

Mr. Nahum Ward had visited Lafayette in Paris, and now met the General and his suite at the boat and drove with them directly to his house. The news of Lafayette's arrival had spread like wildfire, and almost at once Mr. Ward's house and grounds were filled with people. Even the up-stairs rooms were crowded, and one woman was discovered on the back stairs, breathless with excitement, inquiring eagerly for "the Lafayette," and declaring impetuously that she must see "it" as she had come expressly for that purpose. What she imagined the great Frenchman to be no one had time to find out.

Finally the people were prevailed on to arrange themselves in lines on either side of the long front walk, and Lafayette

passed up and down between them. Everybody was introduced and shaken hands with, and even the babies were kissed by this great man whom all America delighted to honor.

As the boat could wait only a few hours, these demonstrations soon came to an end, and amid the booming of cannon and the cheers of the people, *The Herald* steamed off once more and bore Lafayette over the blue waters of the Ohio.

Among the most highly prized relics in the Ward family, is a cane which Lafayette carried when he was confined at the Olmutz prison, and which he presented to Mr. Ward in Paris.

NOTES.

The materials for the foregoing account of Lafayette's visit to the Ohio Valley states was collected in part some years ago in an effort to have available information for use on a subject that had previously been rather meagerly presented in fragmentary notices and sketches. Considerable difficulty was then experienced in getting the welcome addresses of governors and Lafayette's replies. This was especially true with reference to the state of Illinois. The official welcome was finally contributed by Edward Coles of Philadelphia, a son of Governor Coles. It appears that files of newspapers published in Vandalia, Kaskaskia, Edwardsville and Shawneetown at the time of Lafayette's visit are now available and doubtless give complete accounts of his reception. So far as the writer is aware, however, this source of information has not been used in any recent publication.

The account of Lafayette's visit to Lexington could have been made much more complete. Material at hand was not used, however, in view of the fact that Maud Ward Lafferty at a recent meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association read a paper entitled "When Lafayette Came to Lexington," which contains a very complete account of the General's visit and which will doubtless appear later in published form.

Captain Wyllys Hall's account of the wrecking of the steamboat *Mechanic* is published from a manuscript in the possession of the library of Marietta College, a transcript of which was furnished some time ago by the librarian of that repository of early Ohio history.

TRIBUTES TO LAFAYETTE.

It is certainly not strange that when America entered the World War thoughts of Lafayette should be in the minds of the khaki-clad boys as they marched to the camps and battle fields. Our literature bears eloquent testimony to the fact that the American people at no time have forgotten Lafayette and his services in the Revolution. From the triumph of the American cause at Yorktown down to the famous declaration of General Pershing at the tomb of Lafayette, there have been manifestations of America's never failing gratitude.

Daniel Webster at the laying of the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument in 1825 on which occasion Lafayette was present; President John Quincy Adams in his farewell address; Edward Everett and Charles Sumner in famous lectures; Chauncey M. Depew at the unveiling of Bartholdi's statue of Liberty enlightening the world; Ambassador Porter, Archbishop Ireland and others in Paris on July 4, 1900, at the unveiling of an equestrian statue of Lafayette presented chiefly by the school children of America, all paid eloquent tribute to the "friend of freedom in Europe and America." The celebration of "Lafayette Day" in 1898 by the school children and the contribution of their pennies for the erection of this statue doubtless prepared the youth of America to enter the World War in the spirit of Lafayette.

We here present a few extracts from the large field of tribute:

Fortunate man! With what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted through you, from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues.—*Daniel Webster at the laying of the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument.*

You are ours by that more than patriotic self-devotion with which you flew to the aid of our fathers at the crisis of their fate; ours by that long series of years in which you have cherished us in your regard; ours by that unshaken sentiment of gratitude for your services which is a precious portion of our inheritance; ours by that tie of love, stronger than death, which has linked your name, for the countless ages of time, with the name of Washington. — *President John Quincy Adams, in farewell address to Lafayette.*

The strong and universal sentiment found expression in familiar words, repeated everywhere:

"We bow not the neck,
We bend not the knee,
But our hearts, Lafayette,
We surrender to thee."

It belongs to the glory of Lafayette that he inspired this sentiment, and it belongs to the glory of our country to have felt it. — *Charles Sumner in speaking of the visit of Lafayette to America.*

As the centuries roll by, and in the fullness of time the rays of liberty's torch are the beacon lights of the world, the central niches in the earth's Pantheon of Freedom will be filled by the figures of Washington and Lafayette. The story of this young French noble's life is the history of the time which made possible this statue, and his spirit is the very soul of this celebration. — *Chauncey M. Depew at the unveiling of the Bartholdi statue of Liberty.*

It is a fitting occasion upon which to solemnly dedicate a monument in honor of a hero of two continents, the immortal Lafayette. * * * He needs no eulogist. His services attest his worth. He honored the age in which he lived and future generations will be illumed by the brightness of his fame. — *Ambassador Horace Porter at the unveiling of an equestrian statue of Lafayette in Paris July 4, 1900.*

As long as the starry banner shall float, so long shall the name of Lafayette be loved and honored beyond the sea, — so long also shall the country that gave him birth, whose spirit and chivalry he personified, be loved and honored in the United States of America. — *Archbishop Ireland at unveiling of equestrian statue of Lafayette in Paris July 4, 1900.*

The children of America, assembled in their various study rooms, gave in a single day the funds necessary to insure the success of this monument. * * * On that day a tribute was

paid to Lafayette unparalleled in the annals of civilization. — *Robert J. Thompson at the unveiling of equestrian statue of Lafayette in Paris July 4, 1900.*

In person Lafayette was tall and powerfully built, with broad shoulders, deep chest, and a tendency in later life toward corpulence. His features were large and strongly marked. He had much dignity of manner and was ordinarily quiet and self-possessed. Perhaps the best testimony to his purity of character is the fact that his bitterest detractors, in the absence of any other available charge, are in the habit of insisting upon his vanity. Among all the eminent Frenchmen of the revolutionary period, he was perhaps the only one in whose career there was nothing to be really ashamed of. His traits of character were solid rather than brilliant; and he was too thoroughly imbued with American ideas to identify himself with any one of the violent movements originating in the French revolution of 1789. His love of constitutional liberty was too strong for him to cooperate either with Bourbons or with Jacobins or with Bonapartists; and from all three quarters attempts have been made to detract from his rightful fame. — *Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography.*

EXECUTIVE MANSION.

Here is presented a cut of the attractive and substantial building that was erected by C. H. Lindenberg at 1234 East Broad street in 1904 and occupied by him from April, 1905, until the title of the property passed to the state in 1919. It is a commodious mansion of about thirty rooms appropriately furnished.



After the property was acquired by the state the interior of the building was remodeled and an additional adjacent tract of land purchased for eighteen thousand dollars was made a part of the mansion grounds. It was occupied as a governor's residence early in 1920.

Briefly stated the legislative history of the acquisition of the property is as follows:

The building of an executive mansion had at different times been recommended in governors' messages and action to carry

such recommendation into effect had been taken or attempted by the general assembly.

On February 16, 1917 a resolution was adopted authorizing the appointment of a committee to "investigate the cost of purchasing a residence already erected and also the cost of purchasing a site and causing a proper residence to be erected thereon" in Columbus "to be used as a home for future governors of the state". (107 O. L. 760.)

On March 30, 1917 the governor approved an act authorizing an Executive Mansion Board and appropriating one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars to purchase a site and erect thereon "a building for use as a home for the future governors of the state".

Under the provisions of this act a site was purchased. It later appeared desirable to acquire a different site with a building already erected. Accordingly on February 26, 1919 the governor approved an act amending the act of March 30, 1917 and authorizing the board

"To purchase a dwelling in the city of Columbus, with the grounds pertaining thereto, for use as a home for the governors of this state; to purchase other grounds adjacent to such dwelling; to remove any of the buildings thereon; to alter or repair said dwelling; to further improve and embellish said grounds; to fully furnish and equip said dwelling for residence purposes; to make expenditures for any other purposes which the Board shall find necessary or proper in furtherance of the end in view; and to exchange the present site intended for an Executive Mansion (heretofore purchased by said Board) in part payment for the dwelling above stated".

On the Executive Mansion Board were appointed three former governors of Ohio: James E. Campbell, Chairman; Myron T. Herrick and Judson Harmon. The building and spacious grounds have been acquired within the original appropriation.

A BUCKEYE TREE FOR THE LAWN OF THE EXECUTIVE MANSION.

When the property for the Governor's mansion was acquired by the state it was promptly fitted and equipped for occupancy. Rare furniture was purchased, some of it of early date and



GOVERNOR COX AND JACK PRICE, SON OF ATTORNEY GENERAL AND MRS. JOHN G. PRICE, PLANTING A BUCKEYE TREE AT THE GOVERNOR'S MANSION, COLUMBUS, OHIO, MAY 20, 1920.

The tree grew from a buckeye planted at the Joseph Royer homestead in Massillon, Ohio, on which Jack's mother, who was Miss Salome Royer, was born.

historical association. The grounds were put in order and the landscape gardener gave the lawn the final artistic setting.

One matter was overlooked, however. In the spacious yard of the mansion for the buckeye Governor there was no buckeye tree. Attention was drawn to this by Ireland of the *Columbus Dispatch* in the "Passing Show".

This notice caught the eye of young Jack Price, son of Attorney General and Mrs. John G. Price, and he at once recalled that he had in possession just what was needed to make the mansion and grounds a strictly Ohio institution. He had a young buckeye tree which he presented to Governor Cox. This tree has a history. It grew from a buckeye seed planted at the Joseph Royer homestead on East South St., Massillon, Ohio, where Jack's mother, who was Miss Salome C. Royer, was born. The buckeye, when but a small bush, was removed from Massillon to the Price home at 1356 Neil Ave., Columbus, in the year 1915, where it had grown to a tree about ten feet in height when it was transplanted on the lawn of the Governor's mansion on May 20, 1920.

The planting of this young buckeye tree was widely noted through the press of the state. The *Massillon Independent* of May 22, 1920, contains the following editorial under the caption "Made in Massillon, Shade for the Governor's Lawn":

"A 14-year old grandson of Massillon Thursday strengthened Massillon's claim to a place in the hall of fame.

"Master Jack Price, son of John Price, attorney general of Ohio, and Mrs. Salome Royer Price, the latter a native daughter of Massillon, Thursday went out with Governor Cox on the lawn of the governor's mansion at Columbus and there planted a buckeye tree, the only one of its kind within the confines of the official property, and a tree which, as a tiny sprig, first saw the light of day in the lot of the former residence of Mrs. Price, in East South street, Massillon.

"The simple ceremony, in which the governor and Master Jack were the chief participants, followed the discovery of the fact that the lawn of the governor's mansion bore not a single buckeye, the beautiful tree which has given the state its familiar name. Master Jack remembered the little tree which he had tenderly transported from Massillon and then a flourishing oc-

cupant of his own back yard. He offered it to the governor, and the governor not only accepted, but agreed to help plant it. So Thursday the ceremony was performed and henceforth a Massillon-made shade producer will assist in keeping cool the establishment of the governor in summer, and by winter enhance the beauty of an otherwise barren landscape.

"But aside from the scenic effects created by the presence of the Massillon buckeye on the governor's lawn, there will be those who will claim for it other virtues. Many years ago people were wont to carry in their pockets buckeyes to keep away illness and evil spirits. The secret of this mysterious power of the horse chestnut over the enemies of the human body and mind was never explained. It was claimed to exist and that was all that was necessary. Many who did not believe in the efficacy of the buckeye carried one just to be on the safe side and give the alleged protector the benefit of the doubt.

"Those early believers and their latter-day followers very likely will feel much safer now that a buckeye tree is flourishing on the lawn of the official mansion of the chief executive of the state of Ohio, for they will argue that, if a single buckeye is capable of preserving the health of the mind and body of an individual, a whole tree surely will do as much for a governor.

"What power for good the buckeye possesses in political life will be seen at San Francisco next month."

The *Canton Repository* of May 20, 1920, contains a news item from which the following is an extract:

"'Jack' Price, 14, son of Attorney General John G. Price, formerly of Canton, presented to Governor Cox today a young buckeye tree which was grown from a Buckeye planted ten years ago on the homestead of the young man's mother, formerly Miss Salome C. Royer, of Massillon. Young Price took the tree to Columbus, transplanted it at his home on Neil Ave. and has carefully nurtured it for several years.

"When attention was called to the fact in a Columbus newspaper last week that there were no buckeye trees in the yard at the governor's mansion, Jack Price decided to offer the tree to the governor. The gift was accepted and the governor personally assisted young Price today in planting the tree."

THE OHIO BUCKEYE.

In a pamphlet entitled "Ohio Emblems and Monuments" compiled by the editor of the *QUARTERLY* in 1906 is an account of the Ohio Buckeye which is here reproduced in adapted form.

It is somewhat singular, but true nevertheless, that the average Ohioan is not able to point out with certainty the tree whose name is the soubriquet of his state. In the popular descriptions, fact and fancy, science and oratory are so promiscuously blended that there is nothing remarkable in the resulting confusion.

F. Andrew Michaux, the eminent French botanist who visited this country in 1807, was somewhat unfortunate in his description of the Ohio Buckeye, or *pavia Ohioensis*. He says:

"This species of the horse chestnut, which is mentioned by no author that has hitherto treated of the trees and plants of North America, is unknown in the Atlantic parts of the United States. I have found it only beyond the mountains, and particularly on the banks of the Ohio for an interval of about 100 miles, between Pittsburgh and Marietta, where it is extremely common. It is called "buckeye" by the inhabitants, but as this name has been given to the *pavia lutea*, I have denominated it "Ohio buckeye" because it is most abundant on the banks of this river, and have prefixed the synonym of "American horse chestnut" because it proved to be a proper horse chestnut by its fruit, which is prickly like that of the Asiatic species instead of that of the *paviae*.

"The ordinary stature of the American horse chestnut is ten or twelve feet, but it sometimes equals thirty or thirty-five feet in height and twelve or fifteen inches in diameter. The leaves are palmated and consist of five leaflets parting from a common center, unequal in size, oval-acuminate and irregularly toothed. The entire length of the leaf is nine or ten inches, and its breadth six or eight inches.

"The bloom of this tree is brilliant. Its flowers appear early in the spring and are collected in numerous white bunches. The fruit is one of the same color with that of the common horse chestnut and of the large buckeye, and of about half the size. It is contained in fleshy, prickly capsules, and is ripe in the beginning of autumn.



OHIO BUCKEYE.



HORSE CHESTNUT.

"On the trunk of the largest trees the bark is blackish and the cellular integument is impregnated with a venomous and disagreeable odor. The wood is white, soft and wholly useless."

The Ohio buckeye tree reaches an average height of considerably more than twelve feet, but the greatest error of the French botanist is in the description of the bloom. This is far from "brilliant." The flowers are inconspicuous, never white, always a yellowish green. Michaux makes amends in part for his mistake by inserting a plate of a cluster of flowers which are not white, as stated in the text, but yellowish green as seen in nature. For ornamental purposes the tree has nothing to make it preferred to the horse chestnut.

As the two trees are frequently confused in the popular mind the following points of difference may help the casual observer to readily distinguish them: the leaf of the horse chestnut is said to be seven fingered, it divides into seven leaflets; the leaf of the buckeye is five fingered, it divides into five leaflets. There are variations from this rule. Sometimes the divisions of the horse chestnut leaf are fewer than seven leaflets, but seven is the prevailing number. The buckeye rarely has a leaf of six leaflets and more frequently of fewer than five, but the prevailing number is five. The leaflets of the horse chestnut are larger and broader near the point than those of the buckeye.

The flowers of the horse chestnut are cone shaped and showy, almost white in color with slight markings of pink and brown. The flower of the buckeye is much smaller, light green in color and so nearly the shade of the fresh leaves that they are inconspicuous, blending in the general light green of the foliage. The horse chestnut, as a rule, blooms later than the buckeye. The two cuts published herewith show very distinctly the contrast in form of the leaves. They were taken from sprays of the horse chestnut and the buckeye cut from Columbus trees on the same day. It will be noticed that the flowers of the buckeye are gone and the fruit has started development while the horse chestnut is in full bloom.

How the buckeye got its name is quite obvious. "When the shell cracks and exposes to view the rich brown nut with the pale brown scar, the resemblance to the half-opened eye of a

deer is not fancied but real. From this resemblance came the name buckeye."

How it happened that Ohio was called the Buckeye State is not so certainly known. Dr. S. P. Hildreth, the pioneer historian of Marietta, in describing the ceremonies attending the opening of the first court of the Northwest Territory, September 2, 1788, mentions the presence of a large body of Indians, representing some of the most powerful tribes of the northwest, who had come for the purpose of making a treaty. These sons of the forest were much impressed with the ceremonials. They especially admired the bearing of the high sheriff, Col. Ebenezer Sproat, a man of splendid physique, who with drawn sword, led the procession, and called him "Hetuck," which in our language signified "big buckeye." This expression of admiration was afterward frequently applied to Col. Sproat, "and became a sort of nickname by which he was familiarly known among his associates."

"That," says the historian, "was certainly the first known application to an individual in the sense now used, but there is no evidence that the name continued to be so used and applied from that time forward, or that it became a fixed and accepted soubriquet of the state and people until more than half a century afterwards; during all of which time the buckeye continued to be an object of more or less interest, and as immigration made its way across the state, and the settlements extended into the rich valleys where it was found by travellers and explorers, and was by them carried back to the east and shown as a rare curiosity from what was then known as the 'far west,' possessing certain medical properties for which it was rarely prized. But the name never became fully crystallized until 1840, when in the crucible of what is known as the 'bitterest, longest and most extraordinary political contest ever waged in the United States,' the name Buckeye became a fixed soubriquet of the State of Ohio and its people, known and understood wherever either is spoken of, and likely to continue as long as either shall be remembered or the English language endures."

The Ohio campaign opened at Columbus, February 22, 1840. Among the striking devices to attract attention was a log cabin

from Union county, "built of buckeye logs, upon a wagon drawn in the procession by horses." Within the cabin and on the roof the jolly campaigners sang a song composed by Otway Curry for the occasion, the words of which were in part as follows:

"O where, tell me where
Was your buckeye cabin made?
* * * * *

"'Twas built among the merry boys
Who wield the plough and spade,
Where the log-cabins stand,
In the bonnie buckeye shade.

"Oh what, tell me what, is to be your cabin's fate?
* * * * *

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

While this remarkable campaign did much to fix the appellation and gave it wide currency, there is evidence that its significance was generally well understood at a much earlier date. Cyrus P. Bradley, while in Ohio in the summer of 1835, made this entry in his journal:

"We were shown many specimens of the buckeye, the shrub or tree from which the inhabitants of Ohio derive their national soubriquet. It bears a round nut, which is covered with an outer rind or shell, and on whose surface appears a white circular spot like the pupil of the eye."

This shows conclusively that the emblematic significance of the buckeye was known at least five years before the Tippecanoe campaign. Just when it was first applied to the state of Ohio and its citizenship, is a problem for the local historians of the future. Here is an opportunity for some industrious student who will faithfully consult the literature of Ohio from 1788 to 1835. The newspapers published from 1793 to the latter date, almost continuous files of which are now available in Ohio and other libraries, would probably throw light upon this interesting subject.

In the light of the foregoing statements, we must not take too literally many of the fanciful things that have been said and

written of the buckeye. It is true, as Dr. Drake observes, that "it is not merely a native of the West, but peculiar to it; has received from the botanist the specific name of *Ohioensis*, from its abundance in our beautiful valley; and is the only tree of our whole forest that does not grow elsewhere." It was never extensively used, however, for many of the other qualities that he enumerates in his entertaining and inspiring address at a banquet given in Cincinnati, on the occasion of the forty-fourth anniversary of the admission of Ohio into the Union. The wood, which is light, soft and strong, has been used for bowls and artificial limbs. The bark has certain medicinal qualities. The fruit, though not edible, is beautiful to look upon. Though inferior in its foliage to the horse chestnut and the sugar maple, it can be trained into an attractive shade tree. All things considered, the name of no other tree of our primeval forest, perhaps, could more appropriately have been chosen as the soubriquet of Ohio.

For interesting and very appreciative descriptions of the buckeye, see the following:

Howe's "Historical Collections," Vol. 1, pages 210-17. In these pages will be found a description by William M. Farrar, including the address by Dr. Drake.

The Ohio Magazine for August, 1906. Here will be found under the caption "Ohio Tree Family," a fine article by Lena Kline Reed, appropriately illustrated, in which is told the story of the Ohio Buckeye tree.

Vol. X, of the New International Encyclopaedia, opposite page 232, contains fine illustrations of the Ohio buckeye and the horse chestnut. The modern botanical name of the former is *asculus glabra*; of the latter, *asculus hippocastanum*.

OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BY THE EDITOR.

SCIOTO SKETCHES

Every county in Ohio has an interesting pioneer history. This is especially true of the counties bordering the Ohio river, which from its discovery to the advent of the canal and the Old National Road was the route over which the westward "course of empire" took its way. The junction of this river with its tributaries formed natural sites for early settlements. Noted among these were Marietta at the mouth of the Muskingum and Cincinnati at the mouth of the Little Miami.

Where the Scioto joins the Ohio, the foundations of the city of Portsmouth were laid more than a century ago. That Scioto county has a pioneer history of absorbing interest is made evident in "Scioto Sketches," a compactly and well written book of 80 pages, by Henry Towne Bannon, a well known attorney of Portsmouth, and recently published by A. C. McClurg and Co., of Chicago.

The large volume compiled by the late Captain Nelson W. Evans and published in 1903 is a storehouse of information on Scioto county, but it does not include some of the interesting history of date prior to the first permanent white settlement. This is presented by Mr. Bannon, whose purpose in writing the "Sketches" is set forth in his preface as follows:

"Time is a mystic lens which gradually diminishes mere incidents until they vanish; but it magnifies events, destined to survive, until they stand forth in notable prominence, and form the subjects of history. Each generation makes its own history; the succeeding generations write it. The purpose of this little book is to perpetuate, in convenient form, such salient events

in the past of Scioto County, as have lived for more than a century, and are deemed worthy of chronicle."

The limits thus set by the author confine his narrative to the period from the discovery of the Ohio to 1820. The discovery of the river is generally credited to La Salle, but as Mr. Bannon observes this claim has elements of weakness and there is a growing tendency to doubt whether to the great French explorer belongs the honor which for two and one-half centuries his countrymen have claimed for him.

The voyage of Celoron and Bonnechamps in 1749 and the exploring tour of Christopher Gist in 1751 are given due prominence, and quotations from the journals of each are made, referring especially to their visits to the mouth of the Scioto river.

In pioneer times the Indians were very troublesome in the vicinity of Portsmouth. Opposite the mouth of the Scioto was a rocky promontory commanding a view for miles up and down the river. Here the Indians would secrete themselves and attack the packet boats as they passed. The author quotes from Burnet's "Notes on the North Western Territory" as follows:

"The pioneers who descended the Ohio, on their way westward, will remember while they live, the lofty rock standing a short distance above the mouth of the Scioto on the Virginia shore, which was occupied for years by the savages, as a favorite watch-tower, from which boats, ascending and descending, could be discovered at a great distance. From that memorable spot, hundreds of human beings, men, women and children, while unconscious of immediate danger, have been seen in the distance and marked for destruction. The murders and depredations committed in that vicinity at all periods of the war, were so shocking as to attract universal notice; letters were written to General Harmar, from various quarters, calling his attention to the subject, and praying that measures might be taken, without delay, to check the evil. They informed him that scarcely a boat passed the rock without being attacked and in most instances captured; and that unless something were done and without delay, the navigation of the river would necessarily be abandoned."

Mr. Bannon then continues:

"Such, in general terms, was the menace at the mouth of the Scioto River, and this not only prevented an early settlement there, but also prevented it over a vast area in southern

Ohio. Here the Indians of Ohio made their final stand against the stream of immigration that was pouring into Kentucky and Ohio.

"The treachery and savagery of the Indians, who waylaid the whites at the mouth of the Scioto, may be shown by two incidents, the type of many. In 1790 four men and two women, were descending the Ohio to Maysville. Their boat drifted with the current during the night. At daylight, they drew near the mouth of the Scioto. The lookout saw smoke ascending among the trees and aroused the party, because he knew that Indians were near. As the fire was on the Ohio shore, the boat was steered towards the opposite side. Two white men ran down the river bank on the Ohio shore, and begged the people in the boat to rescue them from a band of Indians, from whom they asserted they had escaped. But those in the boat, fearing treachery, kept in midstream. It was well known to them that renegade white men often lived among the Indians; also, that white boys, if captured by the Indians while very young, and reared to manhood with them, absorbed the cunning of the Indian. The feigned distress of those on shore was so real, however, that the women and one of the men on the boat prevailed upon the others to go to the shore for the two men. Still, there was much misgiving, and during the discussion the boat drifted about a mile below the place where the white men were first seen on the bank. The travelers in the boat reasoned that if Indians were trying to decoy them ashore, the Indians were on top of the bank, out of sight in the brush, where their progress in following the boat would necessarily be slow; that there would be no danger if the boat merely touched the shore, without landing, thereby permitting the two men to jump on board, and immediately push away; that, should the Indians appear, the boat could hastily put back from the shore. Such reasoning caused the boat to be turned towards the Ohio bank.

"But after the boat left midstream, it lost the effect of the current and moved very slowly. This fact had not been taken into consideration. As the boat touched the shore, one of the boatmen leaped off, to be ready to quickly shove it back into the stream. Immediately, some Indians ran down from the bushes. That they had been running along the bank was apparent; for they were almost out of breath. They were able to reach the boat, however, because it lost headway when it left the current. They seized the boatman who had landed. Many other Indians came upon the scene at once and opened fire with their rifles. One of the women was killed. One of the men was severely wounded and another was killed. The Indians boarded the boat, scalped the dead, and possessed themselves of all property.

One of the men, captured upon this occasion, was burned at the stake. Another was compelled to run the gauntlet and was condemned to death; but he escaped and made his way to the white settlements. The remaining man was ransomed by a French trader of Sandusky. The surviving woman was rescued by an Indian chief, after she had been tied to a stake to be burned to death. Later she was returned to her people.

"The following day the same band of Indians attacked a flotilla coming down the river. This flotilla was composed of both freight and passenger boats. The Indians compelled their prisoners to row their boats for them, and they attacked so vigorously that the passenger boats abandoned their freight boats. The loss to this flotilla was a serious one as there were twenty-eight horses on the freight boats and merchandise worth seventy-five hundred dollars."

Two interesting chapters are devoted to "Forests and Birds" and "Big Game of Scioto County". Because of their general interest we include here extended quotations.

WILD BIRDS

"The wild turkey formerly existed in great numbers in Ohio and Kentucky, especially along the river bottoms. Audubon writes that they were abundant in Kentucky. That they could be purchased at reasonable prices is apparent from the following information appearing in his best known work:

'A first-rate Turkey, weighing from twenty-five to thirty pounds avoirdupois, was considered well sold when it brought a quarter of a dollar.'

"Wild turkeys were easily caught in pens. A covered rail pen, about four feet high, would be built in a vicinity frequented by turkeys. A trench was then dug under one of the sides into the pen. The deepest part of the trench was under the wall of the pen. The bottom of this trench sloped gradually upward towards the center of the pen, where it met the surface of the ground. Inside the pen, the trench was partly covered with boards, but enough was left open to allow the turkey to enter the pen from the trench. Corn was scattered along the entrance of the pen and into it, and the turkeys literally ate their way into the pen. Once in the pen, they would wander around trying to find a way out, but the boards concealed most of the trench; at any rate, a turkey never looks toward the ground

for a way to escape. In this manner, several turkeys were caught at a time.

"The wild turkey was much hunted during the autumn and winter; as it afforded a delicious variety to the food of the pioneer. The early writers refer to the use of the dry, white flesh of the breast as a substitute for bread, when flour was not obtainable. Creeks and hollows much frequented by these birds were named for them; but, it was not long until they were exterminated from our county.

"Another bird well known to the pioneer was the passenger pigeon. The numbers in which these birds existed seem simply incredible. During their migrations, they would pass over in flocks miles in length and miles in width. Their numbers were so great that they darkened the sky. There were several roosting places that they frequented in Scioto County. They were killed by the thousands at such places and sold by the wagon-load. Swine were fattened on the bird that is now extinct. A passenger pigeon was killed in Scioto County, just west of Greenlawn cemetery, in 1884 or 1885. This was probably the last one killed in this county. Another was killed in Pike County in March, 1907. This was, in all probability, the last of these birds, not in captivity. It was mounted and is now at the Ohio State University.

"Ruffed grouse were very abundant during pioneer days. This game bird is locally known as the pheasant. Audubon records that grouse were sold in the Cincinnati markets for twelve and one-half cents each. At the coming of autumn, according to Audubon,

'The grouse approach the banks of the Ohio, in parties of eight or ten, now and then of twelve or fifteen, and, on arriving there, linger in the woods close by for a week or fortnight, as if fearful of encountering the danger to be incurred in crossing the stream. This usually happens in the beginning of October when these birds are in the very best of order for the table, and at this period great numbers of them are killed.'

"The ruffed grouse is but rarely seen now, and it will be a matter of but a short time, until this magnificent game bird will be unknown in Scioto County.

"The Carolina parrakeet, or paroquet, was a numerous resident of Scioto County before the development of agriculture. A stone effigy of a parrakeet was found in the Tremper mound. Fortescue Cuming described the flocks of Carolina parrakeets, seen by him at Portsmouth in 1807, as follows:

'We observed here vast numbers of beautiful large green paroquets, which our landlord, Squire Brown, informed us abound all over the country. They keep in flocks, and when they alight on a tree they are not distinguishable from the foliage, from their colour.'

"These birds were so destructive to orchards and wheat that their extermination became an economic necessity. They descended in flocks upon shocks of wheat, destroying what they did not eat; they plucked green apples from the orchards, tearing them open for the seeds. Audubon left an account of why the parrakeets were destroyed and how:

'Do not imagine, reader, that all these outrages are borne without retaliation on the part of the planters. So far from this, the parrakeets are destroyed in great numbers, for whilst busily engaged in plucking off the fruits or tearing the grain from the stacks, the husbandman approaches them with perfect ease, and commits great slaughter among them. All the survivors rise, shriek, fly about for a few moments and again alight on the very place of imminent danger. The gun is kept at work; eight or ten, or even twenty are killed at any discharge.'

"Wood duck were formerly very common about the streams of Scioto County. They frequently nested there; but now, only occasionally one is seen. This is the most beautiful variety of the duck family. It is a migratory bird, and is protected by recent federal legislation. If continued protection is afforded them, they may again be found in great numbers in this region.

"The Virginia partridge, or quail, was well known to the early settlers, and existed in Scioto County in large numbers. The Ohio Geological Survey is doubtful whether quail existed in Ohio before the development of agriculture. According to their authority, the Virginians, who settled in the vicinity of Chillicothe in 1796, noted the absence of quail when they came to Ohio. These Virginians, it is said, had been very familiar with the quail in their old homes, and missed the clear call of bobwhite. The Survey further states that quail were not observed in the vicinity of Chillicothe before 1800.

"The greater weight of authority is to the effect that quail were in Scioto County before any settlements were made. In exploring the Tremper mound, north of Portsmouth, a remarkably faithful stone effigy of a quail was found. The markings and the pose of this figure are so characteristic of the quail, as to lead to the conclusion that whoever made it was very familiar with this bird.

"The journal of David Jones is also excellent authority that quail existed in Ohio prior to the first settlements. He makes

mention, that, while in southeastern Ohio in 1772-3, he saw 'pheasants, pigeons, and some few quails, by some called partridges.'

"Thaddeus Harris, who was in the Ohio Valley in 1803, reports in his journal, that along the river banks, just below Wheeling, he saw "vast numbers of turkies, partridges, and quails." James Flint, in a book, later referred to, reports that quail were very abundant in the vicinity of Chillicothe in 1818. He found them so tame that they would not fly at the report of a gun, nor after the destruction of part of the covey. Netting entire coveys, he says, was then common practice. The journals of other writers report quail to have been very numerous in northern Ohio in 1818, and in Illinois in 1821. The presence of such large numbers of quail in Ohio, and farther west, so soon after the first settlers came, cannot be reconciled with the theory that the quail was not a native of Ohio. Though quail increase rapidly, under favorable conditions, it is improbable, if they were not indigenous to Ohio, that they could have increased to such numbers, as early writers indicate were present in Ohio, soon after settlement."

WILD ANIMALS

"The mammals, found in this region by the settlers, were large and numerous. Here roamed buffalo, elk, whitetailed deer, black bear, wolf, mountain lion, and the wildcat; and in the streams were many beavers.

"In the Geological Survey of Ohio, it is stated that the last reliable account of the killing of a buffalo in Ohio is in the Lacroix manuscript. The same statement is made in Allen's monograph on The Bison. The Lacroix manuscript describes an incident of a Frenchman's killing a buffalo in 1795 near Gallipolis. The inference deduced is that this was the last buffalo killed in Ohio. This conclusion is incorrect, however, for buffalo were killed in Scioto County by the first settlers, who came in 1796.

"The Lacroix manuscript was written by John P. Lacroix, who was for many years a professor at Delaware College, and was published in the Ironton (Ohio) Register in 1855. In describing the incident of the killing of the buffalo in 1795, this manuscript states that buffalo were afterwards killed in the French Grant, (Scioto County) by Lacroix and Duduit. These men did not settle in the Grant until March 21, 1797. Both the Keyes and the Lacroix manuscripts positively establish the killing of buffalo in Ohio after 1797. It is probable that the last buffalo killed in Scioto County fell by the rifle of Phillip Salladay. This

was certainly subsequent to 1796, and is believed to have been about 1801. He and his boy were hunting on Pine Creek, near what is now Chaffins Mills. Salladay and the boy crept up close to the buffalo, and Salladay shot it. The animal was only wounded, and at once ran towards them. As the boy was getting his rifle ready to shoot, the father snatched it from him, and killed the buffalo.

"The elk, also, were here in large numbers, but they were driven farther west about the same time as were the buffalo.

"On November 18, 1818, James Flint, a traveler from Great Britain, left Portsmouth for Chillicothe. He was, at this time, on an extensive journey through America, an account of which was published in England in 1822. He states in this book that he stopped for breakfast at a tavern about four miles north of Portsmouth, and the landlord told him,

"that bears and wolves were still numerous in the uncleared hills; that they devour many hogs and sheep; and that he heard wolves howling within a few yards of his house, on the preceding night."

"Flint also records that "deer are so numerous in this neighborhood, that they are sold at a dollar each."

"It is well known that bears, wolves, and whitetailed deer existed in this region long after the buffalo and elk. The bear was the first to be exterminated, then followed the wolf, and at last the whitetailed deer. To substantiate the report of the abundance of black bears in this region, it may be stated that during the years 1805-07, more than eight thousand bear skins were shipped from the Big Sandy and Guyandotte rivers.

"Three interesting stories have been preserved with reference to black bear in Scioto County. In 1798, while some women were washing clothes in the Little Scioto at the mouth of Bonser's run, five black bears swam across the Little Scioto, and landed just below the women. The women neither fainted nor screamed. They simply set a little dog on the bears, and the dog snapped at the bears' heels so fiercely, and barked so sharply, that soon the bears climbed trees. A hunter by name of Barney Monroe later came along and killed all of them.

"According to the custom of hunters, the one who drew the first blood of the wild animal was entitled to the skin. The meat, however, was divided among all who aided in killing the animal. In this case, the man with the rifle got the bearskins; but the women, who set the dog on the bears, were given their share of the meat.

"George Cochran, who came to Scioto County in 1799, had

a peculiar experience with a black bear. He saw a bear swimming in the Little Scioto, and determined to give chase, though he had no rifle. Finding a canoe tied to the bank, he started in it after the bear. Every time the bear made for the shore, Cochran turned him with the canoe. This finally exasperated the bear, and the next time the bow of the canoe was upon him, he turned and climbed into it. As Cochran was rather careful about the company he kept, he jumped from the canoe and swam to shore. When last seen, the bear was licking his fur dry as the canoe drifted slowly with the current.

"In 1798, Andrew Lacroix was hunting on the hillside, just above where Franklin Furnace was afterwards built. As his flintlock would not remain cocked, Lacroix held the hammer back with his thumb until he could take aim and then let go. Such a weapon might be safe against an animal that invariably ran from man, but it would not be safe against one that might attack man.

"One day, Lacroix came unexpectedly upon a bear and the creature charged him. He took quick aim, but only broke the beast's lower jaw. Such a wound did not lessen Lacroix's peril; for a bear's fore paws are his most dangerous weapons. The shot stunned the bear, and he fell on the upper side of a log. Lacroix jumped to the lower side, and struck him with his hunting knife. The bear caught him by the arm. Then the bear and the Frenchman clinched and rolled down the steep hillside. The man was unable to free his arm until they reached a level spot. Here he killed the animal with his knife. Lacroix was severely lacerated, and had several scars to substantiate the severity of the encounter.

"It is not definitely known when the last wolf was killed in Scioto County. A bounty of one dollar, for every wolf scalp taken, was paid by the county commissioners. The last record of any payment of bounty on wolves is in 1831.

"The whitetailed deer was the last of the big game in Scioto County. They were killed in numbers, as late as the seventies in the region drained by Twin Creek. Some were killed in the eighties, but by this time, they were quite scarce. The last deer, killed in Scioto County, was killed on Turkey Creek about 1895. A wild deer was seen in this county in February, 1897. After the flood of March, 1913, a deer was seen several times in Scioto County; but this was found to be one of the herd that had escaped during the flood from a park in Chillicothe.

"When much pursued by hunters, deer feed only at night and very early in the morning. During the day, they seek the shelter of a ravine, or lie down on some high point, from which the approach of an enemy may be discovered in time to enable

them to flee. If roused during the day, they skulk through the brush, with head hung low, and are very difficult to discern. Their sense of hearing and smelling is so acute, and their efforts of concealment so successful, that they are far better able to protect themselves than any other big game animal. They have survived in every region, long after every other big game animal has been exterminated. They could hold their own against man on the wild lands of Scioto County, but against the hound they were no match.

"Beaver were exterminated at a very early day. Lacroix mentions the trapping of them in 1797, at ponds near the present location of Haverhill."

There is not a dull page in the book. It is written in good English and is well adapted to school use in the study of local history. The illustrations are numerous and well chosen. They include faithful reproductions of maps showing the location of works of the Mound Builders and the early settlements along the Ohio river. What the author has done for Scioto county should be done for every county in the state.

The book has neither title page nor index. It deserves both.

RAINBOW MEMORIES—TRIBUTE TO COLONEL HOUGH.

Histories of the military units that participated in the World War are beginning to appear. They are already somewhat numerous when we consider the short time that has elapsed since the return of the American Expeditionary Forces. Some of these histories bear the marks of hasty preparation; others are very creditably done; all of them are contributions to our knowledge of the World War that is still so close to us that we cannot grasp and appreciate its huge proportions.

Among these histories that have come to our hands is one entitled "Rainbow Memories, Character Sketches and History of the First Battalion, 166th Infantry, 42nd Division." This quarto volume of 120 pages is written by First Lieutenant Alison Reppy, Intelligence Officer of the First Battalion, a youth from Missouri who received his training at Fort Riley. There is a very good sketch of the operations of this battalion, a roster of



COLONEL BENSON W. HOUGH.

each company and biographies of the officers. The book opens with a tribute to Colonel Benson W. Hough, Commander of the regiment of which the battalion was a part.

Few officers in the service perhaps more endeared themselves to subordinates and men than did Colonel Hough. The tribute appropriately mentions his long connection with the Ohio National Guard, his gradual promotion from the ranks, his service on the Mexican Border and the

enviable record that he attained in the World War. We quote briefly from this sketch of Colonel Hough:

"So well did Colonel Hough meet the problems that faced him in this new warfare, that the French conferred on him the *Croix de Guerre*. Cool judgment and skillful leadership marked his work in those first trying days and it has marked his work in all subsequent struggles. Colonel Hough has served in Lorraine, in Champagne, at Chateau Thierry, at Saint Mihiel, in the Argonne and before Sedan, never once being absent from his command, surely a remarkable record.

"But it is not with Colonel Hough, the Civilian, or the Soldier, that we are mostly interested,—it is with Colonel Hough, the Man, revealed, it is true, chiefly through our military relations with him. One of his strongest qualities of character is a natural born aptitude for leadership,—not the kind of leadership that drives men or controls them by reason of some vested power,—but the type of leadership that comes out of ability to inspire. Colonel Hough possesses this ability to inspire men in a remarkable degree. A big man physically and intellectually, who hates formality and shuns publicity; a man who is ordinarily quiet and has but little to say, but who, when occasion demands, becomes a veritable volcano of action, sweeping aside all immaterial considerations and speaking directly and briefly on the real point at issue. It is this combination of qualities which binds men to him.

"In battle where victory is the stake and death the price, he watches every move of his boys and he grieves for every one who falls by the wayside—a sacrifice to the cause. He loves his men with all their faults and shortcomings, as does a father, and in his great human heart he carries their burdens by day and by night.

"A natural leader who inspires men and who possesses excellent judgment—a man who is broad-gauged and intensely human—such a man is Colonel Benson W. Hough. Of him Ohio may well be proud, for he has shed new glory on her fair name. She has in her possession no honor too great to bestow upon the man who, during the ebb and tide of the World War, has watched over and so tenderly cared for her heroic sons."

Surely these are words of tribute in which all Ohioans may feel a pardonable pride. They come from an officer who served under Colonel Hough from another state and represent the impartial judgment of those who knew the commanding officer of the 166th Regiment through its entire service on the other side of the Atlantic. Those who have known Colonel Hough personally in civilian life and who have met him since his return from foreign lands can bear testimony to the fact that he wears his high honors without ostentation and is as modest as he is brave.

TWO WAR BOOKS BY WELL-KNOWN OHIOANS.

Among the books recently added to the library of the Society are two by Ohio authors who have state and national reputations because of their service in the World War.

First of these is the volume entitled "Fighting the Flying Circus" by Captain E. V. Rickenbacker, with an introduction by Laurence La Tourette Driggs. Captain Rickenbacker, America's Ace of Aces, is known not only nationally but internationally. It is said that shortly after the armistice an English officer was riding in a pullman coach through our state looking out with indifference upon the farms, villages and cities, as they flitted by. As his train entered our Capital City the conductor called out, "Columbus."

Thereupon the English officer became much interested and said to another passenger, "Is this Columbus, Ohio?" Having been answered in the affirmative he added, "Well, I believe this is the home town of Captain Rickenbacker, is it not?"

The Captain has given his native town and state wide and honorable publicity. His book is a lively, modest, straightforward statement of his services in the World War, as full of thrills as his daring exploits. It is written in attractive form and excellent spirit and deserves a place in every American library—especially those of Ohio, Captain Rickenbacker's native state.

In this connection it may be proper to say a number of Captain Rickenbacker's trophies are already in the museum of our Society, where they are viewed with special interest by visitors.

The other book is entitled, "The Big Show," by Elsie Janis, also a native of Ohio and the city of Columbus. Miss Janis did her part in entertaining our soldiers back of the battle line on many of the fighting fronts.

Her book bears to the general public, in vivacious, breezy style, an intimation of the cheerful message that she must have carried to the soldiers, presented at times in the vernacular peculiar to the rank and file, which is nevertheless expressive and readily understood. It contains not only an account day by day of her experience abroad, but some creditable verse composed by herself and interspersed through the volume of 226 pages.

SERGEANT STANLEY NAGORKA.*

On June 10th, at the United States Barracks in Columbus, an heroic soldier soul passed to its reward. In the *Columbus Evening Dispatch* of June 19th, appears a letter from Franklin Rubrecht, a Columbus attorney who was much interested in this wounded youth and at whose home he was frequently welcomed. In this letter Mr. Rubrecht gives the following brief account of the military service, unwavering loyalty, patient fortitude and triumphant death of Sergeant Stanley Nagorka:

*His given name was Stanislaus which he changed to Stanley. He was wounded at St. Mihiel, September 14, 1918; was in Field Hospital No. 25, Base Hospital No. 25, Base Hospital No. 8; then sailed from Brest to the United States and was in General Hospital No. 2 and Depot Hospital at Columbus (Ohio) Barracks where he died.

"Perhaps the most impressive and the saddest incident which has occurred in Columbus for many years was the military funeral held at the Barracks on last Saturday, when last honors were paid to a real hero, Stanley Nagorka, who died June 10th at the post from wounds received at the battle of St. Mihiel, September 13, 1918. He was a Polish boy, 27 years of age. He enlisted at Chicago in 1916 and became a soldier of the 11th infantry, 5th division, United States army. He was not yet an American citizen, but he loved the flag and his adopted country. He became a sergeant and during the battle of St. Mihiel was detailed with a detachment of his comrades to guard and protect an opening in the American lines. Soon he was struck in the right shoulder with a shrapnel



STANLEY NAGORKA.

shell, and almost immediately a German machine gun bullet shot out the sight of both eyes and part of his forehead was blown away. Blind and disfigured for life he signalled to his comrades that he was horribly wounded and patiently waited until aid came to him.

"Languishing in one hospital after another, he finally reached the Columbus barracks and was placed under the skillful care of Lieutenant Colonel and Surgeon Sheaffer. By the most wonderful surgical treatment, involving twelve operations, Stanley was reconstructed almost back to his normal facial condition. But the wound between the eyes would not heal. There never was a more patient, resigned and hopeful patient in any hospital. His beautiful char-

acter, his gentlemanly demeanor, his sterling courage and resignation to his fate endeared him to not only the men and officers of the barracks, but to many of the most cultured and refined homes in Columbus, where he was entertained and comforted on many occasions.

"Stanley Nagorka paid the price of his devotion to America and democracy. He said he would do it again even if he knew it would cost him his life. He died a beautiful death. He hoped to go through the last operation and finally go to his beloved parents in Poland. He kept his condition from the knowledge of his parents that they might not know how seriously he was wounded. His record as a soldier was first class. His condition was somewhat like other splendid boys at the

barracks who are now being reconstructed, but his case seemed to attract more attention because of his splendid manhood and high character.

"When one sees the wounded and suffering boys of the late war one again wonders why some of our alleged statesmen hesitate and refuse to vote for legislation which is designed to make impossible another war which will produce like results to the flower of our country.

"Stanley Nagorka deserved a better fate. His career was an inspiration. His memory will be a benediction. May his grave ever be kept green and beautiful by a grateful nation. The government did its part by him, and may it continue to do its part to his memory."

While statesmen real and "alleged" may honestly differ on the great questions growing out of the World War, all good citizens agree that the supreme problem of civilization is to find the way to an enduring peace.

Stanley Nagorka survived the fiery ordeal of battle to live months in darkness and pain. But he had a recompense in knowing that his sacrifice and the spirit in which it was borne enshrined him in the love of his comrades and the appreciation of the increasing numbers who came to know him. General Pershing on the occasion of his visit to Columbus said to him, "I thank you for what you have given for the Republic." Some of our best citizens honored themselves by ministering to his comfort. The tender attention of his comrades at the Barracks touched everyone who witnessed it. Blinded and at times suffering much, he bore it all uncomplainingly, hopefully, and with manifestations of gratitude for every act of kindness. And thus in his later days he became an elevating and ennobling influence that lives after he has gone to his rest.

What a noble example. What an inspiration to others who come from foreign lands to the allegiance of the stars and stripes. What an impressive lesson in Americanization.

Less than three years ago America was ablaze with enthusiasm and patriotism as the youth of our land, by the million, were marching to the World War. We are now living through a period of reaction. It was perhaps an intimation of this fact that caused the young soldier poet, Bugler Hubert Kelley, to write these lines for the week in Kansas City set apart in commemoration of the soldier dead:

HAVE WE FORGOTTEN?

Have we forgotten those who went away
When hope burned low behind the window-pane
And the wide sea was very cold and gray?
Have we forgotten those who went away
And will not come again?

Have we forgotten those who went away
On great, gray ships into the fog and rain,
Who left the dear, warm arms that bade them stay?
Have we forgotten those who went away
And will not come again?

Have we forgotten those who went away
To follow the red flare beyond the main,
Who turned aside and let us have this day?
Have we forgotten those who went away
And will not come again?

We have not forgotten, though at times our indifference may well lead those who went to the camps and the battle front to conclude that we did not mean quite all that we said in our assurances as they marched away. This indifference is temporary and apparent. Gratitude to our soldiers living and dead survives. The death of this Polish boy will help to keep their memory green. Far from home and kindred he shall not be forgotten, and on the annual return of each Memorial Day, out on beautiful Green Lawn, in that portion set apart for the soldier dead, a wreath of choicest flowers will be laid by loving hands on the grave of Stanley Nagorka.

And remembering Lafayette, we shall not forget Pulaski and Kosciusco.

TWO GENEROUS PATRONS.

The Society has a warm friend and patron in Mr. Claude Meeker, prominent citizen of Columbus, president of the Kit Kat Club, formerly private secretary to Governor James E. Campbell and U. S. consul at Bradford, England. For some years the library of Ohioana built up by Honorable D. J. Ryan has been recognized as the most valuable and complete of its

kind in central Ohio. It is especially rich in the war literature of the state which was collected while Mr. Ryan was preparing his extensive and incomparable volume on "The Civil War Literature of Ohio".

Feeling that this library should belong to the state Mr. Meeker purchased it and presented it to the Society. A most substantial and appropriate addition has therefore been made to the library of the Society which is steadily growing in spite of the very small appropriation made by the state.

Mr. Charles F. Kettering, who was graduated from the department of engineering at the Ohio State University in 1904 and who is now one of the trustees of that institution, gave four hundred thousand dollars to the College of Homeopathic Medicine, the largest gift which to date his alma mater has received from any one donor.

Mr. Kettering has since shown that he is not unmindful of the needs and opportunities of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. He has purchased the farm near Miamisburg, Ohio, on which is located the largest mound in the state and has presented to the Society this mound and adjacent grounds. What these grounds will be called has not been decided by the Society but the name of "Kettering Park" has been suggested as especially appropriate.

But Mr. Kettering did not stop at the presentation of this notable gift. He emphasized the evidence of his interest and appreciation by purchasing and presenting to the Society the Harry Thompson collection of souvenirs and Indian relics, the most important privately owned collection in the state.

It is planned in the near future, probably at the annual meeting of the Society, to give formal expression of our gratitude to these two generous patrons and we hope to present in our October number an extended account of their generous contributions to the upbuilding of the Society.

NEXT PRESIDENT AN OHIOAN.

The Republican National Convention in Chicago, June 12, nominated Senator Warren G. Harding on the tenth ballot for President of the United States.

The Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, July 5, nominated Governor James M. Cox on the forty-fourth ballot for President of the United States.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society is a strictly non-partisan institution, but because of the distinguished honor that has come to the state the prediction frequently heard these days is here recorded, that the next president of the United States will be from Ohio. It is more than probable that in the next issue of the *QUARTERLY* it will be proper to report among the activities of the Society extended references to both of these candidates for the presidency.

To say that Memorial Day was appropriately observed at Spiegel Grove by patriotic citizens of Fremont and Sandusky County is only to state what could as truthfully be said of the observance there of this anniversary each year. A gratifying feature this year was the large attendance of veterans of the World War — much larger than one year ago. In the exercises the veterans of the Civil War, the Spanish-American War and the World War all had a part.

Spiegel Grove is a place of historic and patriotic suggestion, and Colonel Webb C. Hayes has done much to invest with a living interest the associations of this beautiful park and other places in the immediate vicinity. It should be added that the pen of Miss Lucy Keeler has preserved a record of early events in this part of the state in some of the most valued contributions to the *QUARTERLY*. What she has done for Spiegel Grove, Fort Stevenson and Fort Meigs should move writers in other sections of the state to give due prominence to interesting and significant events of their local history.

Dr. William C. Mills, Curator of the Museum and Archaeologist, with a number of assistants is industriously engaged in exploring mounds at Camp Sherman. No report of this year's field work will be available for publication until the work is completed. We are permitted to say, however, that the results thus far are most gratifying and the prediction can safely be made that the large collection of relics of the mound builders now in the Museum of the Society will be enriched by the addition of interesting specimens, some of which are unique.

The editor of the *QUARTERLY* is making an effort to bring its publication up to date. The last two issues were unavoidably late, due to circumstances generally understood by members of the Society. In the absence of manuscript from other sources, the editor has contributed all the material that appears in the July issue. We trust that this note may be accepted as his sufficient apology for doing so. In order to have the October number ready to mail by the first of that month, manuscript for the same should be in the editor's hands by September first.

An appeal is made by the editor for contributions of Ohio history or suggestions of subjects for such contributions. This is the twenty-ninth volume of the *QUARTERLY*. Much of Ohio history is still to be written. The members of the Society are assured that their co-operation in furnishing suitable material for publication in these pages will be highly appreciated.

"Fighting the Flying Circus," by Captain Rickenbacker, is published by the Frederick A. Stokes Company of New York; "The Big Show," by Elsie Janis, is published by the Cosmopolitan Book Corporation of New York.



COLONEL WEBB C. HAYES M. H.

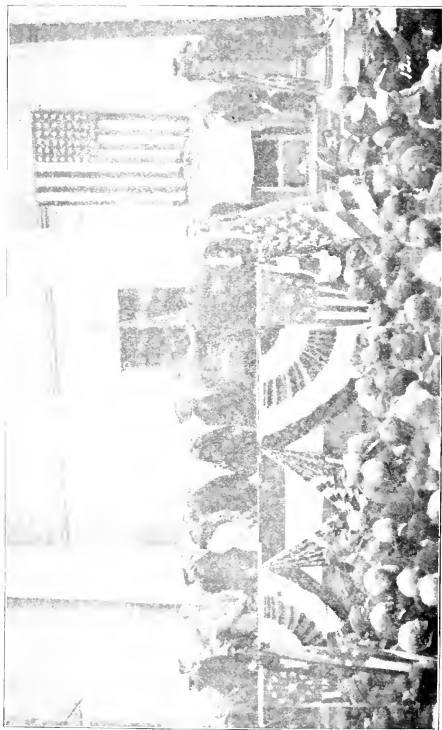
Regional Commissioner A. E. F. in France and North Africa who was decorated at Fez, Morocco, August 15, 1918, by General Lyantey, French Resident General as representative of the Sultan of Morocco. Colonel Hayes also served in the war with Spain, through the campaigns of Santiago de Cuba where he was wounded and had his horse killed, and through the campaign in Porto Rico, being recommended for brevets in each campaign; the Philippine Insurrection where he was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for distinguished gallantry at Vigan, P. I., Dec. 1, 1899, by order of President Roosevelt; and served on the staff of Major General Chaffee, commanding the China Relief Expedition of 1900.

UNVEILING OF THE SOLDIERS' MEMORIAL TABLET ON THE HAYES MEMORIAL BUILDING AT SPIEGEL GROVE.

BY LUCY ELLIOT KEELER.

The Ninety-eighth Anniversary of the birth of Rutherford B. Hayes, Nineteenth President of the United States, 1877-1881, and at the time of his death, January 17, 1893, the honored president of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, was celebrated with ceremonies of unusual interest on October 4, 1920, at Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Ohio. The day was cloudless and the people came by thousands. The exercises were held under the auspices of the Society with its president, former Governor James E. Campbell, presiding. It had been the original intention to lay the corner stone of a stackroom addition to the present Library and Museum Building, to be built in architectural harmony with it and of a capacity sufficient to accommodate 150,000 volumes, and to double the capacity of the museum. An interesting feature of the proposed plan was to incorporate a reproduction of the library of Dr. Charles Richard Williams, of Princeton, New Jersey, the biographer of President Hayes, who has generously tendered to the Society his magnificent library and historical papers. Incidentally it may be mentioned Dr. Williams's library room thus to be reproduced was the room in the house at Princeton occupied by President Woodrow Wilson after his resignation as president of Princeton University and during his incumbency of the office of Governor of New Jersey, prior to his inauguration as President of the United States March 4, 1913.

It was also in contemplation to have the formal dedication of the Soldiers' Memorial Parkway of Sandusky County, through land originally presented by Colonel Hayes to the Society and by it donated for a Parkway as well as the dedication of the Soldiers' Memorial Sunparlor addition to the Memorial Hospital of Sandusky County; but the two latter projects were in an uncompleted condition, and the exercises were limited to an inspection



UNVEILING OF BRONZE TABLET ON HAYES MEMORIAL LIBRARY
(President Campbell and Senator Harding in front of group on stand)

of them and the dedication of a bronze memorial Tablet presented by Colonel Hayes in honor of his comrades of recent wars.

The exercises were ushered in by a parade at one o'clock in which the veterans of the World War and the War with Spain marched with flags fluttering in the warm October sunlight, followed by the Grand Army veterans in automobiles, the three divisions headed by the United States Navy Recruiting Band and the Light Guard and Woodmen's Bands of Fremont. The procession was reviewed by the distinguished guests as it marched past the still unfinished Soldiers' Memorial Sunparlor of the Memorial Hospital of Sandusky County, and over the uncompleted Soldiers' Memorial Parkway, after which the impressive procession entered the Spiegel Grove State Park and formed in front of the Hayes Memorial Library, on the northern face of which was unveiled the artistically wrought Memorial Tablet presented by Colonel Webb C. Hayes, M. H., in memory of his eighty comrades of Sandusky county who died in the service of their country in the War with Spain, the insurrection in the Philippines, China, the Mexican Border and in the World War. While the magnificent Navy Recruiting Band played the Star Spangled Banner, Grand Marshal A. E. Slessman, chairman of the Soldiers' Memorial Parkway Committee, presented Mrs. Webb C. Hayes who was dressed in her costume of the Y. M. C. A. in which she had served in France as Hostess and Librarian at the American Soldiers Leave Areas at Aix-les-Bains and Nice. Mrs. Hayes gracefully uncovered the beautiful bronze tablet and turned it over to Commander W. H. Johnston, of Edgar Thurston Post, American Legion, and Commander Harry Price of Emerson Command, Spanish War Veterans. After a careful inspection of the tablet by Governor Campbell, Senator and Mrs. Harding, and the members of the Hayes family who were on the platform, the soldiers of the World War formed a lane extending from the Memorial Building through to the speakers' stand under the McKinley Oaks of 1897; and through this lane walked Senator Harding with Mrs. Hayes, preceded by President Campbell of the Archaeological

and Historical Society, attended by former Congressman Overmyer, and followed by Colonel Hayes and Mrs. Harding and other guests.

Music was provided by the U. S. Navy Recruiting Band of the central division, and by the combined bands of the Fremont Light Guard and Woodmen of the World. Mr. B. H. Swift, Chairman of the Sandusky County War Work Committee, called the meeting to order and presented Chaplain Ferguson of the Ohio Soldiers' Home who delivered the invocation. In presenting the members of the Board of County Commissioners of Sandusky county and its efficient County Engineer to welcome the assembly, Chairman Swift said:

"Sandusky County soldiers are indebted to the patriotic members of the present and former Boards of County Commissioners, and to one of her patriotic soldiers, Colonel Hayes, who conceived and executed the plan, including the erection of the bronze memorial tablet and Soldiers' Memorial Sunparlor, on the beautiful Soldiers' Memorial Parkway of Sandusky County. Sandusky county's plan of honoring her soldiers who died in the service is soon to be realized in the form of this Soldiers' Memorial Parkway, of about 100 feet in width with two paved drives 14 feet in width along the border, between which are planted, at a distance of 35 feet apart, two rows of buckeye trees, the insignia of the 37th or Buckeye Division, to which are affixed white enamel tree-labels, with four lines giving the name, organization, place and date of death. It is hoped that the Memorial Parkway plan of honoring the dead at the county seat of each county in the State of Ohio and in the country, may be adopted generally and that the remains of the honored dead who fell in battle on the fields of France may be permitted to remain in the beautiful American park cemeteries where they now lie and where they will be visited for countless ages by their countrymen."

President Campbell's Address.

The Hon. James E. Campbell, President of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, was then presented as the president of the day. President Campbell delivered the following address:

Fellow Citizens:

The patriotic people of Sandusky County, remembering and revering their heroic dead, have called us to join them in unveiling a tablet that shall preserve forever, in enduring bronze, the names of those gallant sons of the county who, in the war with Spain and in that unparalleled cataclysm known as "The World War," gave their lives to their country, to mankind and to humanity. The war with Spain was a small war while the World War was the worst known to men; but the memory of him who died in the one is as precious and glorious as that of him who died in the other. They were all heroes whom the people of Sandusky county delight alike to honor.

These men carried our flag upon foreign soil — in the first instance for the purpose of freeing two oppressed races from semi-barbaric rule; in the second instance to destroy a military autocracy which threatened to extirpate democracy and to make all nations its abject slaves or dependents. From both of these wars the Star Spangled Banner emerged with added and imperishable lustre. Especially is this true of the last war for there, to quote these appropriate lines, —

"Serene and beautiful it waved,
The flag our fathers knew,
In the sunny air of France it laved
And gained a brighter hue.

Oh, may it ever the emblem be
Of all that makes this country free;
And may we cherish liberty
And to the flag be true."

To the eminent orators who are your honored guests, who are much more capable of doing justice to these patriot dead than I, and who are here for that purpose, I leave such further eulogy as they may deem appropriate. I consider this a suitable opportunity, however, on behalf of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, under whose auspices these ceremonies are held, to state formally the development and consummation of the project (born in the mind of Colonel Webb C. Hayes) of making Spiegel Grove one of the most important monuments to history and patriotism in the State of Ohio. It is the duty of this

Society, and one to which it has faithfully adhered, to collect and disseminate information as to the history of this state as well as to collect, preserve and classify evidences of its occupation by prehistoric races.



HONORABLE JAMES E. CAMPBELL,
President of Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.
Former Governor of Ohio.

No part of the work of this Society has been more important or more valuable to the historical collections of the state than the acquisition of Spiegel Grove with the precious personal property connected therewith. Its history carries one back to a time

long prior to the Revolutionary War, for it is located in the old Indian Reservation or Free Territory, maintained at the lower rapids of the Sandusky river, which was a point of interest long before the white man entered Ohio. Israel Putnam was here in 1764 and during the War of the Revolution over 2000 whites, captured by the Indians, passed through the Sandusky Valley, stopping at the Lower Falls, now Fremont, from whence they were transported by shipping to Detroit or on to Montreal. Zeisberger and Heckewelder, the Moravians, were prisoners here, and also Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton. In 1782 the British sent troops from Detroit as far as Lower Sandusky, en route to repel the Crawford expedition, but they arrived too late, owing to the capture and burning of Crawford on the Sandusky Plains. During the war of 1812, through these very grounds the old Harrison Trail—a military road which led from Fort Stephenson to Fort Seneca—passed and is preserved intact as its principal driveway.

Added to this historic interest is the fact that it typifies an American home of the latter part of the nineteenth century—a home fraught with historic memories of Rutherford B. Hayes, the nineteenth president of the United States, and his wife, Lucy Webb Hayes. Of all the homes of our presidents, covering a period of one hundred and thirty years, there have been preserved only those of Washington at Mt. Vernon, Jefferson at Monticello, Madison at Montpelier, Jackson at The Hermitage, and Lincoln's modest home in the city of Springfield. But in all these instances, more or less time had elapsed before the homes were acquired and put in a state of preservation; and but few or no personal relics or memorials were secured. The families of the presidents had in most cases parted with the property, and their historic associations were generally dissipated. It is gratifying to know that Spiegel Grove met no such impairment. When received by the State it was in a perfect state of preservation, and all of the valuable historic effects of President Hayes were there intact. Few presidents of the United States have left so large and so complete a collection of documents, papers and books. To these should be added all the honorable mementoes and historical objects that were intimately associated



MRS. WEBB C. HAYES AND SERGEANT DALTON HAYES.
(See note on following page.)

with President Hayes during his career as a soldier in the Civil War, as well as that of his administration as president; and many personal belongings of his wife, Lucy Webb Hayes, during her exalted life in the White House. President Hayes was a great reader and a man of scholarly tastes and attainments. His library of Americana was not excelled, in his time, by that of any other private individual in the nation. He had the instinct of a collector and preserved all papers and memoranda, both of his public and private life, in an orderly and accessible form. His letters and his diaries covering a continuous period of sixty years, written in his own hand, are in this collection and are now being prepared and compiled for publication by this society. They will be a valuable contribution to American history. With the exception of Thomas Jefferson and Theodore Roosevelt, no president of the United States has left such a collection of individual memoranda, literary remains and personal mementoes as did President Hayes.

Spiegel Grove, with its contents, upon the death of President Hayes in 1893, was bequeathed to his children. Afterwards the entire Spiegel Grove property, with its library and collections, became the property of Colonel Hayes by deed in 1899 from the other heirs in the settlement of the estate. Through the generous filial devotion and the patriotic spirit of Colonel Hayes, this whole tract was offered, without cost, to the state as a public park in memory of both of his parents, by deeds dated March 30, 1909, and March 10, 1910. The conditions upon which Colonel Hayes donated this property to the State of Ohio simply require its maintenance as a state park, with the further condition that: "The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society should secure the erection upon that part of Spiegel Grove heretofore conveyed to the state of Ohio for a state park, a suitable fireproof building on the site reserved opposite the Jefferson St. entrance, for the purpose of preserving and forever keeping in Spiegel Grove all papers, books and manuscripts left by the

NOTE:—Mrs. Hayes was Librarian and Hostess at the American Soldier Leave Areas at Aix-les-Bains and Nice, France. Sergeant Dalton Hayes, a Princeton student aged twenty years, was the youngest of six grand-sons of Rutherford B. Hayes in the World War. He served in the 165th U. S. Infantry (Old 69th New York), 42nd or Rainbow Division A. E. F. He was severely wounded in the Argonne, October 14, 1918.

said Rutherford B. Hayes * * * * which building shall be in the form of a Branch Reference Library and Museum of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, and the construction and decoration of the said building shall be in the nature of a memorial also to the soldiers, sailors, and pioneers of Sandusky county; and suitable memorial tablets, busts and decorations indicative of the historical events and patriotic citizenship of Sandusky county shall be placed in and on said building, and said building shall forever remain open to the public under proper rules and regulations to be hereafter made by said society."

Thus there was given to the nation and to the State a heritage of which both can well be proud, and I take this occasion on behalf of the society which I represent, and on behalf of the State which is represented by the society, to express the fullest appreciation and deepest sense of obligation. These expressions also extend to the noble and generous wife of Colonel Hayes who has joined him in making this spot one of historic beauty as well as a patriotic monument.

In all the years since Colonel Hayes executed his first deed to this property, the public has been left in ignorance of the magnitude of his contributions; of his self-sacrifice; and of his generous patriotism. He has arrived at the age (and so have I) at which the truth can be told without suspicion of flattery or adulation, and at which it can be received without undue inflation. Therefore I take it upon myself, as president of this society, to relate publicly and in detail what Colonel Hayes has contributed to this great patriotic monument, aside from the property itself; and these facts are due historically not only to Colonel Hayes, but to the society and to the people of Ohio.

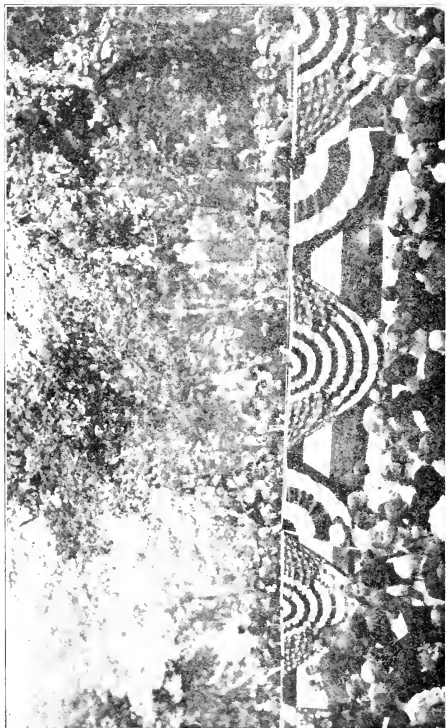
Colonel Hayes spent large sums after the legal steps had been taken to invest this property in the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, in trust for the State of Ohio. The construction of the Hayes Memorial building cost when completed over \$100,000, towards which the State paid \$45,000 and also paid \$10,000 for the State's share of the paving of the streets on the three sides of the Spiegel Grove State Park. Colonel Hayes at various times, and in numerous ways, in order to

complete the building and bring it to the point of perfection which it has attained, expended \$50,000 to that end, and to further add to its usefulness and beauty as a monument, he has provided for an addition to the building that will cost at least \$35,000, the funds for which are now in the hands of a trustee appointed for that purpose.

Since Spiegel Grove has been dedicated by Colonel Hayes he has placed in the hands of trustees for the benefit of the Society and the State of Ohio other lands contiguous to the grove which, when sold, the trustees are to place the proceeds thereof in a trust fund for the use and benefit of this institution. So far lands to the value of \$35,000 have been disposed of, and that amount is in the hands of a trustee for the use and benefit of Spiegel Grove, as held by this society. The land, exclusive of Spiegel Grove, remaining unsold is worth at least \$100,000, the proceeds of which, upon sale, will be held in trust for the use and maintenance of the Spiegel Grove park and residence with any remainder for books for the Hayes Memorial Library.

On July 1st of last year Colonel Hayes placed \$100,000 in trust to be used in the maintenance and upbuilding of this patriotic memorial. I am within a conservative estimate when I state that Colonel Hayes has disposed, for the benefit of posterity, in the form of the beautiful and attractive property which you see before you, at least \$500,000: \$250,000 in cash and securities for endowment funds, and \$250,000 in real estate and personal property including the library Americana and collections.

Greater and more far-reaching, than the vast funds which he has so consecrated to others and to the memory of those loved by him, is his magnificent spirit of unselfishness, of tender devotion to the memory of his father and mother, and of his desire to leave to future generations historic evidence of the past. Here the people of Ohio forever will come to view the evidences of a period of American history that will be to them a continuing lesson and an inspiring heritage. A visit to this place will stimulate the study of Ohio history; of her Indian tribes; of the wars between between the British and French and their Indian allies; followed by our war for Independence, when this was a British post; and of her people's heroic defense of our country in the war



SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING DELIVERING ADDRESS UNDER THE MCKINLEY OAKS, IN THE SPIEGEL GROVE STATE PARK.

of 1812. They will see here many historical mementos of one who laid down civil honor to go forth to fight for the Union. They will see a collection of souvenirs of every president from Washington to Wilson; manuscripts of great historic importance and literature rarely found in Ohio libraries. They will view a monument evidencing the unselfish devotion of private interests to public good, and viewing this monument they will be inspired to devote themselves anew to the service of our country and to common humanity."

At the conclusion of his address there were many cheers for Colonel Hayes. Governor Campbell called upon him for a speech but the Colonel merely rose to his feet from his chair several rows back of the presiding officer, bowed to the audience and sat down. This was the occasion for renewed cheers and finally Colonel Hayes rose to his feet and walked forward to the front of the stand. When the crowd had quieted expecting remarks he bowed and returned to his seat.

"Just as modest as he is good", said Chairman Campbell and the crowd again applauded.

The Reverend Father F. S. Legowski, Overseas Chaplain in the 32nd Division A. E. F., in the absence of Colonel F. W. Galbraith, national commander of the American Legion, gave an extemporaneous address that was well received. We regret that no stenographic report of it was made. It deserved a place in this record of the occasion. Father Legowski praised the liberality and patriotic spirit of Colonel Hayes and Mrs. Hayes, who had preceded the boys overseas to perform their part in the World War and minister to the soldiers who, far from home, on a foreign soil, appreciated the tender and affectionate care so freely bestowed upon them. In the name of the American Legion he expressed appreciation for their patriotic service and the splendid memorial they have provided, not only to the citizens of the present day but to posterity. The speaker held the closest attention of the vast audience as he described the touching scenes in the Argonne with its forest of white crosses each marking the grave of an American soldier who fell fighting to save civilization. In his appeal he voiced the sentiment that none will be unfaithful to the cause for which those heroes died.

In speaking of the relics of the great World War and of all our wars Father Legowski declared that war is a terrible thing and that all the agencies of civilization should be used to prevent it; that the implements of war like itself are terrible to look upon when they suggest the carnage of battle. But when they recall the righteous cause for the triumph of which they were used they become sacred mementoes. As such they should be gathered to-



WORLD WAR VETERANS REVIEWED ON SOLDIERS' MEMORIAL PARKWAY.

gether and preserved for the lesson that they teach to succeeding generations.

Brigadier General W. V. McMaken, President of the 37th Division Association, expressed the thanks of his comrades of the war with Spain and of the World War to Colonel and Mrs. Hayes for the splendid recognition of the heroic dead who died while serving valiantly for their country. He pleaded with the young people present that they should not forget the ceremonies of the day and that they should carry on the work this day inaugurated. He appealed to them to keep faith in God and country and to hold aloft the flag in its exalted place.

Captain Grant S. Taylor, chief of staff of the Commander-in-chief of the Spanish War Veterans, spoke for his fellow soldiers. He detailed our losses in the War with Spain and the Philippine Insurrection and showed that they were relatively high. Those who served their country in the southern camps and in the tropical islands were face to face with conditions rarely met by the soldiers of other wars. They suffered from the inroads of disease which thinned the ranks of the boys in blue. Like the other speakers he voiced the highest appreciation for what had been done at Spiegel Grove to stimulate patriotism and keep green the memory of those who served their country in the camp and on the field.

Commander S. B. Rathbun, of Eugene Rawson Post, responded for the Commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, in a very effective way, by calling on all members of the Grand Army of the Republic to rise and salute. The President of the society, Governor Campbell, and the president emeritus of the society, the Rev. Dr. Wright, elicited increased applause by rising and saluting with their comrades of the G. A. R. The Hon. James M. Cox, Governor of Ohio, and a trustee of the Society found himself unable to be present and Governor Campbell, as presiding officer, then presented the Hon. Warren G. Harding, United States Senator from Ohio and a life member of the Society.

The speaker, before entering upon his prepared address, made a few introductory remarks. He said that he was glad he had kept his word with Colonel Hayes and had come to Fremont. He had promised to do this before he had been nominated for President of the United States. He regarded that promise in the nature of a contract. "I believe in always keeping my contract," said he, "and I kept my contract when I came to Fremont today." Much trouble in the world and many calamities including some of our serious wars, he declared, came through the failure of men and states and nations to keep their contract.

Senator Harding's Address.

Senator Harding then spoke as follows:

My Countrymen:—It is a fine thing to gather at the shrines of American patriotism. It is fine that we have such shrines.

Without them we should have little soul, and less love of country. It is good to pause and note the sacrifices through which we came to nationality and then to eminence in the world. It is reassuring to dwell afresh in the atmosphere of colonial heroism, and to be reminded anew that the spirit which triumphed in the early making of the Republic is with us, after all the years of develop-



SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING.

ing fulfillment to guarantee its perpetuity. It stirs our hearts to recall how hundreds fought in colonial days, it rivets our faith anew to know how millions fought and more millions were ready and still more millions available when our nationality and world civilization were threatened in the great World War.

It is an exceptional shrine at which we are gathered today. A century and a half ago Israel Putnam came here in command

of the Connecticut battallion, and with other Colonial troops from New York and New Jersey in the British expedition of 1764, under Bradstreet, and revealed to the northwest territory the mettle of the men of New England. It was here at old Fort Stephenson, that Major George Croghan defended the new republic against the British and the Indians and won the only land victory within the limits of the United States in the War of 1812.

Two companies from this county served with Croghan again in the war with Mexico. From this hallowed spot came the brave and gallant Major-General James B. McPherson, the officer highest in rank and command killed during the war for the Union. From Sandusky county came the first American killed in the first war for humanity's sake in all the world—Seaman George B. Meek. Aye, and from old Sandusky county there went the full quota of American defenders in the World War. Seventy of them made the supreme sacrifice, and in their memory, in the main, we are met in grateful, loving tribute today.

Still another glory illuminates this exceptional American shrine. From this spot came citizen, soldier, patriot and president, Rutherford B. Hayes. He served eminently in war and patriotically in peace. I like to recall the helpful, reassuring administration of this fine, firm, unpretentious American, whose official service to America was both healing and heroic, and left a sense of satisfying security as a heritage to America.

Today we are at the shrine of American manhood, to re-avow that love of country which fills every American breast, and hold sacrifice a ready offering to our common country. Youth holds the safety of the republic its especial obligation. It is no figure of speech, signifying comradeship, to refer to "the boys" of our armies. The soldiers of the revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the War for the Union, the Spanish-American War, and the great World War, were almost identical in type, typical specimens of the flower of American young manhood. Regal in their confidence, robust in their strength and regnant in their hopes, American youths have more than responded to the nation's need—American youths have rushed to the country's salvation.

When the Baroness Riedesel wrote of the surrender of the British under Burgoyne at Saratoga, of which she was a witness,

she remarked the "handsome lads of the age of about seventeen," and we know ourselves now that but for these lads the war of the American Revolution could not have been won.

The same type of striplings wrought the American victory under Croghan, and carried the flag in triumph to the City of



TABLET UNVEILED ON THE HAYES MEMORIAL BUILDING.

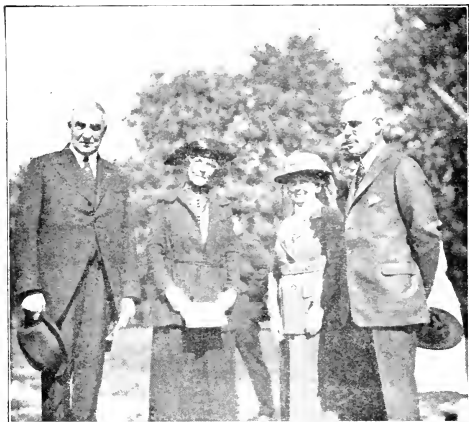
Mexico and unfurled it from the heights of Chapultepec. I saw them go forth for the war to liberate Cuba, and I know the story of youth's defense of union and nationality in the Civil War. There were nearly 900,000 boys in the northern armies alone, boys of the age of McKinley and Foraker. A half million youths fought for the confederate cause, from Bull Run to Appomattox. At Gettysburg, where the high tide of the rebellion ebbed from

its crimsoned flood, the average age of the veteran armies of that famed battle was but 20 years. McKinley enlisted at 17, Foraker was a captain before he was 21, and Miles commanded the second army corps before he was 26.

Only a few days ago 20,000 of the American Legion marched in splendid lines at Cleveland, and there was the same youth, the same undaunted spirit, the same virile young American manhood which has characterized American soldiery in all our wars and written again and again our admonition to have faith in the Republic.

Early after our entry into the World War a young American of 18 called at my office in Washington to ask my assistance in getting a passport to France. I was surprised and I asked, "Why not fight under our own flag?" He said he wanted to be an aviator and he was too young for acceptance in the naval air service. "Then why not the army?" I asked. "Five thousand awaiting enrollment now, and I can't wait." Then I learned that he had visited the French Embassy, had seen the military attache, passed an informal examination and was assured of acceptance if he could only reach France. I liked his ardor and enthusiasm, but I knew him to be an only son, I knew he had come to me from college, and I thought I ought to have his parents' approval. So I said, "What will your mother say?" In a flash he produced a telegram from her. It read, "I do hope Senator Harding can help you to France. God bless you. I am glad to have you go." And he went, and ultimately I hope he found his place under the Stars and Stripes. I am sure he did his part, wherever he fought, just as did all the sons of the Republic from north and south, from east and west, from factory, office and farm. I do not say we won the World War, but we helped to win it, and our American forces wrought new glories for the Republic from the Marne to the Argonne, and gave to America new reverence and new admiration throughout the world. Our boys were the worthy sons of worthy sires, worthy defenders of a worthy republic. They never turned back. Alas! they, too rarely halted, because they could not tolerate the patient methods of the more seasoned veterans.

Retreat is honorable, often necessary, but the youth from America could not understand it, or they could not harmonize it with their purpose. It is said our missing dead in the World War is relatively the smallest in the records of warfare. The explanation is that no American battle line moved rearward over our glorious dead.



SENATOR HARDING, MRS. HARDING, MRS. HAYES, LT. COMDR. HAYES,
U. S. N., AND MR. B. H. SWIFT.

I have heard the stories of heroism and achievement which stir our emotions and magnify our pride, but I have yet to meet a hero who was conscious of his heroism, or realized that he was engaged in an act to rivet the gaze of all the world. It is not difficult to understand, after all. The men of the army and navy were committed to a duty, and the performance of that duty

was a simple matter of course. They were upon the supreme stage of world heroism, but were simply performing the duties of national defenders, unmindful of plaudits or wondering gaze. Knowledge of duty well done, of devotion bravely proven, of service fittingly rendered — these were their inspiration then, but we utter today and memorialize for all time the honors they won for themselves, their kind, their land, their people.

I voice today a tribute to the steadfastness, the resolution, the undaunted courage, the irresistible determination of the American expeditionary forces. They wrought less in brilliancy, but more in glory. They were less trained, but profited more from Europe's costly experience. They were delayed in reaching the battle front, but they speeded in meeting the enemy. They made few trenches, but they took many. They had few objectives, but they reached the one big one, and did their full part to save world civilization. They came home with as little parade as they went. America never saw the spectacle of their might and majesty, but America has sensed the bigness of our expeditionary army and those in camp ready for call, and somehow there is a feeling of renewed security throughout the Republic.

This is not alone for what **you** have done under arms. It is because of what America knows you will do in peace. **You** World War veterans are the new leaven in the patriotic citizenship of the Republic; the mightiest influence in American life for half a century to come. It was your Republic before, but there is a new intimacy now.

“Let us do more even than is symbolized in memorial tablets and monuments. Let us pay our sorrowing tribute to the dead, our grateful tribute to the living, and be resolved all of us, to meet our duties as they met theirs, undeterred and unafraid, and hand on to our sons and daughters the legacy of liberty and the temple of security, our own United States of America.”

The Hon. Atlee Pomerene, United States Senator from Ohio, was unable to be present owing to the serious illness of his wife. President Campbell then introduced the Hon. James T. Begg, Congressman of the 13th Ohio District, who delivered a very patriotic address. The benediction was then pronounced

by the Rev. Dr. George Frederick Wright president-emeritus Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society.

Other Celebrations at Spiegel Grove.

Spiegel Grove has been the scene of many celebrations. The first of record, now nearly seventy years ago, was the Fourth of July celebration of 1852, which was of great interest to this community as marking the national holiday as well as the celebration in honor of the return of the old gun, Betsy Croghan, to the scene of her great victory of nearly forty years before. Betsy Croghan, the iron six-pound gun, is of French manufacture and was supposed to have been captured from the French by the British in one of the battles of the old French war of 1756-1763. It is not definitely known when the future Old Betsy was brought to the Lower Falls of the Sandusky to help defend the old Indian Factor's house in the center of the two-mile square reservation first ceded to the United States by the Indians in the Treaty of 1785. In 1812 the old Factor's house was enlarged and stockaded so as to include almost double the original territory, with six blockhouses instead of four, owing to its enlargement. It was then christened "Fort Stephenson," after Colonel Stephenson the officer in charge. Its sole means of defense was Old Betsy and the 160 soldiers under the gallant Major Croghan of whose victory in the defense of Fort Stephenson General Sherman said:

"The defence of Fort Stephenson, by Croghan and his gallant little band, was the necessary precursor to Perry's victory on the Lake, and of General Harrison's triumphant victory at the battle of the Thames. These assured to our immediate ancestors the mastery of the Great West, and from that day to this the west has been the bulwark of this nation."

Old Betsy was taken with General Harrison's army down to the site of Old Fort Sandoski of 1745 and transported across the lake into Canada where she is supposed to have taken part in General Harrison's victorious Battle of the Thames, Oct. 5, 1813.

For a score or more of years, she was lost sight of, but having been presented by Congress to grace the scene of her

victory which in military parlance was known as the Battle of Sandusky, she was, after identification, shipped from the arsenal at Pittsburgh, and the last stage of her journey being on the water, she was landed at Sandusky City, which had recently taken that name though at the time of the battle in 1813 it was known only as Ogontz Point and later Portland.

The authorities of Sandusky City, which had so recently changed its name from Portland, promptly seized the old cannon and buried her in the sand until such time as it might be safe to proclaim the old gun as the victor in the defense of Fort Sandusky "near this spot." This was prevented by the vigilant and patriotic mayor of Fremont, which also had recently felt the necessity of changing its name from Lower Sandusky owing to the multiplicity of towns named Sandusky which with the assumption of that name by the old town of Portland at the mouth of the Sandusky River made five towns bearing the name Sandusky on the less than 100 miles of the historic old Sandusky River, viz.: Sandusky City at its mouth, Lower Sandusky, Upper Sandusky, Little Sandusky, Big Sandusky.

In 1840 mail was sent by water from Cleveland to the recently re-christened town of Sandusky City where the mail was held to suit the convenience of the citizens of that town but much to the annoyance of the citizens and merchants of the old historic Indian towns, of Lower Sandusky and Upper Sandusky, until finally the citizens of Lower Sandusky petitioned the court to change the name so that they might promptly thereafter receive their mail. Among other names mentioned those of the gallant Major George Croghan, then properly pronounced as though spelled Kraun, and the military explorer, Colonel John C. Fremont were most prominently mentioned. The petition was referred to Rutherford B. Hayes, Esquire, who began the practice of law at Lower Sandusky after his graduation from the Harvard Law School in 1845, as a commissioner to report to the court on the desirability of a change. Mr. Hayes, on his last appearance as a member of the Sandusky County Bar prior to his removal to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1849, reported in favor of adopting the name of Fremont, who in addition to his successful explorations in opening a pathway through the Rocky Mountains

to the Pacific, had recently enlisted the enthusiastic interest of the Democratic citizens of Lower Sandusky by eloping with the favorite daughter, Jessie, of the great Democratic Senator Thomas H. Benton and marrying her in spite of pronounced parental objections. There was but one protest against the change of name by a local poet whose final stanza was: "Change the people not the name of my old home Sandusky."

Mayor Bartlett, of Fremont, on learning through private detectives of the spot where old Betsy had been buried, organized an expedition and marched to the shore of the lake, disinterred old Betsy, and amid jeering cries at the discomfited citizens of Sandusky City, escorted her in honor to the site of Fort Stephenson where she has since remained an object of great veneration to all visitors to the Fort.

Hence the 4th of July celebration of 1852 largely partook of a glorification over the final return of Old Betsy to the fort which she had made famous as the scene of the one American land victory on American soil during the War of 1812.

The selection of Spiegel Grove as the scene of many famous gatherings addressed by our foremost statesmen, soldiers and sailors, began when its owner, Rutherford B. Hayes, for whom it was purchased in 1845, became president of the United States. The first of these celebrations was on September 14, 1877, in honor of the famous 23rd Regiment Ohio Volunteers, the regiment noted for its gallant record in war, and famous for the number of its members who afterward distinguished themselves in public life. Major Generals William S. Rosecrans and E. P. Scammon, both graduates of West Point, and Rutherford B. Hayes and James M. Comly were its four colonels; Associate Justice Stanley Matthews, and Russell Hastings were Lieutenant Colonels, and its Surgeon Major, Joseph T. Webb, was brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel; William McKinley, Captain and brevet-major; while Robert P. Kennedy and William S. Lyon became Lieutenant-Governors of Ohio.

The members of the regiment dined at a long table under what were then christened and have since been known as the "Reunion Oaks", enormous white oaks "General Sheridan", "General Rosecrans", "General Scammon", "General Comly",

and "Associate Justice Stanley Matthews". Other oak trees were christened after Chief Justice Waite and General George Crook, the famous Indian fighter, who were also present at the reunion.

During the annual visits of President Hayes to Spiegel Grove, he was accompanied by many distinguished men who were likewise honored by having trees named after them. The most beautiful and stately elm was named after General Sherman who was a frequent visitor, and a beautiful red maple was named after President Garfield.

On the occasion of the funeral of President Hayes, in January, 1893, Grover Cleveland, a strong personal friend, after their joint service on the Peabody Education Fund and other public philanthropies, although then the only ex-President, as well as the president-elect of the United States, made the long journey in the middle of winter to pay his last measure of respect to one whom he personally esteemed, saying, "He would have come to my funeral had the situation been reversed." As he entered the Hayes presidential carriage which with its horses was still preserved, the keen air of mid-winter and the crowds of men in uniform caused the horses to plunge forward and for a moment it was feared that President Cleveland would be thrown to the ground. He recovered himself promptly by the aid of a mammoth shell-bark hickory against which he leaned and since that time the tree has been known as the Grover Cleveland Hickory of 1893 in honor of the great Democrat.

On the first of September, 1897, the 23rd Ohio Regiment was again the guest at a reunion in Spiegel Grove. President William McKinley, Secretary of War Alger, Senator Hanna of Ohio, and others prominent in public life, spoke from beneath a group of white oaks around which a stand had been erected, while Mrs. McKinley and the ladies of the party were seated on the porch of the Hayes residence. The group of white oaks was promptly named the McKinley Oaks of 1897.

In 1904, another reunion of the 23rd Regiment was held, owing to inclement weather, on the 80-foot porch of the Hayes residence. The guest of the Regiment and chief speaker was Rear-Admiral Charles E. Clark, U. S. N., the captain of the battleship *Oregon*, which made the famous run from San Fran-

cisco Bay through the Straits of Magellen. Dodging the Spanish fleet in the West Indies, she safely joined the American fleet at Key West, and without a moment's delay proceeded with the fleet to bottle up Admiral Cervera's Spanish fleet in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, from which when the Spaniards attempted to escape, on the third of July, 1898, the battleship *Oregon* opened fire on each Spanish ship as she emerged from the harbor "and left not one of them until after it had hoisted signals of surrender or been driven ashore." The Admiral Clark white oak was christened during the exercises.

In 1908, in the early days of the presidential campaign, Judge William H. Taft was a guest of Colonel Hayes, and on being advised of the custom of naming trees after presidents, distinguished soldiers and sailors, and having been invited to select his tree, promptly chose one of the largest white oaks in the Grove, immediately in front of the residence, and with the remark, "That is about my size", placed his hand on it and christened it the William H. Taft oak of 1908.

On May 30, 1916, after the completion of the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum building with funds provided by the State of Ohio and Colonel Hayes, in almost equal parts, the exercises of dedication were held from a stand erected directly in front of the house. Dr. Charles Richard Williams, of Princeton, New Jersey, the biographer of President Hayes, delivered a scholarly address after which the Honorable Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, as the representative of President Wilson; United States Senator Atlee Pomerene; and Congressman A. W. Overmyer who had come from Washington for the purpose, delivered appropriate addresses; as did also Representatives of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of which President Hayes was Commander-in-Chief at the time of his death; the Grand Army of the Republic, by the commander of his old post, The Eugene Rawson Post G. A. R., and the President of the 23rd Regiment O. V. V. I. Association

It was deemed peculiarly appropriate in arranging for the exercises of Oct. 4, 1920, the 98th anniversary of the birth of Rutherford B. Hayes, to again erect the speaker's stand under the famous McKinley Oaks of 1807.

The exercises of the day were arranged by the following efficient committees:

Spiegel Grove Committee of the Ohio Archaeological Society — Webb C. Hayes, Fremont, Chairman; I. T. Fangboner, Fremont, Vice Chairman; W. J. Sherman, Toledo, D. J. Ryan, Columbus; F. W. Treadway, Cleveland.

Soldiers Memorial Parkway Committee — A. E. Slessman, Chairman; Kent H. Dillon, Secretary.

Edgar Thurston Post, American Legion — W. H. Johnston, Commander; Carl Stroup, Adjutant.

Emerson Command, Spanish War Veterans — Harry Price, Commander; George Grob, Adjutant.

Eugene Rawson Post, G. A. R. — S. B. Rathbun, Commander; B. F. Evans, Adjutant.

George Croghan Chapter Daughters American Revolution — Mrs. E. K. Sarnes, Regent; Mrs. F. P. Timmons, Secretary.

Fremont Chamber of Commerce — D. H. Beckett, President; Carl Pressler, Secretary-Manager.

Celebration Committee Fremont Chamber of Commerce — V. D. Butman, Chairman; P. A. Lins, A. E. Slessman, D. H. Beckett, Carl Pressler.

Special Hospital Committee Exchange Club — Chas. L. Sherwood, Chairman; Harry P. Gottron, V. D. Butman, Jas. H. Goodwin, Jas. G. Younkman.

Special Committee Fremont City Council — G. H. Brinkerhoff, Chairman; Edward Deemer, John L. Reineck.





La Galissoniere

Roland Michel Barrin Marquis de la Galissoniere, a French naval officer and from 1747 to 1749 Governor-General of Canada, was born in 1693 and died in 1756. He was a captain in the navy when he was appointed Governor-General. He was not only a soldier but a student, a naturalist and a statesman. He planned a chain of forts extending up the valley of the St. Lawrence, through the region of the Great Lakes and down the valley of the Mississippi; equipped and sent forth the expedition of Celoron; urged the settlement of the Ohio valley by ten thousand French peasants. He was recalled to France in 1849. In May, 1856, he defeated the British fleet under Admiral Byng and died later in the same year.

THE EXPEDITION OF CELORON.

BY C. B. GALBREATH.

The journals of Celoron and Bonnecamps, with the paper by O. H. Marshall are here published in order to bring together in convenient form the accounts of this remarkable expedition, sent by the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of New France and the Country of Louisiana, to establish more firmly the French claims to the Ohio country, particularly that portion of it which lies within the present boundary of our state. A glance at the map shows that this was preeminently an expedition to what is now Ohio.

The accounts of these two early explorers, Celoron and Bonnecamps, should be conveniently accessible to all students of Ohio history. To make them so is the prime purpose of their presentation in the Quarterly.

The Journal of Celoron for almost 140 years remained unpublished. Its existence in the archives of the French Government was known, but not until 1886 was the full text published in an English translation by Rev. A. A. Lambing, in his *Catholic Historical Researches*, a quarterly journal issued in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. This valuable publication, which included many original documents, was evidently issued in a rather limited edition, as it is now very rare. The writer has had a few occasions to use it, and has found it necessary in each instance to borrow the *Researches* from the Library of Congress.

The Journal of Father Bonnecamps is more readily accessible through the *Jesuit Relations*, the monumental work edited by the late Rueben Gold Thwaites and published by the Burrows Brothers Company, of Cleveland, through whose courtesy we are permitted to present to our readers the accurate and well rendered translation into English. As these two journals are accounts of the same expedition, by its military and spiritual leaders, it is altogether proper that they should appear together. This is the first time that they have been so published.

As will be seen by a note on a following page, O. H. Marshall of the Buffalo Historical Society was the first to direct especial attention to the journal of Celoron. His article in the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. 2, p. 129-150, is a continuous account of that expedition, based upon the record left by Celoron. In some instances it is almost a paraphrase of that record. It has been so often referred to by different writers, and especially by Rev. Lambing in his "notes", that it has been thought best to reproduce it here in full, with the original paging in the *Magazine of American History* indicated by bold face numerals in parentheses. This will facilitate use of numerous references in Lambing's "notes." Where questions have been raised by these two writers the decision is left to the reader.

The expedition itself is an inviting theme. How it would impress us to be transferred to that far off time when the "Oyo" poured its waters through the venerable and pathless woods of that primeval solitude. What interest we would have found in the wild life of the forest. With what awe we would have looked upon the tree-clad hills or gazed into the dark recesses of vale and ravine. But these things were commonplace to Celoron and Bonnacamps. They had long been accustomed to the ways of the wilderness. Their first thought was very naturally and properly on their special mission to the Ohio valley.

Celoron was concerned about the deposit of the leaden plates and the attitude of the Indians towards the French government. The same was true in lesser degree of Bonnacamps. These journals therefore do not contain much of the descriptive matter which they might have included had they dreamed of the interest that would one day attach to their narrative.

The leaden plates deposited along the Ohio have long been objects of interest and curiosity. Three have been found and are now on exhibition in somewhat widely separated museums. One of these was perhaps never buried. The one deposited at the mouth of the Muskingum was considerably mutilated. A portion of the lead was cut away for bullets before the significance and importance of this relic were realized. At this time no satisfactory cut of this plate is available for publication. Good cuts of the other plates are elsewhere presented with this article.

As one reads the speeches of Celoron, delivered to the Indians in behalf of the courtly Galissoniere, and the crafty replies, he is impressed with the thought that "the untutored child of the forest" was something of a diplomat. The honeyed words of the Indian orators to their "dear father" whose envoy they would like to have scalped, were only equaled by the bland assurances to "my dear children" by Celoron who would have preferred to beat the whole tribe of redskins into genuine submission if he had thought that his force was adequate to that enterprise. Even at that distant date, the Ohio soil seemed to evolve the wily politician, prophetic of greater things that would follow when the forests should be cleared away and the native tendency should bear larger fruit in the sunlight of civilization. In particular, our thoughts are apt to linger about old La Demoiselle, or Old Britain, as he was called by the English. He was a shrewd old aborigone. He rather enjoyed being courted for favors by the rival interests of England and France. Presents from both were "thankfully received". Like the accomplished politician of current history, he made all sorts of promises, but politely excused himself when Celoron invited him to accompany the expedition on its way north.

The British and the French had sought the favor of the old chief by flattery as well as by the bestowal of presents. The former by way of compliment had called him Old Britain; the latter, not to be outdone, named him The Demoiselle, the lady.

Following the expedition of Celoron, came Christopher Gist, the agent of the Virginia Land Company. He was received with great acclaim by Old Britain who promptly forgot all his promises to Celoron, refused to move northward to the sphere of French influence and continued to build up his village through a flourishing trade with the British. For this forgetfulness and evident partiality the old chief afterward paid dearly.

The French governor of Canada resolved that British power in the valley of the Miami should be overthrown. In June, 1852, over 200 Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, under the leadership of a French officer by the name of Charles Langlade, set out on a mission of plunder and vengeance to the Miami when the warriors were nearly all absent on the chase. Those who remained

were taken completely by surprise. Before Old Britain and the five English traders who were in the village could get safely within the enclosure of the fort, the enemy were in their midst, dealing out death from their blazing rifles. Old Britain and thirteen of his men were killed and scalped. One of the traders was stabbed to death and his heart was eaten by his savage captors, as they said, "to increase their courage." They then boiled and ate the body of Old Britain. Thus perished Ohio's first great diplomat and politician. His tragic exit from the "scenes of his glory" may contain a lesson and a warning to his successors who are still abroad in this favored land.

Seriously speaking, the expeditions of Celoron and Gist prepared the way for hostilities on this continent between the British and the French, which culminated in the surrender of Quebec and the overthrow of French power in America.

The destruction of Pickawillany, the village of Old Britain, by the French under Langlade is sometimes considered the opening battle of the French and Indian War.

The notes of Rev. Lambing on the following pages explain in large measure the varied and somewhat inconsistent spelling of proper names that sometimes occurs in the two Journals.



CELORON'S JOURNAL.¹

EDITED BY REV. A. A. LAMBING.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

It is now almost two years since I read a paper before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, on Celoron's expedition down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers in the latter part of the summer of 1749. The subject attracted considerable attention at the time, and between those who culled from me and those who cudged me, the local public have become pretty well acquainted with the movements of the French in this part of the United States about the middle of the last century. The interest which the subject attracted determined me to secure a copy of the Journal itself; the original of which is kept in the archives of the marine at Paris. I may state, in passing, that I am expecting other documents from the same and other sources relating to the operations of the French in this country.

The translation is made as literally as correctness of language would permit; for Celoron, like many others in his day, was better able to fight the enemies of France than to write the language of France. Notes are appended to illustrate the text, and reference is frequently made to notes in certain papers in the first volume of *Recherches* and the Register of Fort Duquesne, which it was not thought necessary to reproduce here.* The Journal will extend through about four numbers of the *RESEARCHES*.

TRANSLATION OF JOURNAL.

Journal of the expedition which I, Celoron, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain, commanding a detachment sent down the Beautiful River by the orders of M., the Marquis de la Galissoniere² Governor-General of all New France, and of the Country of Louisiana.

* These notes are reproduced with the references.

I set out from La Chine on the 15th of June with a detachment composed of one Captain, eight subaltern officers, six Cadets, one Chaplain, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, and about thirty Indians, there being as many Iroquois as Abinakis.³ I passed the night at Point Claire. The 16th, I set out at ten in the morning and passed the night at Soulange, with my whole detachment; several canoes were destroyed in the rapids. The 17th, I set out from Soulange, I ascended the Cedars, the rapids of the lake, to where M. Joncaire made shipwreck, his canoe being broken, one man drowned, and the greater part of the goods lost. The 18th, I stopped at the entrance of Lake St. Francis in order to get the few goods dried, which had been gathered up at the foot of the rapids. The 19th, I passed Lake St. Francis, and ascended the rapids, called the Thousand Rocks, making the passage without accident. The 20th, I ascended the long bottom. The 21st, I passed several rapids, I'll not give the number of them, they are known to every one. The 22d, 23d and 24th, I continued my route without anything remarkable having happened, save that several canoes were smashed through the ill-will of those who were guiding them; I got them repaired, and continued my route. I passed the 25th at a New French establishment which M. the abbe Piquet⁴ founded, where I found about sixty acres of cleared land. His stone fort, eight feet high, was not as yet much advanced. The abbe Piquet lodged in a bark cabin in the Indian fashion, and had lumber and other materials prepared for his lodging; he had two Montagnes⁵ Indians who besought me to take them along with me. To please him I accepted them. This was all that made up his mission.⁶ The 26th, I set out from M. Piquet's and passed the night at the Narrows. The 27th, I set out early in the morning to go to Fort Frontenac⁷ where I arrived at five in the evening. The 28th and 29th, I stopped at Fort Frontenac to repair my canoes, which had been very much damaged in the rapids, and to give my men a rest. The 30th, I set out from Fort Frontenac to go to Niagara. At Quinte I fell in with Monsieur de la Naudiere⁸ who was returning from the Miamis. He told me that the nations of Detroit, apprised of my expedition, were ready on the first invitation to come and join

me. I did not count much on the disposition of these Indians; however, as I had learned on my route that there would be more people on the Beautiful River than had been reported to M. de la Galissoniere, I profited, at all risks, by the advice of M. de la Naudiere, and forced my voyage to rejoin M. de Sabrinois⁹ who was going as Commander to Detroit: the 6th of July I arrived at Niagara, where I found him. We conversed together, and I wrote to M. the chevalier Longueil¹⁰ what I had learned from M. de la Naudiere, and I begged him, that if the nations of Detroit had the intention of coming to join me, not to be slow in telling them to set out; that I appointed the place of meeting at Stiotoc from the 9th to the 12th of August; that if they had changed their intention I would feel obliged to him to send me scouts to inform me of their plans, so as to know what I ought to do. The 7th of July, I had M. de Contrecoeur,¹¹ Captain and second in command of the detachment, to set out with Messrs. the subaltern officers and all my canoes, to go make the portage.¹² I stayed at the fort awaiting my Indians, who had taken a different route from mine in Lake Ontario. They having rejoined me, I went to the portage which M. de Contrecoeur had made. The 14th of the same month I entered Lake Erie, where a strong gale made me encamp at some leagues above the little rapids; there I had some squadrons formed to keep sentry, which consisted of forty men commanded by an officer. The 15th, I set out at early morning in the hope of having a fine day and of arriving at the Portage of Chatakuin,¹³ which I was not able to do; a strong gale having risen, just as on the previous day, I was obliged to go ashore. The lake is extremely shallow, there is no protection, and if you did not sail before the wind you would run the risk of perishing when landing. Large rocks are found to a distance of more than three-fourths of a mile from the shore,¹⁴ upon which you are in danger of perishing. I fell upon one, and without prompt assistance I should have been drowned with all on board. I landed to repair my canoe which had been broken in several places. The 16th, at noon, I arrived at the portage of Chatakuin. As soon as all my canoes were loaded, I despatched M. de Villiers and M. le Borgne¹⁵ with

fifty men to go clear a road.¹⁶ The rest of the day I made observations on the situation of the place, in case that I might afterwards wish to establish a post there; I found nothing there of advantage either for the navigation of the lake, or for the situation of the post; the lake is so shallow on the side of the south, that ships could not approach the portage but at more than a league's distance. There is no island or harbor where they could be moored and put under protection; they must needs remain at anchor and have boats for unloading them; the gales of wind are so frequent there that I think they would be in danger. Besides, there is no Indian village established in this place; they are at a great distance, the nearest are those of Ganaouagon¹⁷ and of the Cut Straw.¹⁸ In the evening Messrs. de Villiers and Le Barque came to pass the night in the camp, having cleared about three-quarters of a league¹⁹ of the road. Sentinels were placed, and this order continued during the whole campaign, as much for the safety of the detachment as for forming the Canadians to discipline, of which they stood in need. The 17th, at break of day, we commenced our portage which was vigorously prosecuted, since all the canoes, provisions, munitions of war and merchandise destined as presents for the nations of the Beautiful River,²⁰ were carried the three-quarters of a league which had been cleared the day previous. This road is very difficult by reason of numerous hills and mountains which are met with thereon; our men were also very tired. The 18th, I continued my portage, but the bad weather hindered me from pushing on as far as the preceding day. I consoled myself for this delay; being only prevented by the rain, it was all that I wished, so as to have water in the river for passing with the loads which I had in my canoes. The 19th, the rain having abated I resumed the march, and that day made half a league. The 20th and 21st, we continued our route with great haste. The 22d, we finished the portage which may be counted as four leagues, and we arrived at the head of the Lake Chataquin; at this place I had my canoes repaired, and allowed my men to repose. At noon on the 22d, I set out and encamped at the outlet of the lake, which may have been nine leagues.²¹ In the evening our Indians, who had been fishing in the lake, told me

that they had seen people who concealed themselves in the woods as soon as they had been perceived. The 24th, I departed from the lake at an early enough hour in the morning, and we entered the river of Chataknin.²² The water being rather low I had the greater part of the baggage transported by hand. The portage was pointed out to me by the S. de la Saussaye.²⁴ It was almost three-quarters of a league. This transport rendered easy the passage of our canoes which could not have passed with the loads. We made almost half a league this day by water. The 25th, before setting out on the march, at the representations of the Indians of my detachment, I called a council composed of Messrs. the officers and the nations I had with me to deliberate together upon the measures we ought to take on the occasion of the vestiges we had found the day before of several cabins abandoned with so much precipitation that the Indians had left behind a part of their utensils, their canoes, and even their provisions, to seek the woods. This action gave us proof of the terror of these Indians, and that they withdrew only through fear, and that they would consequently bear the alarm into all the villages, would put them also to flight, or make them adopt the plan of assembling to form considerable bodies, and lay an ambush for us. The country was extremely advantageous for them, and for us of very difficult access on account of the small amount of water there was in the river. I communicated the intentions of M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere to the officers, who saw that it was of great importance for the execution of the orders with which I was charged, to reassure the nations of these countries; and the unanimous sentiment was, to send them word to remain quiet in their cabins and to assure them that I came only to treat with them of good things and to explain to them the sentiments of their Father, Onontio.²⁴ I had their opinions drawn out in writing, which they all signed. The following is a copy of them:

Council held by M. de Celoron with Messrs. the officers of his detachment and the chiefs, the 25th of July, 1749.

Having discovered on the 24th of July at the lower part of the Lake Chatakuin vestiges by which it appeared to us that the Indians who were on the hunt in this place had been fright-

ened at the number of canoes and people that composed our detachment, having abandoned their canoes, provisions, and other utensils, and that they had gone to carry the alarm to the village of the Cut Straw; and as it is important in consequence of the orders of M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere to speak to these nations to make known to them his intentions, and not wishing to do anything without the advice of Messrs. the officers and the chiefs whom we have with us, we have assembled them to communicate to them the orders with which we are charged, so as to adopt together the most suitable measures to dissipate the terror which our march has spread. The opinions of all having been received, the unanimous sentiment was, that to reassure these nations and have an opportunity to speak to them, a canoe should be told off to go to the village of the Cut Straw, in which should embark M. de Joncaire,²⁵ Lieutenant, with two Abinakis and three Iroquois to carry them three belts of wampum, and induce them to take courage, that their father came only to treat with them of good things.

Made at our Camp at the entrance of the River of Chatakuin, this 25th of July, 1749. All the officers signed.

As soon as the council was ended, I made M. de Joncaire set out. This done, I set out and made about a league with much difficulty. In many places I was obliged to assign forty men to each canoe to have them pass over. The 26th, 27th and 28th, I continued my voyage, not without many obstacles; and despite all the precautions I took to manage my canoes, they often sustained great injury on account of the dearth of water. The 29th, at noon, I entered the Beautiful River. I had a leaden plate buried²⁶ on which was engraved the taking possession which I made, in the name of the King, of this river and of all those which fall into it. I had also attached to a tree the arms of the King, struck on a plate of sheet iron, and of all this I drew up an official statement, which Messrs. the officers and I have signed.

Copy of written record of the position of the leaden plate and of the arms of the King, deposited at the entrance of the Beautiful River, together with the inscription:

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, we Celoron, Knight of the Royal Military Order of St. Louis, Captain commanding a detachment sent by the orders of M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of New France, on the Beautiful River, otherwise called the Oyo, accompanied by the principal officers of our detachment, buried at the foot of a red oak, on the southern bank of the river Oyo and of Kanaougon,²⁷ and at 42° 5' 23",²⁸ a leaden plate, with this inscription thereon engraven:

INSCRIPTION.

In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis the XV, King of France, we, Celoron, commander of the detachment sent by M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of New France, to reestablish peace in some villages of these Cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and the Kanaaiagon, the 29th of July, for a monument of the renewal of possession which we have taken of the said river Ohio, and of all those which fall into it, and of all the territories on both sides as far as the source of the said rivers, as the preceding Kings of France have possessed or should possess them,²⁹ and as they are maintained therein by arms and by treaties, and especially by those of Riswick, Utrecht and of Aix la Chapelle; have moreover affixed to a tree the arms of the King. In testimony whereof, we have drawn up and signed the present written record. Made at the entrance of the Beautiful River, the 29th of July, 1749. All the officers signed. •

This ceremony over, as I was not far distant from the village of Kanaougon, and as the Indians were notified by M. de Joncaire of my arrival, they were on the watch to discover me. As soon as they had descried my canoes, they sent me a deputation to invite me to come to their villages and to receive there the compliments of their Chiefs. I treated well those sent. I made them drink a draught of the milk³⁰ of their Father Onontio, and gave them tobacco. They returned to their villages, and I followed a short time after. I passed before the village; they saluted me with several discharges of musketry; I returned the salutes, and encamped on the other side of the river. M. de Joncaire brought the Chiefs to my tent; I received their felicitations, and as this village consists of twelve or thirteen cabins, I invited them to come to the Cut Straw to hear what I had to

L'AN 1749 DV REGNE DE LOVIS XV ROY DE
 FRANCE NOVS CELORON COMMANDANT DVN
 DETACHEMENT ENVOIÉ PAR MONSIEVR LE M.^{rs}
 DE LA GALISSONIERE COMMANDANT GENERAL DE
 LA NOUVELLE FRANCE POVR RETABLIR LA
 TRANQVILLITÉ DANS QUELQUES VILLAGES SAUVAGES
 DE CES CANTONS AVONS ENTERRE CETTE PLAQUE
 AU CONFLUENT DE LOHIO ET DETCHADAKOÏN CE 29^{me} Villet
 PRES DE LA RIVIERE OYO AUTREMENT BELLE
 RIVIERE POUR MONUMENT DU RENOUVELLEMENT DE
 POSSESSION QUE NOUS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE
 RIVIERE OYO ET DE TOUTES CELLES QUI Y
 TOMBENT ET DE TOUTES LES TERRES DES DEUX
 CÔTES JVSQVE AVX SOVRCES DES DITTES RIVIERES
 AÏNSI QVÉN ONT JOVV OY DÛ JOVÏR LES
 PRECEDENTS ROIS DE FRANCE ET QVILS SÛ
 SONT MAINTENVS PAR LES ARMES ET PAR LES
 TRAITTES SPECIALEMENT PAR CEVX DE RISWICK
 D'VTRECHT ET D'AIX LA CHAPELLE

FACSIMILE OF LEADEN PLATE DEPOSITED AT CONFLUENCE OF THE CONEWANGO AND THE
 ALLEGHANY.

say to them on the part of their father Onontio. The women brought me presents of Indian corn and squashes, for which I gave them little presents. M. de Joncaire assured me that it was well that he had gone in advance to dispel the terror which had seized the Indians; that several had withdrawn into the woods, and that the others had prepared to follow. I made M. de Joncaire set out for the Cut Straw. The 30th, I betook myself to Cut Straw³¹ whither I had sent M. de Joncaire the previous day. The Indians of this place had formed the design of fleeing into the woods on the report which those had given them, who had descried us in the Lake Chatakuin, who had told them that we were a considerable force, and that, undoubtedly, it was our intention to destroy them. M. de Joncaire found much difficulty in removing this impression, although they were Iroquois of the Five Nations which composed these two villages; although he is in fact adopted by the nation, and they have great confidence in him. As soon as I arrived the Chiefs assembled and came to my tent. The following is their opening speech:

Speech of the Sonontouans³² established at the village of Cut Straw, otherwise called Kachinodiagon, and of Kanaouagon, to M. de Celoron, accompanied by two belts of wampum, the 30th day of July, 1749.

"My Father, we come to give testimony of the joy which we feel at seeing you arrived at our villages in good health. It is a long time since we have had the pleasure of seeing our Father in these territories, and the expedition of which we have been apprised for a month has caused much uneasiness and fear not only in our villages, but in all those of the Beautiful River. Thou hast perceived it, my Father, and to reassure thy children, frightened and without courage, thou hast done well to send us our son Joncaire to tell us to be calm and to await in our villages thy arrival, to hear the word of our father Onontio, which thou bringest us. The belts of wampum have entirely calmed our mind of all the fears which had seized on us; our bundles were prepared for fleeing, and we were like drunken people. All has passed away, and we have remained as thou wished it to hear what thou hast to tell us. We are delighted that our father Onontio has made choice of thee to make his intentions known to us. It is not to-day that we know thee; thou didst govern us at Niagara,³³ and thou knowest that we never did aught but thy will."

Answer of M. de Celoron to the above speech, accompanied by three belts of wampum, the 30th of July, 1749:

"I am delighted, my children, that the arrival of M. de Joncaire in your villages has calmed your minds, and has dispelled the fears which my expedition into this country has caused you. No doubt but it was occasioned by the sinister conduct of people who always occupy themselves in evil designs. What surprises me is, that those who have a right spirit, and who have always listened to the words of their father Onontio, have caused this fear. By these three belts of wampum I open your ears so that you may hear well what I have to say to you on the part of your father Onontio, and that I may also open your eyes to make you see clearly the advantages which your father wishes to procure you, if like sensible people you wish to avail yourselves of them. It is his word which I bring you here, and which I am going to bring to all the villages of the Beautiful River."

Words of M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere to the first village of the Iroquois Sonontuerna, established at the entrance of the Beautiful River, delivered by M. de Celoron:

"My children, since I began to wage war with the English I have learned that this nation has seduced you, and that not content with corrupting your heart, they have profited of the time of my absence from this country to invade the territories which do not belong to them, and which are mine: a circumstance which has determined me to send M. de Celoron to you, to make known my intentions, which are, that I will not suffer the English in my territories; and I invite you, if you are my real children, to receive them no more into your villages. I cut off, then, by this belt, the commerce which they have lately established in this part of the country, and I announce to you that I will not suffer them there any more. If you are attached to me, you will make them withdraw, and will send them home; by this means you will always be in peace in your villages. I will grant you for this all the aid you have a right to expect from a good father. Come to see me next spring; you will have reason to be pleased with the reception I will give you; I will abundantly furnish you with traders, if you desire it; I will even add officers to them, if that gives you pleasure, to lead you and to give you courage, so that you engage only in lawful business. The English have acted all the more wrongly in coming into these territories, as the Five Nations have forbidden them to remain beyond the mountains. Pay serious attention, my children, to the message which I send you. Listen to it well; follow it, it is the means of always

seeing over your villages a beautiful and serene sky. I expect from you an answer worthy of my true children. You will see suitable marks which I have fixed along the Beautiful River, which will prove to the English that this land belongs to me, and that they cannot come into it without exposing themselves to be expelled from it. This time I desire to treat them with kindness, and if they are wise they will profit by my advice."

Two belts of wampum.

"I am surprised, my children, to see raised in your village a cabin destined to receive English traders. If you look upon yourselves as my children you will not continue this work; far from it, you will destroy it, and will no longer receive the English at your homes."⁹⁴

Answer of the Iroquois of the villages of Ganaouskon and of Chinodiagon, the 31st of July, 1749; with two belts of wampum:

"My father, we thank you for having opened our ears and our eyes to understand your speech, and see clearly that you speak to us as a good father.

A belt.

"My father, we are very glad to speak to-day of business with you. Do not be surprised at our answers; we are people who have no knowledge of business, but who speak to you from the bottom of their heart. My father, you have appeared to us surprised at this that the English came for commerce upon our lands. It is true our old men forbade their entrance. You engage us to go up to Montreal next year so as to speak of business with Onontio, and we appreciate these favors. We assure you that we are going to prepare for this during the winter, and that we will go next spring.

"My father, you have told us that you perceive that the English came to invade our lands, and that you have come to summon them to withdraw; that to the end you closed the way against them. We thank you for your undertaking, and we promise you no more to suffer them here. We are not a party capable of deciding entirely on the general sentiment of the Five Nations who inhabit this river. We await the decisions of the Chiefs of our villages, as also the villages lower down. For us, my father, we assure you that we will not receive the English into our two villages.

Two belts of wampum:

"My father, you have told us that some little birds had given you word that a house was being built for the English, and that if we suffered them to do so, they would shortly raise here a considerable establishment for driving us away, because they would render themselves masters of our lands. You have invited us to discontinue this work. This is what we promise you, and this house which is almost finished, will serve only for a recreation place for the youth. We promise you also not to touch the arms of the King which you have planted on this river, and which will prove to the English that they have no right in this part of the country.

Two belts of wampum to the Indians of the detachment.

"My brothers, we are delighted to see you accompany our father on his voyage; you have told us that you have no other sentiments than those of Onontio. We invite you to follow the counsels which he desires to give you, and we have taken the resolution to do only his will. We thank you for what you have told us, and we will pay attention to it."

The council over, I made presents to the Indians, which gave them great pleasure, and in return they assured me anew that they would never receive the English in their homes, and that they would go down next spring to see their father Onontio.

The 31st of July I sojourned at this village, having been delayed by an abundant fall of rain, which gave us a great deal of pleasure; the river rose three feet during the night. The 1st of August I set out from the Cut Straw. After having gone about ten leagues, I found a village of Loups and Renards of about ten cabins.³⁵ I landed, and found only one man, who told me that the rest had fled. I told the Indian that his people were wrong to let themselves be frightened, that I did not come to do them harm; far from it, but I came to treat with them of good things, and to encourage the children of the Governor, who were in need of it. I added that I did not doubt but that as soon as their fear was over, they would return home; that I invited them to come to the village lower down, which was not further than four or five leagues, and that I would speak to them. This same day I passed by a little village of six cabins,³⁶ the inhabitants of which I told, as I had the others, to come to the most considerable village, where I would speak to them on the part of their father Onontio. They arrived there a short time after me. The

2d, I spoke to the Indians in the name of M. the Governor. The following are the speech and their answer :

A belt.

“My children, the Loups, the reason which determined your father Onontio to send me into this part of the country, was the information he had received that the English proposed to form posts considerable enough to invade one day these lands and to increase therein in such a way, if they were let do so, that they would render themselves masters of them, and you would be the victims. As you have in the past heard with attention the word which I bring you on his part, the experience you have had, my children, of the evil intentions of the English in your regard ought always to be remembered. Remember that you formerly possessed at Philadelphia, beautiful lands, upon which you found in abundance wherewith to sustain your families. They drew near you under pretext of ministering to your wants, and little by little, without you perceiving it, they established forts and afterwards towns, and when they grew powerful enough, they drove you away and forced you to come and establish yourselves on these lands, to find subsistence for your wives and your children. What they did at Philadelphia they purposed doing to-day upon the Beautiful River by the posts which they wish to establish there. It is the knowledge which I have of this, seeing farther than you, which has determined me to send you M. de Celoron to make you open your eyes to the evils which threaten you, and to make you see that it is personal interest alone that influences the English. I send to summon them for this time to withdraw, not wishing that they occupy the lands which belong to me; if they are prudent they will not expose themselves to be forced to it. The English have much less right to come since the Kings of France and England have agreed in all the treaties of peace, and particularly in the last which terminated the war, that the English should never put their foot on these lands. You know also, my children, that the Five Nations have absolutely forbidden them, not only to establish posts upon the Beautiful River, but even to come there to trade; that they remain on the other side of the mountains on the land which they have usurped from you. To this I am not opposed, but on my lands I shall not suffer them. For you, my children, you will lose nothing thereby; far from it, I will give you all the aid you have a right to expect from a good father. Depute next spring some persons of your nation with your old men³⁷ to come and see me, and you will see by the reception I will give you, how much I love you, and that I seek only to do you good

and to free you from the yoke of the English which they still wish to impose on you. I will give you traders who will supply all your wants and put you in such a state as not to regret those whom I remove from your lands. These lands which you possess you will be always masters of."

Answer of the Loups the 2d of August:

A belt.

"My father, we pray you have pity on us, we are young men who cannot answer you as old men would. What you have said has opened our eyes and given us courage. We see that you labor only for our good, and we promise you to entertain no other sentiments than those of our uncles, the Five Nations, with whom you seem pleased. Consider, my father, the situation in which we are placed. If you compel the English to retire, who minister to our wants, and in particular the blacksmith³⁸ who mends our guns and our hatchets, we shall be forced to remain without succor and be exposed to the danger of dying of hunger and misery on the Beautiful River. Have pity on us, my father, you cannot at present minister to our wants, let us have, during this winter, or at least till we go hunting, the blacksmith and some one who can aid us. We promise you that by spring the English shall retire."

I told them, without making them any promise, that I would make an arrangement which would best suit their interests and the intentions of their father Onontio. I confess that their reply embarrassed me very much. I made them a little present, and induced them to keep the promise which they had given me. The 3d I set out on the route. On the way I found a village of ten abandoned cabins,³⁹ the Indians, having been apprised of my arrival, had gained the woods. I continued my route as far as the village at the River aux Boeufs,⁴⁰ which is only of nine or ten cabins. As soon as they perceived me they fired a salute. I had their salute returned, and landed. As I had been informed that there was at this place a blacksmith and an English merchant, I wished to speak to them; but the English, as well as the Indians, had gained the woods. There remained only five or six Iroquois, who presented themselves with their arms in their hands. I rebuked them for their manner of showing themselves, and made them lower their arms. They made many excuses, and told me they would not have come with their guns, except

that they had them to salute me. I spoke to them in almost the same terms as I had done to the Loups, and immediately embarked. That evening I had a leaden plate buried, and had the arms of the king attached to a tree; and drew up the following official statement of the transaction:

OFFICIAL STATEMENT.

In the year 1749, we, Celoron, Knight of the Royal and Military order of St. Louis, Captain commanding the detachment sent by the orders of M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of New France, on the Beautiful River, otherwise called the Ohio, accompanied by the principal officers of our detachment, have buried upon the southern bank of the Ohio, at four leagues distance below the River aux Boeufs, directly opposite a naked mountain, and near an immense stone⁴¹ upon which certain figures are rudely enough carved, a leaden plate, and have attached in the same place to a tree the arms of the king. In testimony whereof we have signed the present official statement Made at our camp the 3d of August, 1749. All the officers signed.

The inscription is the same as the preceding one, which I placed at the entrance of the Beautiful River. The 4th, in the morning, having conferred with Messrs. the officers, and the principal Indians of my detachment upon the precautions to be taken for reassuring the nations of the Beautiful River, and to induce them not to flee, so that we could speak to them on the part of M. the Governor, it was decided that M. de Joncaire should go with the chiefs to the village of Attique to announce my arrival there and induce the nations of that place to await me without fear, since I came only to speak of good things. He immediately set out. We made about fifteen leagues that day.

The 5th I set out at a pretty early hour. After having made from three to four leagues I found a river, the mouth of which is very beautiful, and at a league lower down I found another.⁴² Both of them are to the south of the Beautiful River. On the highground there are villages of the Loups and Iroquois of the Five Nations. I camped at an early hour in order to give M. de Joncaire time to reach the village of Attique. The 6th I set out about seven o'clock. After having made about

five leagues I arrived at the village of Attique,⁴³ where I found M. de Joncaire with our Indians. Those of the place had taken flight. This village consists of twenty-two cabins. They are Loups. M. de Joncaire told me that a chief with two young men who had remained to spy, seeing him meagerly accompanied, had come to him and demanded of him the motives of his voyage; to which he answered: I come only to speak to the nations of the Beautiful River, to animate the children of the (French) government which inhabited it. He induced this chief to take charge of the wampum belts, which I had given him, to carry them to the villages lower down, and to tell them to remain quiet upon their mats, since I only came to treat of affairs with them, which would be advantageous to them. I re-embarked and the same day I passed by the ancient village⁴⁴ of the Chaeunons, which has been abandoned since the departure of an individual named Chartier, and his band, who was taken away from this place by the orders of M. the Marquis of Beauharnois, and conducted to the River au Vermillion, on the Wabash, in 1745. At this place I fell in with six English⁴⁵ soldiers, with fifty horses and about one hundred and fifty bales of furs, who were returning from there to Philadelphia. I summoned them in writing to withdraw to their own territory, that the land whither they had come on business belonged to the King (of France), and not to the King of England, that if they came again they would be pillaged; that I desired this time to treat them with kindness, and that they should profit of the advice I gave them. They assured me, either through fear or otherwise, that they would not come back any more. They acknowledged that they had no right to trade, a point which I had explained clearly in the citation. I wrote to the Governor of Philadelphia in these terms:

⁴⁶ "Sir.—Having been sent with a detachment into these parts by the orders of M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of New France, in order to reconcile with it some Indian nations which had fallen away on the occasion of the war that is just ended, I have been very much surprised to find some merchants of your government in this country, to which England has never had any pretensions. I have treated them with all possible mildness, though I had a right to look upon them as

intruders and mere vagrants, their traffic being contrary to the preliminaries of the peace, signed more than fifteen months ago.

"I hope, Sir, you will condescend to forbid this trade for the future, which is contrary to the treaties; and that you will warn your traders not to return into these territories; for, if so, they can only impute to themselves the evils which might befall them. I know that our Governor-General would be very sorry to have to resort to violent measures, but he has received positive orders not to allow foreign merchants or traders in his government.

I am, etc."

This done, I re-embarked and continued my route. The 7th I passed by a Loup village⁴⁷ in which there were only three men. They had placed a white flag over their cabins, the rest of their people had gone to Chiningue, not hazarding to remain at home. I invited these three men to come along with me to Chiningue in order to hear what I had to say to them. I re-embarked and went to the village which is called the Written Rock.⁴⁸ They are Iroquois that inhabit this place, and it was an old woman of that nation, who led them. She looks upon herself as queen⁴⁹ and is entirely devoted to the English. All the Indians withdrew; there remained in this place only six English traders, who came all trembling before me. I landed, and when I wished to speak to them I was much embarrassed, not having an interpreter of their language, and they pretended not to understand others. However, they yielded, and one among them spoke Chavenoun.⁵⁰ I made the same citation to them as to the others, and I wrote to their Governor. They told me they were going to withdraw, that they knew well they had no right to trade, but not having encountered any obstacles up to the present, they had sought to gain their livelihood; and the more so as the Indians had attracted them thither, but that henceforward they would not return. This place is one of the most beautiful I have seen up to the present on the Beautiful River. I decamped and passed the night about three leagues lower down. When we had landed our Indians told me that when passing they had seen certain writings on a rock.⁵¹ As it was late I could not send anyone there till the next day. I begged the Reverend Father Bonnacamp⁵² and M. de Joncaire to go there in the hope that these writings might afford me some light. They set out early

in the morning and brought me back word that they were nothing more than some English names written with charcoal. As I was only two leagues from Chingue²³ I made the men of my detachment brush themselves up as well as possible, so as to give them a better appearance, and I arranged everything for repairing to the village in good order, as I considered this one of the most considerable villages of the Beautiful River. The 8th, as I was preparing to embark, I saw a canoe come in sight with two men. I judged they were persons sent from the village, so I awaited them. They were only men who came expressly to examine by my countenance if they could discover my plans. I received them with kindness and had them drink a cup of the milk of their father Onontio. Among the Indian nations this is always the greatest mark of friendship that one can make them. After having conversed some time they asked me to let them go back to their villages, and begged me to give them about an hour in advance so that they might prepare themselves to receive me. Shortly after their departure I embarked, after having examined my men's arms, and having ammunition distributed in case of need; and having to take many precautions with nations frightened and mad, I ordered that there should be only four guns charged with powder to each canoe, to answer the salutes, and eight loaded with bullets; when I was in sight of the village I discovered three French and one English flag; as soon as I was descried salutes of musketry were fired from the village, and, as the current is extremely strong at this part of the shallow river, there came an Iroquois in front of me to point out the channel. I was brought there in an instant by the swiftness of the current. When landing they fired a discharge of balls for us. This sort of salute is given by all the nations of the south, and accidents frequently occur from it. This manner of saluting did not surprise me more than it did the officers of my detachment, still, as I had suspicions of them, and had no confidence in their good intentions, I had M. de Joncaire tell them to stop firing in this manner or I would open fire on them. I had them ordered at the same time to knock down the English tent, or I would have it taken away myself. This was done immediately, a woman cut the pole and the flag has not been seen since. I

landed, and, as the strand is extremely narrow, and disadvantageous in case the Indians had bad intentions, it being at the bottom of a slope thirty feet or more in height, I had to place myself as advantageously as those who might be disposed to make an attack. I fixed my camp securely near the village, and made it appear as strong as it was possible for me. I had body guards placed on the right and the left, I ordered sentinels to be placed at a short distance from each other, and bivouacked for the night. Messrs. the officers who were not on guard received orders to make the night rounds. These precautions prevented the Indians from executing what they had planned, and which M. de Joncaire found out a short time afterwards through the means of some woman of his acquaintance. This village consists of fifty cabins, composed of Iroquois, Channanous, Loups and a part of the men of the villages I had passed, who had come to seek refuge there, and to render them stronger. About five o'clock in the evening the Chiefs, accompanied by thirty or forty braves, came to salute me. They complimented me on my arrival at their place. The following is the opening discourse of the 8th of August, 1749.

Two belts of wampum.

“My father, by these two belts of wampum we come to testify to you the joy we have to see you arrive in our village in good health. We thank the Master of Life for having preserved you on a route so long and so difficult as that which you have made. It is a long while since we have had the satisfaction of seeing the French in our village. We behold you here, my father, with pleasure. You must have noticed by the flag which you have seen in our village that our heart is entirely French. The young men, without perceiving the consequences, erected the one which displeased you. As soon as we knew it you saw it fall. It was only put up for show, and to divert the young folks, without once thinking that the matter would have displeased you. We invite you also, my father, by these wampum belts, to open your heart to us and show us what can have displeased you. We believe that you came to speak to us on the part of our father Onontio. We are ready to hear his word, and we pray you to condescend to remain until the chiefs of the village, whom we are awaiting, shall have arrived.”

Answer of M. de Celoron:

Two belts of wampum.

"I am grateful to you, my children, for the pleasure which you appear to have at seeing me arrive in your village. I have only come here, as you see, on the part of your father Onontio, to speak of good things. It is this which I shall explain to you tomorrow when you will be all assembled. You are right in saying that the English flag which I perceived over your village displeased me. This mingling of French and English does not become the children of the Governor, and would seem to indicate that their hearts are divided. Let it be broken down in such a manner as to be never raised again. The young men have erected it without prudence, the old men have taken it away with reflection, and they have done well. By these two belts of wampum I, in my turn, open your ears and your eyes in order that you may hear well tomorrow what I have to say to you on the part of your father Onontio."

They retired, and in order to have themselves ready for any occurrence, they passed the night dancing, keeping, however, their men on the alert. The 9th, before daybreak, M. de Joncaire, whom I had charged, as well as M. his brother, to watch during the night the maneuvers of the Indians, came to tell me that he had been notified that eighty braves were on the point of arriving, and that the resolution to attack us had been taken in the village. On hearing this, which I communicated to Messrs. the officers, I gave new orders so that all might be ready in case we should have to come to close quarters. I had all my men keep themselves in readiness. I placed Messrs. the officers in such positions that they could assist and encourage each other to perform their duty well, and I waited two hours to see how the resolution of the Indians would be carried out. Seeing that nothing was attempted, I despatched M. de Joncaire to tell them that I knew the resolution they had taken, and awaited them with impatience; and if they did not make haste and put in execution what they had planned, I would go and attack them. A short time after the return of M. de Joncaire, the Indians filed before my camp and made the accustomed salute. They may have numbered about fifty men, according to what was told me by several officers who had counted them as they filed by. Many braves of the village had arrived earlier during the night.

About two hours after the arrival of these braves, the principal men with those of the village came to my tent with pipes of peace to offer me their compliments and to present them to me to smoke. Before accepting them I rebuked them for their manner of acting, in terms which were thoroughly explained to them by Monsieur de Joncaire. The following is the discourse I addressed to them:

Discourse of M. de Celoron to the Indians of Chinungue, with four belts of wampum, the 9th of August, 1749:

"I am surprised, my children, that (after having the condescension to send Monsieur de Joncaire to the Village of the Cut Straw and Attique to announce to you my arrival in this part of the country, and to let you know that I was bringing the word of your father Onontio,) to see you frightened, abashed, and making manoeuvres which at no time were becoming for the children of the governor. I informed you by these belts of wampum that I came only to do good; they have been sent you; you should, then, believe me. You are well enough acquainted with the Frenchman to know that he is sincere, and never speaks from the lips only. If I ever had such designs as you imagine, or such as the evil-minded have told you, I would have concealed my expedition from you, as that was easy for me to do, and I would not have arrived so peaceably at your village as I have done. I know how to make war, and those who have made war with us ought to know it, too, so I cannot act the part of a deceiver. By these four belts of wampum I again open your ears, I enlighten your minds and I take away the bandage which you have over your eyes, so that you may be able to hear the word of your father Onontio, who is filled with kindness towards you, though he has had reason to be dissatisfied with some among you. Now I desire heartily to smoke your pipes to prove to you that I have forgotten all you have done. I shall speak to you to-morrow on the part of your father Onontio; I invite you to drive away the bad spirit which seduces you and which will inevitably ruin you if you do not pay attention."

I smoked the pipes, and they went away well pleased, and remained quiet the rest of the day and the following night. The 10th of August, about ten in the morning, I made the chiefs and a part of the braves, assemble in my camp. I had a place prepared for the council, and I told them the word of M. the Governor, to which they listened with marked attention.

Message of Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere to the nations of Chiningue brought by Monsieur de Celoron, the 10th of August. 1749, A belt.

"The friendship which I entertain for you, my children, despite your estrangement from me, has induced me to send you Monsieur de Celoron to bring you a message and induce you to open your eyes with regard to the projects which the English form on your territories. Undoubtedly you are not aware of the establishments which they propose making thereon, which tend to nothing short of your total ruin. They hide from you their idea of establishing themselves therein in such a way as to render themselves masters of that territory, and drive you away, if I should let them do so.³⁴ I ought, then, like a good father who loves his children tenderly, and who, though far away from them, bears them all in his heart, to apprise them of the danger that threatens them, which is the design that the English have formed to take possession of your territories, and to succeed in that they have begun to bias your minds. You know, my children, that they have left nothing undone during the last war to turn you against me, but the greater part of your nation have had courage enough not to listen to them. I feel grateful to these, and, like a kind father, I forget the past, persuaded that, for the future, you will remain quiet in your own territories, no matter what wars I may have with the English. It is to your own advantage to observe the neutrality which you yourselves asked of me when you came to Montreal; to which demand I deigned to consent, and by this means you will preserve this peace which constitutes the happiness of the nations. As I know the English only inspire you with evil sentiments, and, besides, intend, through their establishments on the Beautiful River, which belongs to me, to take it from me, I have summoned them to retire, and I have the greater right for so doing from the fact that it has been stipulated between the Kings of France and England, that the English should never repair thither for trade or aught else. It is even one of the conditions of the peace which we have just made together. Moreover, the Chiefs of the Five Nations have told them not to pass over the mountains which form their boundaries. I do not wish to employ violence this time with regard to the English, I shall tell them quietly my determination that they should pay attention; for, if afterwards misfortunes befall them, they can only blame themselves. For you, my children, rest on your mats and do not enter into the disputes I may have with the English. I will take care for all that may be for your advantage, I invite you to come to see me next

year. I will give you marks of my friendship and will put you in such a condition as not to regret those whom I advise you not to suffer among you. I will give you all the assistance of a kind father who loves you, and who will let you want for nothing. Those whom we shall bring to you will never covet your territories, either by purchase or usurpation; on the contrary, I will order them to maintain you thereon in spite of all opposition, and your interests shall be common with mine, if you behave well. By this means you will be always tranquil and peace will reign in your villages. I would, my children, tell you the sentiments of your father before speaking to the English, whom I am going to look for to tell them to retire."

The counsel finished, they appeared well pleased with what I had told them, and went to their villages to prepare their answer, which I told them to do for the next day, having a long way to go, and the season being far advanced. This village is composed of Iroquois, Chanavaus and of Loups, for which cause the council lasted for more than four hours. Besides these three nations there are in this village Iroquois from the Sault St. Louis, from the Lake of the Two Mountains, and Indians from the Nepisiniques and the Abanakis, with Ontarios and other nations. This gathering forms a bad village, which is seduced by the allurements of cheap merchandise furnished by the English, which keeps them in very bad disposition towards us. I had the most prominent of the English merchants called to me, to whom I addressed a summons to retire into their own territory with all their servants, just as I had done with regard to those whom I had previously met. They answered like the others, that they would do so, that they knew well they had no right to trade on the Beautiful River. I added that their government was bounded by the mountains, and that they should not pass beyond what was agreed to. I wrote to the Governor of Carolina in terms similar to those I had employed in writing to the Governor at Philadelphia.

The 11th of August, the Indians came to give me their answers. If they are sincere, I believe Monsieur the Governor-General will be satisfied with them; but there is little reliance to be placed on the promise of such people, and the more so, as I have just said, since their personal interests make them look with

favorable eyes on the English, who give them their merchandise at one-fourth the price; hence there is reason to think the King of England or the country makes up the loss which the merchants sustain in their sales to draw the nations to them.⁵⁵ It is true that the expenses of the English are not near so considerable as those which our merchants would be obliged to contract on account of the difficulty of the route. It is, however, certain that we can never regain the nations, except by furnishing them merchandise at the same price as the English; the difficulty is to find out the means?

These are the answers which the Indians of Chingue made to the message of M. the Governor-General, the 11th of August, 1749:

“My father, we are very glad to see you to-day, and (are pleased) with the manner in which you regard us. The Commanders of Detroit and Niagara had told us to go see Onontio; to-day you come yourself to invite us to go down. One must be insane not to pay attention to your word. By this string we assure you that all the nations who inhabit this river will go down next spring to hear the word of our father Onontio. Nothing will be able to turn us away from the sentiments which we now entertain. Even though but one person should remain, he will have the pleasure of seeing our father. The shoes which we wear at the thawing of the ice would not be able to carry us to Montreal: we pray him to make provision on that score so that we may find some at Niagara when we are passing that way. My father, have pity on us, we have no longer any ancient chiefs; it is only young people that now speak to you. Pardon the faults which we may commit because you, who are wisdom itself, also make some. You have expelled the English from this territory, and to this we heartily agree; but you ought to bring with you traders to furnish us with what we need. If you have pity for us, let us have the English so that they may render us the assistance which is necessary until spring-time. You see in what an unfortunate plight we shall be, if you do not show us this kindness. Do not be surprised at not finding answers to your belts. Those you behold here are only young men who keep their pipes;⁵⁶ when our chiefs and our braves return, we shall intimate to them your intentions, and the sentiments of our father Onontio; and, in order that we may be at ease we pray you to leave with us one of your⁵⁷ children, Joncaire, to conduct us to our father and assist us.”

Answer of Monsieur de Celoron to the demand which the Indians made of him, to have one of the Messrs. Joncaire:

“My children, it is not in my power to dispose of any of the officers which your father has confided to me. When you go down you can ask him one of the Messrs. Joncaire, and I am convinced he will not refuse him to you.”

Continuation of the reply of the Indians:

“We thank you for the hope which you give us that our father will grant us one of your children. We again assure you that we will do, without reserve, all that you have asked of us. We would be glad to be able to see you longer, and we thank our brethren who are along with you for the advice they have given us, and we shall pay attention to it.”

When the Council was finished I had the presents brought forward that I had destined for them. They were considerable enough. They were much flattered by them. I encouraged them anew to hold to what they had promised me, and above all to come to see Monsieur the Governor-General next year, assuring them that they would have reason to be well pleased with their reception at the hands of their father Onontio.⁵⁶ My business finished, I had my canoes launched and embarked to continue my voyage. About four leagues lower down there is a river to the south⁵⁷ on which there are several villages. I did not land there, having spoken to them at Chiningue.

I embarked about six in the morning. Having made from four or five leagues I fell in with two pirogues laden with packages and manned by four Englishmen. All that I could get out of them was, that they were coming from St. Yotoc, whence they had set out twenty-five days previous. I had no English interpreters, and they did not know how to speak French or Iroquois, which was the only language of which I had an interpreter. I re-embarked and continued my route until three o'clock, and having many sick I made my Indians go a hunting in hope that this Beautiful River, which had been reported to Monsieur the Governor-General as abounding in buffaloes, might furnish some to regale my men who were living on nothing but

sea biscuit. But I was disappointed, my Indians killed nothing but a few deer which was a poor comfort to hungry and infirm persons.

The 13th I set out early in the morning and fell in with several pirogues manned by Iroquois who were going to hunt among those rivers which flow from the territories. At noon I made a halt, and had a leaden plate buried at the entrance of the River Kanonuara, to the south of the Beautiful River, and had the arms of the King attached to a tree, and drew up the following official statement of it.

Official statement of the depositing of a leaden plate at the mouth of the River Kanonuara.⁶⁹

The year 1749, we, Celoron, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, and Captain commanding a detachment sent by the orders of Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of Canada, upon the Beautiful River, accompanied by the principal officers of our detachment, have buried at the foot of a large elm tree at the entrance of the river and upon the southern bank of the Kanonuara, which empties itself at the east of the river Oyo, a leaden plate, and have attached to a tree in the same spot, the arms of the King. In testimony whereof we have drawn up and signed, along with Messrs. the officers, the present official statement, at our camp, the 13th of August, 1749.

The 14th I set out at 7 o'clock, not being able to do so sooner on account of the fog. I passed two rivers,⁶¹ the mouths of which are very beautiful. The hunting was very fair that day in deer. The 15th I continued my voyage and buried a leaden plate at the mouth of the river Jenuanguékouan,⁶² and drew up the following official statement of it:

Official statement of the depositing of a fourth leaden plate at the entrance of the river Jenuanguékouan, the 15th of August, 1749:

The 15th of August, 1749, we, Celoron, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain commanding a detachment sent by the orders of Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of Canada, upon the Beautiful River, otherwise called the River Oyo, accompanied by the principal officers of our detachment, have buried at the foot of a maple

tree, which forms a triangle with a red oak and an elm tree, at the entrance of the river Jenuanguékouan, at the western bank of that river, a leaden plate, and have attached to a tree on the same spot, the arms of the King. In testimony whereof we have drawn up and signed the present official statement, along with Messrs. the officers at our camp, the 15th of August, 1749.

The 16th I could not get off before nine o'clock, having out several hunters, both French and Indians, who had passed the night in the woods. I made about twelve leagues. The 17th I embarked about seven o'clock. In the course of the day I passed two beautiful rivers, which flowed down from the lands, the one to the north, the other to the south of the Beautiful River, the names of which I do not know. I landed early for the sake of a hunt, for all were reduced to the biscuit. The 18th I set out at a pretty early hour. I encamped at noon as the rain hindered us from continuing our voyage. That same day I deposited a leaden plate at the entrance of the river Chinodaïsta, and had the arms of the King attached to a tree. This river bears canoes for forty leagues without meeting rapids, and takes its rise near Carolina.⁶³ The English of that government come that way to ply their trade on the Beautiful River.

Official statement of the fifth leaden plate, placed at the entrance of the river Chinodaïsta, the 18th of August, 1749:

The year 1749, We, Celoron, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain, commanding a detachment sent by the orders of Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of Canada: upon the Beautiful River, otherwise called L'oyo, accompanied by the principal officers of our detachment, have buried at the foot of an elm tree, upon the southern bank of the Loyo, and the eastern bank Chinodaïsta, a leaden plate, and have attached to a tree in the same spot the arms of the King. In testimony whereof, we have drawn up the present official statement, and which we have signed along with Messrs. the officers at our camp, the 18th of August, 1749.

The 19th the rain continued so violently that I was forced to pitch my camp on higher grounds, the bottom lands being inundated. The 20th I re-embarked and after making a few leagues, seeing a man standing on the bottom lands I went to

LAN 1749 DV REGNE DE LOVIS XV ROY DE
 FRANCE NOVS CELORON COMMANDANT DVN DE
 TACHEMENT ENVOIE PAR MONSIEVR LE M^{rs} DE LA
 GALISSONIERE COMMANDANT GENERAL DE LA
 NOUVELLE FRANCE POVR RETABLIR LA TRANQUILLITE
 DANS QUELQUES VILLAGES SAUVAGES DE CES CANTONS
 AVONS ENTERRÉ CETTE PLAQUE A L'ENTREE DE LA
 RIVIERE CHINODAHICETHA LE 18 AOUST
 PRES DE LA RIVIERE OYO AUTREMENT BELLE
 RIVIERE POVR MONVMENT DV RENOVVELLEMENT DE
 POSSESSION QUE NOVS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE
 RIVIERE OYO ET DE TOUTES CELLES QUI Y TOMBENT
 ET DE TOUTES LES TERRES DES DEUX COSTES JUSQUE
 AUX SOURCES DES DITES RIVIERES VINSI QUELQUES
 JOYR OV DV JOVIR LES PRECEDENTS ROYS DE FRANCE
 ET QUELS S'ISONT MAINTENVS PAR LES ARMES SET
 PAR LES TRAITTES SPECIALEMENT PAR CEUX DE
 RISVICK DVTRCHT ET DAIX LA CHPELLE

FACSIMILE OF LEADEN PLATE DEPOSITED AT CONFLUENCE OF THE GREAT KANAWHA AND THE OHIO

him; it was a Loup Indian who was returning from a war waged on the Chien Nation. It was sixteen days since he had set out alone without food or ammunition. I gave him as much as would enable him to reach Chiningue, from which he was still far distant. I questioned him with regard to the number of people there might be at St. Yotoc.⁶⁴ He answered me that there might be about 80 cabins there, and perhaps 100. I continued my voyage till three o'clock, and then made my men go hunting. The 21st the Indians of my detachment came looking for me to represent to me that they were afraid to go to St. Yotoc without having previously given notice to the nations of that place of my designs, because this was a considerable village, and there was reason to fear that these Indians were apprised of my voyage and would be restless from the fact that those who had brought them the news of my arrival might, as in the case of the villages by which I had passed, have carried them false reports, which would lead them to lay ambushes for us. When drawing near the village I assembled the officers to discuss the part we should take. It was arranged that we should despatch a canoe to St. Yotoc to pacify the natives and rouse their courage in case some news-mongers might have caused them trouble. It was Monsieur de Joncaire that I appointed to go there along with Ceganeis-Kassin and Saetaguinrale, the two chiefs from the Sault St. Louis, faithful servants of the King, and three Abenaki chiefs. Monsieur de Minerville asked permission to go there too, and I let him. I gave those sent some hours of advance. Then I embarked about 7 o'clock in the morning, after having distributed war ammunition to all my men, and encouraged them to act their part well in case the Indians wished to attack us. After making about four leagues I discovered a canoe, armed by from seven to eight men, and which had a white flag. As soon as they perceived me they landed and I went to them. It was Monsieur de Joncaire with seven Indians, both Chanenoies and Iroquois. As soon as I landed the chief came and shook hands with me. The others did the same, and kept silent for some time. These men seeming to me to be much disturbed, I asked the reason of this circumstance of Monsieur de Joncaire, and he told me that the nations

of St. Yotoc were frightened out of their wits, and that when they perceived himself and his companions drawing near, they fired balls on them and even pierced their flag with three bullets; that on landing they were conducted to the council cabin, and when they would explain the subject of their commission an Indian arose and interrupted them, saying that the French deceived them, and that they came only to destroy them and their families; that at that instant the young men had rushed to arms, saying that these Frenchmen should be killed, and that after they had dispatched their own families to the woods, they should then go and lay ambushes for the canoes. According to what Monsieur and the Indians who were in his company told me, all this would have been carried into execution by them, were it not for an Iroquois chief who averted the storm, pacified them and volunteered to come to me along with any others who were disposed to follow him; and, for security, they retain M. de Minerville and the Indians. Finally, after a silence of a half-hour's duration, the Iroquois chief arose and said to me:

"My father, you behold before you young men without intelligence, who were on the point of embroiling the land in turmoil forever. Look on us in pity and show no resentment for what we have done. When you arrive at our village our old men will testify their sorrow for the fault they have committed. For the last two months we have been like drunken men, by reason of the false reports which were brought to us by the villages through which you have passed."

I answered him thus:

"I do not know what you wish to say to me when I shall have arrived at St. Yotoc. I shall make inquiry and see what I shall have to do. I know you have come to meet me with good dispositions. You would have done wisely in bringing back the Indians who were with M. de Joncaire. You may go back to your village, I will go there in a little time. You will give notice to the young men that they must dispense with saluting me according to their custom."

I gave him and those along with him a drink and sent them away, for M. de Joncaire said to me: "I knew right well that these Indians were badly disposed and much frightened, since in the space of twice twenty-four hours they had constructed

a stone fort, strongly built and in good condition for their defense." This caused me to make the most serious reflections. I was aware of the weakness of my detachment; two-thirds were recruits who had never made an attack, and who, on first seeing the Indians of my detachment, had taken flight. It was not in my power to choose others, and notwithstanding the recommendations made by M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere when setting out for Quebec, to give me picked men, they paid no regard to them there. In fine, there was no other course left me to pursue than to continue my voyage without provisions, having my canoes unfit for service, without pitch or bark.⁶⁵ I re-embarked, prepared for whatever might happen. I had excellent officers and about fifty men on whom I could rely. At a quarter-of-a-league's distance from the village I was descried. The salutes began immediately, and those Indians discharged well nigh a thousand gunshots. I knew the powder had been gratuitously furnished them by the English. I landed opposite to the village and had a return salute fired. The chiefs and the old men crossed the river and came to me with flags and pipes of peace; they had the grass cut in order to make seats for us, and invited me to sit down along with the officers. They led back with them *Sieur de Minerville* and the Indians whom they had retained. As we were about sitting down about 80 men crossed over, armed and accoutred as warriors. I ordered my detachment under arms. These 80 men fired a hedge about twenty paces from us, and leaned on their guns. I told the chief that I was astonished at the manoeuvres of these hare-brained creatures, and that if they did not move out of that immediately I would fire upon them. He answered me that they did not come with any bad intention, but merely to salute us again, and that they should retire since it displeased me. This they did immediately, firing their guns in the air, which were only loaded with blank cartridges. Pipes were then presented to me and to all the officers. After this ceremony a *Chaouenous* chief arose and complimented me upon my arrival. I told them that I would speak to them tomorrow in my tent where I would light the Governor's fire. They answered me that they had in their village a council cabin where they would hear me, if I

repaired thither with all my officers, with regard to what I had to say to them on the part of their father Onontio. I refused their demand, and said it was their place to come to me to hear what I had to say to them. They being much displeas'd it would have been a great imprudence to go to their village, so I held firm to this point and brought them round to my views. They returned to their village. We posted guards, and the rounds were kept up during the whole night very scrupulously by the officers. It is to be remarked that since the inhabitants of this village compos'd for the most part of Chavenois and Iroquois of the Five Nations, there were added more than thirty men from the Sault St. Louis, w^ho had destroy'd the abundance of game, the cheap merchandise which the English furnish'd was very seducing motives for them to remain attach'd to the latter. The son of Arteganukassin⁶⁶ is there, and neither his father nor myself could succeed in taking him away. Besides the men from the Sault St. Louis, there are also some from the lake of the Two Mountains, some Loups from the Miami, and nearly all the nations from the territory of Enhault.⁶⁷ All these taken together were no better than Chavenois, who are entirely devoted to the English. The 23d I sent them word by Monsieur de Joncaire to come to my camp to hear the words of their father. At first they refus'd to come, saying that it was in the council cabin they should be spoken to. I answer'd by saying that it was the duty of children to come and find their father where he wish'd to light his fire. After some parleying they came to my camp and make their excuse in these terms:

Speech of the Indians of St. Yotoc to M. de Celoron, with four belts of wampum, the 23d of August, 1749:

"My father, we are ashamed to appear before you after the excesses we committed yesterday with regard to those whom you sent us. We are in despair, we ask pardon of you for it, and of our brethren, and we beseech you to forget this great mistake. The sorrow we feel for it gives us hope that you will pardon us."

Answer of Monsieur de Celoron to the Indians of St. Yotoc, the same day.

"My children, no one could be more astonish'd than I was when I learn'd by the canoe which came to me, the reception

which you had given to the chiefs whom I sent to you, to announce my arrival, and to tell you that I came to bring you the word of your father Onontio. They had gone to quiet you with all the signs capable of proving to you that I only came to your village in a peaceful manner. This sign so honorable for all the other tribes was not so for you; so you fired on them; and not content with that, you have shown more deference for the word of a wicked man in your village, who is a hypocrite, than you did for mine. I was the more surprised, since believing for a long time that the Chavenons were men of courage, they have showed themselves too smart on this occasion in insulting those who were sent to them. What is then become of that good spirit, Chavenons, which you had, when, ten years ago, Monsieur de Longueil passed by here on his way to the Chuachias.⁶⁸ You came out to meet him, and you showed him in every way the kindness of your hearts. A company of young men also volunteered to accompany him, yet he did not give you notice of his coming. But at that time you had a French heart, and today you let it be corrupted by the English who dwell among you continually, and who, under pretext of ministering to your wants, seek only to ruin you. Reflect on these just rebukes I am making you, and have no confidence in those bad people who will turn out, if you do not be on your guard, the ruin of your nation.

“With four belts of wampum you stuffed my throat on my arrival. I had no need of this sort of medicine. The heart of the Governor is always kind towards his children, but as you stand in need of a stronger proof of this, by these belts of wampum I dispel all your evil dispositions. The pardon which you solicit for your fault, and the sorrow which you seem to have for it, constrain me to pardon you. Be wiser for the future. As you ask me, I bury this unhappy affair, and I will ask your father Onontio, not to keep any remembrance of it. I invite you to reject all the deceitful talk which may be addressed to you, and I invite you in future to hear well the speech of your father Onontio, which I bring to you.”

Speech of M. the General to the Indians of the village of St Yotoc, brought by M. de Celoron with a belt, the 23d August. 1749:

“My children, the friendship I entertain for you, although far away, has induced me to send M. de Celoron to open your eyes and disclose to you the projects which the English are forming in your regard, and that of the territories also which you inhabit. Undoubtedly you are not aware of the establishments

that they are thinking of making there which tend to nothing short of your ruin. They conceal from you their idea, which is to build on your territories forts sufficiently strong to destroy you, if I would allow them to do so. I ought then as a kind father who loves his children tenderly, and who, though far away from them, always thinks of their good, to give them notice of the danger which threatens them. You know, my children, that they omitted nothing in the last war I had with them to induce you to declare against me. Happy for you that you did not listen to them, and I am thankful to you for it. Others let themselves be drawn away, I have pardoned some of them, persuaded that they will be more prudent for the future, and will no more listen to these evil spirits who seek only to trouble the land. But to shield you completely from their seduction I have sent to summon them to withdraw immediately from off my territories wherein they never had a right to enter, the kings of France and England having agreed in the treaties of peace, that the English should never come for trade or aught else upon the Beautiful River. I did not wish to employ force on this occasion; though I had the right to have them pillaged, I notified them peacefully to pay attention; if another time misfortune befall them, they have only themselves to blame. For you, my children, remain quiet in your wigwams and do not enter into the contentions I may have with the English; I will take care for all that may be for your advantage. I invite you to come see me next year, I shall then give you marks of my friendship, and shall put you in such a state as not to regret those whom I remove from my territories. I shall afford you all the assistance which you have a right to look for from a kind father who loves you and will not let you want for anything. Those who will bring you this assistance, will not invade your lands nor drive you away from them; on the contrary, I have given them orders to maintain you therein, and your interests and mine shall always be the same.

A belt.

"For the two years that I have been in the country I have been entirely taken up in finding out the interests of my children, and all that could be of advantage to them. I have learned with regret the affair which transpired between you and the Illinois; as you are equally my children and I have the heart of a father for you, I charge M. de Celoron whom I send into the villages of the Beautiful River, to carry my speech, and to present you with this belt on my part in order to induce you to become reconciled with your brethren the Illinois. I have taken the same steps with them, having despatched to the commander of

that post an order to speak with them on my part, and to tell *them* to remain quiet. I hope, my children, that you, one and all, will hear my speech with pleasure, and that you will strive to live in peace and harmony as my real and true children. I do not enter into the subject of your quarrel, I am even ignorant as to who is the aggressor; but no matter how that may be, it is his place to make the necessary advances for a reconciliation, and the offended party should forget the injury received. I shall be much obliged to them for so doing, and the more so as I seek only to procure them that which is most advantageous."

Whilst we were in council a Chanenous entered with a very frightened look and told the chief that all the nations of Detroit (or the narrows) were coming to fall upon them, and that whilst I was amusing them, they were going to see their villages destroyed.⁶⁹ I saw that the Indians were excited; I asked the cause of it, and having learned it, I calmed their fear and so encouraged them that the council was interrupted but for a short time. After having explained to them the intentions of M. the General, I gave them a cup to drink. They went back to their village. As soon as they were gone, I sent M. de Joncaire to get information with regard to the news that had just arrived. It was not long till he came back and reported to me that it was three Ontarios who had arrived at a village in the territory at a distance of ten leagues from St. Yotoc, and that couriers had set out immediately to bring us the news; that the Ontarios would not arrive for two days. I conjectured that they were the couriers that M. de Sabrinouis sent me to give me notice of the dispositions of the people of Detroit.

The 24th. The Indians hesitated, after having raised some difficulties, to come and give their answer in the French camp, but seeing that I persisted with firmness in my manner, they came, and here is their answer very badly explained, their interpreter being very ignorant.

Answer of the Indians of St. Yotoc, to the speech of M. the General, the 24th of August, 1749, with six belts of wampum:

"My father, we come to tell you that we have listened to the speech of our father Onontio, with great pleasure, that all he has told to us is true and intended for our good, and that we

ourselves and our brethren who are here present will conform to it, having but one and the same mind. By these belts of wampum we assure our father Onontio, that all who dwell in our village will no more play an evil part and will no longer listen to bad talk. My father, we render you our thanks for wishing to reconcile us with our brethren, the Illinois. We promise you to labor at bringing this about. That speech has afforded much pleasure to our entire village. My father, by these belts of wampum we thank you for the manner in which you have spoken to us; we encourage you to continue your route, and to animate all your children, so that the land may be at peace for us Chananaous, and we assure you that we shall labor henceforth only in what is right."

The 25th. I had all the chiefs assemble, and bestowed on them a present on the part of M. the General, and urged them to keep the promise they had given me. A little while after I summoned the English traders to appear and commanded them to withdraw, making them feel that they had no right to trade or aught else on the Beautiful River. I wrote to the Governor of Carolina,⁷⁹ whom I fully apprised of the danger his traders would expose themselves to, if they returned there. I was ordered to do this in my instructions, and even to plunder the English, but I was not strong enough for that, the traders having established themselves in the village and being well sustained by the Indians, I would be only undertaking a task which would not have succeeded, and which would only have redounded to the disgrace of the French. The Ontarios, sent by M. de Sabrinois, arrived and brought me two letters in which he informed me that there was nothing in what M. La Naudiere⁷³ had told me with regard to the dispositions of the Indians of Detroit; that it was rather the contrary; for notwithstanding several efforts made by M. Longueuil and himself to urge them to march, they had constantly refused. I gave the couriers some provisions, which were at present very much stinted, and I wrote to M. de Sabrinois and besought him to keep twenty canoes in reserve for me at the foot of the narrows, with provisions for my detachment, against the beginning of October.

The 26th. I set out at ten in the morning from St. Yotoc; all the Indians were under arms and fired a salute when I passed before the village. The 27th of August I arrived at the White

River⁷² about six in the evening. I knew that at a distance of three leagues in the country there were cabins of my friends, and that influenced me to pass the night in this place. The 28th, I sent M. Devillier and my son to these cabins in order to tell those Indians to come and speak with me. They brought them back with them, and I induced them to come with me to the village of the Demoiselle,⁷³ whither I was going to bring the word of their father Onontio. They gave their consent and asked (to be permitted) to remain till the next day in order to have time to prepare for the journey. There are in this village two cabins of Sonontouans. It is the policy of these nations to have always along with them some (other Indians) who serve as a hostage. I induced one of these Sonontouans who spake Miami very well, to come with me to the Demoiselle, for I had need of him, having no interpreter, though I had to treat with these people on matters of importance.

The 29th. I wrote to M. Raimond, captain and commander among the Miamis, and besought him to send me the so-called royal interpreter with as many horses as he possibly could, to transport our baggage over a portage of fifty leagues. The 30th the Indians of the White River having arrived, I embarked to gain the Rock River,⁷⁴ and at the entrance I had a leaden plate buried, and the arms of the King attached to a tree, of which I drew up an official statement.

Official statement of the sixth leaden plate⁷⁵ buried at the entrance of the Rock River, the 31st day of August, 1749.

The year 1749, we, Celoron, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain, commanding a detachment sent by the orders of M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of Canada, upon the Beautiful River, otherwise called the Ohio, accompanied by the principal officers of our detachment, have buried at the point formed by the right bank of the Ohio and the left bank of Rock River, a leaden plate, and have attached to a tree the arms of the King. In testimony whereof, we have drawn up and signed with Messrs. the officers, the present official statement.

The inscription is always the same.

7th September.⁷⁶ This done, I embarked; owing to the scarcity of water in this river, it took thirteen days in ascending it.

The 12th. The Miamis of the village of the Demoiselle having learned that I was on the point of arriving among them, sent four chiefs to meet me with pipes of peace to have me smoke; as the half of my people were on land, there not being water enough in the river to float the freighted canoes. I was informed by M. de Courtemanche, the officer of the detachment, of the arrival of his messengers, I landed at the place where they were, and when we were all seated they began the ceremony of presenting the pipe. I accepted it. They then brought it to M. de Contrecoeur, second captain of the detachment, and to all the officers and the Canadians, who, worn out for a smoke, would have wished that the ceremony had continued longer. The hour having come for camping, we passed the night in this place. The messengers remaining with us, I was obliged, despite the scarcity of provisions then in my possession to give them supper.

The 13th. I arrived at the village of the Demoiselle. I pitched my camp, placed my sentinels, and awaited the arrival of the interpreter I had asked of M. de Raimond. During this interval, I sounded their minds in order to learn if they were disposed to return to Kiskakon,⁷⁷ for that is the name of their ancient village. It seemed to me that they had not much objection. They had two English soldiers in their village whom I obliged to go away before speaking to these people. Those who had spent the summer there trading, had already departed over-land with their effects; they had ways of communication from one village to another.

The 17th. Wearied at the fact of the interpreter not arriving, and because my provisions were being consumed while thus waiting, I determined to speak to the Demoiselle by means of an Iroquois who knew Miami well. I showed them magnificent presents on the part of M. the General to induce them to return to their villages, and I explained to them his invitations in these terms:

Speech of M. the General to the Miamis of the band of the Demoiselle, established at Rock River, and at the Baril located at the White River, brought by M. de Celoron, 17th of September, 1749, with eight belts of wampum for the two villages:

"My children: The manner in which I behave toward you, despite all you have done to the French whom I sent you to maintain your wives and your children, ought to be a sufficient proof of the attachment which I have for you and the sincerity of my feelings. I forget what you have done to me, and I bury it in the depth of the earth in order to never more remember it, convinced that you have acted only at the instigation of a people whose policy is to trouble the land and destroy the good disposition of those with whom they have relations, and who avail themselves of the unhappy ascendancy which you have let them get over you. They make you commit faults and they incite you to an evil course without their seeming to have any part in it, in order to ruin you in my estimation.

"It is then to enlighten you that I send you my message; listen carefully to it, and pay attention to it, my children; it is the word of a father that loves you, and in whose eyes your interests are dear. I extinguish by these two belts of wampum the two fires which you lighted during the last two years, both at the Rock River and at White River. I extinguish them in such a way that not a single spark can escape."

A belt to the Demoiselle and to the Baril.⁷⁸

"My children: I have just told you that these are belts of wampum with which I extinguish the fires that you lighted, both at Rock River and at White River. By these belts I lift you from your mats and I lead you by the hand in order to bring you to Quiskakon, where I light your fire and make it more enduring than ever. It is in this country, my children, that you will enjoy a perfect peace, and where I will be ever at hand to give you marks of my friendship; it is in this country, my children, that you will enjoy the pleasures of life, it being the place where repose the bones of your ancestors, and those of M. de Vincennes,⁷⁹ whom you loved so much and who always governed you in such a way that your affairs were ever in good order. If you have forgotten the counsels which he gave you, these ashes shall recall to you the memory of them; the bones of your fathers suffer from your estrangement. Have pity on the dead who call you back to your village.

"Follow, along with your wives and your children, the chief whom I will send to bring you my message, and who will again light your fire at Quiskakon in such a manner that it shall no more be extinguished. I will afford you all the assistance which you have a right to expect from my friendship, and remember, my children, that I am doing for you what I have never done for any other nation."

Another speech with four belts of wampum for the Demoiselle, and two for the Baril:

"By these belts of wampum I set a boundary to all passages which lead to the Beautiful River, so that you go there no more, and that the English who are the ringleaders of every evil work may no longer approach this land, which belongs to me. I open for you at the same time an easy road to lead you to Kiskacon, where I will light your fire. I break off all trade with the English, whom I have notified to retire from off my territories; and if they come back there again they will have reason to be sorry for it."

Two belts of wampum to the Demoiselle, and two to the Baril.

"My children: When you shall have done what I have demanded of you, and which is only for your own advantage, I invite you to come to see me next year, and to receive from myself special marks of my friendship. I have extended the same invitation to all your brethren of the Beautiful River, and I hope that you will, one and all, have courage enough to respond to this invitation, as you ought; and in order to begin to give you a proof of my friendship, I send these presents to clothe your wives and your children. I add to them gunpowder and bullets, so that they may supply themselves more easily on the journey which you are going to make to Quiskacon. Abandon the land where you are: it is injurious to you, and avail yourselves of what I do for you."

The council over, every one retired. They carried away the presents to their village where they assembled to deliberate on their answer.

The 18th. About nine A. M., they came to give their answer.

Answers of the Demoiselle, chief of Miamis, established at the Rock River and of the Baril, established at White River, the 18th of September, 1749, with pipes of peace:

"It is an ancient custom among us when one speaks of agreeable affairs to present, first of all, pipes. We earnestly entreat you to listen to us. We are going to answer what you have asked of us. This pipe is a token of the pleasure which we have in smoking with you, and we hope to smoke the very same pipe with our father next year.

A belt

"My father: Yesterday, we listened with pleasure to your speech. We have seen clearly that you are come only on a good mission. We have none other but good answers to give you. You have made us recall to memory the bones of our forefathers, who mourn to see us in this place, and who remind us continually of it. You have made us a good road to return to our ancient home, and we thank you for it, my father, and we promise you to return thither immediately after the coming spring. We thank you for the kind words which you have addressed us. We see clearly that you have not forgotten us. Be convinced that we will labor to deal fairly with the Chauanones. We still remember the good advice which M. de Vincennes gave us. My father, you have to treat with people without spirit, and who are, perhaps, unable to answer you as well as you hoped; but they will tell you the truth, for it is not from the lips that they speak to you, but from the bottom of their heart. You have bid us reflect seriously upon what you told us. We have done so, and we shall continue to do so during the whole winter. We hope to have the pleasure of making you a good speech this spring if the hunting is abundant. We will correct our faults, and we assure you, my father, that we will not listen to evil counsel, and that we will pay no attention to the rumors we hear at present."

Answer to the Demoiselle and the Baril in the same council, by M. de Celoron:

"I have listened to you, my children, and I have weighed well your words. Whether you may not have understood me, or that you feign not to have done so, you do not answer to what I asked of you. I proposed to you on the part of your father Onontio, to come with me to Kiskakon to light there your fire and to build up your wigwam, but you put off doing so till next spring. I would have been delighted to be able to say to your father Onontio that I had brought you back. That would have caused him great pleasure on account of the interest he takes in all that concerns you. You give me your word that you will return there at the end of the winter. Be faithful then to your promise. You have assured him of this, because he is much stronger than you, and if you be wanting to it, fear the resentment of a father, who has only too much reason to be angry with you, and who has offered you the means of regaining his favor."

Answer to Celoron's speech by the Demoiselle and the Baril:

"My father, we shall be faithful in carrying out the promise that we have made you, and at the end of the winter we shall betake ourselves to our ancient habitation, and if the Master of Life favors our hunting, we hope to be able to repair our past faults; so be convinced that we do not speak from the end of our lips but from the bottom of the heart. We could not at present return whither you would have us go, for the season is too far advanced."

The council ended, I detained some of the old men for the purpose of finding out if what they had just said was sincere, so I spoke with these Indians who assured me that both the villages would return in the spring to Quiskakon, and all that kept them back was the fact of having no cabins built where I would conduct them, and that whilst hunting through the winter they were approaching their villages, and that they would return there absolutely. Rois, (the interpreter,) whom I had asked of M. de Raimond, arrived.

The 19th. I remained to endeavor by the agency of Rois, to induce the Demoiselle, along with some other chiefs, to come with me to light their fires and make their wigwams at Quiskakon, but I could not succeed in this. They kept always saying and assuring me that they would return thither next spring.

The 20th. All being ready for our setting out, we broke up our camp. After having burned our canoes, which were no longer of service for transportation, we set out on the march by land, each one carrying his provisions and baggage, except Messrs. the officers, for whom I had procured horses and some men to carry theirs. I had arranged all my men into four companies, each one of which had an officer at the right and another at the left. I led on the right and M. de Contrecoeur on the left.

We took only five days and a-half to accomplish this portage, which is thought to be fifty leagues.⁸⁹

The 25th. I arrived at M. de Raimond's, who commanded at Quiskakon. I stayed there only as long as was necessary to buy provisions and canoes to convey me to Detroit.

The 26th. I had called to me Cold Foot,⁸¹ chief of the Miamis established at Quiskakon, and some others of note, to whom I repeated, in presence of M. de Raimond and the officers of my detachment, what I had said at the village of the Demoiselle and the answers I had got from them. After listening with much attention, he rose and said to me: "I hope I am deceived, but I am sufficiently attached to the interests of the French to say that the Demoiselle is a liar. It is the source of all my grief to be the only one who loves you, and to see all the nations of the south let loose against the French."

The 27th. I set out from M. de Raimond's, not having found a sufficient number of canoes for all my men, one part went by land under the conduct of some officers and the Indians who were to guide them through the woods. I took eight days to reach the lower part of the narrows, where I arrived on the 6th of October, and found canoes and provisions for my detachment. I would have set out the same day if my Indians had followed me, but they amused themselves drinking in the lower part of the River Miami. I waited for them the 7th and 8th, and finally they arrived.

NOTES ON CELORON'S JOURNAL.

1. Although the existence of Celoron's Journal was known, yet Hon. O. H. Marshall was the first to draw special attention to it, which he did in an article in the *Magazine of American History*, vol. II., pp. 129-150. The following are the certificates that accompanied the copy of the Journal which I had made at Paris. The first is that of the copyist, the second that of the Secretary-General of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, to whose courtesy I am much indebted for the copy.

"This copy is made in every particular in accordance with the manuscript, with all the errors of orthography and French."

Paris, 24th March, 1885.

Edmond De. Hennebot.

"I, the undersigned, Secretary-General of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and of the Holy Heart of Mary, certify, that the present copy of the Journal of Celoron was made from the original preserved in the Archives of the Department of the Marine and of the Colonies, at Paris, and that it was executed with care, and afterward carefully collated with the original by a person worthy of all confidence."

Paris, March 24, 1885.

L. S.

Barillac.

For a notice of Celoron, see *Researches*, vol. 1, p. 13, note. Also *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Parkman, vol. 1, chapter II.

2. Poland Michel Barrin, Marquis de la Gallissoniere, was born at Rochfort, France, November 11th, 1693; Governor-General of New France 1747; returned to France late in 1749; and died at Nemoir, October 26th, 1756.

3. Mr. Marshall translates this (p. 130) "Thirty Iroquois and twenty-five Abnakis." The French expression is: "et environ trente sauvages tant Iroquois qu' Abnakis," which shows that there is no foundation whatever for Mr. Marshall's translation. I make this remark because I have been accused of drawing information from that gentleman, and then showing my ingratitude by criticizing him. This is but one instance.

4. The Rev. Francis Piquet was born at Bourgen-Bresse, France, December 6th, 1708. He studied at the seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris, and was admitted into that Congregation. Having received Holy Orders, he was sent in 1733, to Montreal, where the Sulpicians had a house. He was soon after placed in charge of the Iroquois mission, which had been originally on the mountain, but which was at that time, 1740, at the Lake of the Two Mountains. He accompanied the Indians in their wars, and found many of the Iroquois in New York ready to listen to his instructions; an evidence that the teaching of the saintly Father Jonges and his companions had not been altogether forgotten, nor had their blood been shed in vain. He proposed to found a mission at Oswegatchie, a work in which he met with great difficulties; but being protected by the Marquis de la Gallissoniere, Governor-General, and Francois Bigot, Intendant, or Superintendent of Justice, Police, Finance and Commerce, he began his work on the site of the present city of Ogdensburg, New York, in 1749, with only six Christian families. The Mohawks burned his mission buildings a few months after, but he persevered, and in two years had no less than 3,000, chiefly from Onondaga and Cayuga, all eager to receive Christian instruction. His enemies were now convinced of his prudence and zeal. In May, 1752, a Bishop for the first time conferred any of the Sacraments within the present limits of the State of New York, baptizing 120 converts, confirming many and administering Holy Communion. In 1759 the Abbe Piquet had to abandon Oswegatchie owing to the successes of the English against the French. He retired with his converts to Grande Isle des Galops, where he built a chapel. His register closes July 23d, 1760. He then returned to Europe where he was highly esteemed by the French Bishops and the Pope. He died at Verjon, July 15th, 1781. *The Catholic Family Almanac*, 1877, pp. 60, 61. *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Parkman, vol. 1. Considerable allowance must be made

for the anti-Catholic bias of this author, which gives an undue coloring to his account of this zealous missionary.

5. The Montagnes, or Lower Alonquins, dwelt on the north side of the St. Lawrence, below Quebec, in the early part of the seventeenth century. — Drake's *Indians of North America*, p. 13; Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. II, pp. 8, 9, note.

6. The small number of Indians may be accounted for by the fact that the mission was just then established, and also that in certain seasons the Indians are accustomed to leave their villages to hunt or wage war.

7. Fort Frontenac, also called Catarocouy, stood at the outlet of Lake Ontario; was built about 1692, and named in honor of the then Governor-General of New France, Count Frontenac. — Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. III., pp. 175, 176.

8. I have not been able to learn anything of this officer.

9. Mention is made of M. de Sabrinois as taking part in the campaign of Lake Champlain, in 1757, and as a person familiar with forest life and Indian customs from childhood. — *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. I., p. 486.

10. This officer was long engaged in the French wars in America where he rose to be provisional Governor-General. — See *Montcalm and Wolfe*, passim.

11. See *Register of Fort Duquesne*, p. 15, note. Also *Montcalm and Wolfe*, passim.

12. Around the falls and rapids of Niagara.

13. Like other proper names in the Journal, the orthography of this word is not uniform; but in all cases is given as in the original. Mr. Marshall is at fault in his statement as to the manner in which Celoron spelled the word. — *Magazine of American History*, vol. II., pp. 135-138. Note, in referring to this article of Mr. Marshall's, whether in the text or in the notes, I shall merely give the page. The Catakuin here mentioned is the creek which empties into Lake Erie at this point, not the lake of that name. For the meanings of the word, see Marshall, as above.

14. Literally, "at more than thirty acres in width." It is very difficult to give a literal translation of some of the expressions found in the Journal. Here it is a measure of distance, and I have adopted Mr. Marshall's translation.

15. For a notice of the former of these officers, see *Register of Fort Duquesne*, p. 16, note; of the later I have not been able to learn anything.

16. From Lake Erie to Chautauqua Lake. Says Mr. Marshall (p. 134): "It is a little over eight miles in a direct line from the mouth of Chautauqua Creek on Lake Erie to the head of Chautauqua Lake. . . . The difficulties they encountered

must have been exceedingly formidable. Chautauqua Lake is 720 feet above Lake Erie, and in order to reach the water shed between the two lakes, an ascent of at least one thousand feet had to be overcome. Although at that early day, when the forests were yet undisturbed, Chautauqua Creek flowed with fuller banks than now, yet even then but little use could be made of it by loaded canoes, except near its mouth."

17. For a notice of this village see p. 388.

18. See further on p. 343.

19. There were two leagues in use in France as measures of distance on land: the legal post league was 2.42 English miles, and the other 2.77 English miles. — *American Cyclopaedia*, Article, League. "The league, as used by Celoron, may be estimated," says Mr. Marshall, (p. 141), "as containing two miles and a half." "Although," as he says: "distances are almost always overstated by the early French voyageurs in America," (p. 135).

20. See *Register of Fort Duquesne*, pp. 9-12, notes, for a lengthy notice of La Belle Riviere, the Beautiful River, by which was meant the Allegheny and Ohio.

21. Lake Chautauqua is eighteen miles long; it lies 1,290 feet above the Atlantic Ocean, and 730 feet above Lake Erie. — *American Cyclopaedia*, vol. IV., p. 346.

22. The river of Chataquin is Conewango Creek, which connects Chautauqua Lake with the Allegheny river at the present town of Warren, Pa., 188 miles above Pittsburg; but from the Journal no definite idea of its length can be ascertained. . . . "Conewango is corrupted from Gunnga, signifying, They have been a long time, they stay a long time. The etymology is: Gu-ne-u, long. Gunax-u, it is long. Gu-ni, a long while. Gu-na gi-a, he stays long." *Indian Names, etc.*, Heckewelder, p. 21.

"By means of this creek and its outlets there is boat navigation from the Gulf of Mexico to within ten miles of Lake Erie. — *American Cyclopaedia*, vol. V., p. 221."

23. I have not been so fortunate as to find any reference to this officer in my reading.

24. This name, though sounding strange at present, was as familiar as a household word in the days of the French occupation of Canada. Its origin is simple. Charles Huault de Montmagny, Knight of Malta, was the first Governor-General of Canada. The Huron and Iroquois Indians taking the literal signification of the name, Great Mountain, translated it into their languages in which it was expressed by the word Onontio; and from that time every Governor-General was known to the Indians as Onontio. It is also spelled Ononthio. — *Shea's Charlevoix*, vol. II., p. 124, note.

25. Chabert de Joncaire, or, Joncaire Chabert. See *Register of Fort Duquesne*, pp. 16, 17, note.

26. The burial of leaden plates as an evidence of taking possession of new countries was peculiar to the French and was frequently resorted to in the New World.

27. Another name for Conewango Creek.

28. "This observation," says Mr. Marshall, (p. 150.) "like most of those taken by Father Bonsecamps, is incorrect. Either his instruments were imperfect or his methods of computation erroneous. The true latitude of the mouth of the Conewango is less than $41^{\circ} 50'$."

29. Their title to this territory was based on the alleged discovery by La Salle in 1669-1670; and as forming part of the basin drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, to all of which the French laid claim.

30. Brandy.

31. The village of Cut Straw, stood on the right bank of the Allegheny river at the mouth of Broken Straw Creek, which falls into the river from the west six miles below the present town of Warren, or 182 miles above Pittsburg, on or near the site of what is now Irvineton.

32. Whether the orthography is incorrect, or the tribe so insignificant as not to find a place in history, I know not; but I have never before met the name.

33. Celoron assumed command at Fort Niagara in October, 1744.

34. While we cannot but admire the simplicity of the several speeches and replies, we must equally admire the prudence of the Indians, with whom it was the custom never to give an immediate answer, but to defer it to the next day, the better to consider it.

35. Loups and Renards, literally "Wolves and Foxes." The Loups were Mohegans. — Shea's *Father Jogues' New Netherlands*, pp. 49, 50, note. The Foxes were a tribe of Indians of the Algonquin family, noted in history as turbulent, daring and warlike. They were of two stocks, one calling themselves Outagamies or Foxes, whence our English name; the other Musquakink, or men of red clay, the name now used by the tribe. They lived in early times east of Detroit, and as some say, near the St. Lawrence, so that we may conjecture them to be the Outagami of the early Jesuit narratives. — *American Cyclopaedia*, vol. V., p. 362.

36. It is difficult to fix the precise location of these several villages; but they can be approximated with sufficient accuracy from the distances given in the Journal. Father Bonsecamps on his map of the expedition represents four villages between

Cut Straw and the Riviere au Boeufs, or French Creek, a distance of 58 miles, the first being on the left bank, the others on the right.

37. The French word is oncles, uncles.

38. John Frazer. — *History of Venango County*, p. 42.

39. A village of Loups is marked on the west side of the river in Father Bonnacamp's map.

40. Of what tribe this village was composed the Journal does not state. For the name Riviere au Boeufs — French Creek — see *Researches*, vol. I., p. 17, note.

41. This rock has long been known as "The Indian God." Mr. Marshall (p. 141) says: "It is nearly twenty-two feet in length by fourteen in breadth." I have seen it at different times, and am certain that it is not half so large. Indeed, a number of citizens of Franklin lately contemplated lifting it from its bed and carrying it to their town, a distance of nine miles. It is exactly 115 miles above Pittsburg.

42. These streams must have been Red Bank and Mahoning creeks, both of which are marked on Father Bonnacamp's map. There is also another stream entering from the east, marked on the same map as the "Riviere au Fiel," which must have been Clarion creek. The distances given by Celoron do not, it is true, correspond with actual measurements, but there are no other streams that will answer even so well. Clarion is thirty-two miles below "The Indian God," Red Bank fifty-one and Mahoning sixty. — *Researches*, vol. 1, pp. 18, 19, note. Having been born and raised in the immediate vicinity of Kittanning, I have been at all these places times without number.

43. The question of the location of the village of Attigue, and its identity, or not, with the village of Kittanning, which was discussed in the *Researches*, (vol. I., pp. 26-30.) to which the reader is referred, again comes up for treatment. In the essay on Celoron's expedition, of which that forms a part, I maintained, and was perhaps the first to maintain the identity of these two places; and now, upon further research, and with Celoron's Journal before me, I find nothing to modify or retract, except the statement that Kittanning was only on the east side of the Allegheny. It was on both sides, though principally on the east. — *Pennsylvania Archives* (New Series), vol. VII., p. 405. The question is one of considerable local interest. Among those denying this identity is Mr. Marshall, who says (pp. 141, 142): "From this station ("the Indian God") Celoron sent Joncaire forward to Attigue (Celoron spells it Attigue) the next day, to announce the approach of the expedition, it being an Indian settlement of some importance on the left bank of the river, between eight and nine leagues further down, containing twenty-

two cabins." The Journal does not say on what side of the river the village was. "***** Attigue was probably on or near the Kiskimmetas river." But Mr. Marshall's evidence on this point is worth less than nothing; for so far from stating the fact, it misleads. Celoron's Journal, from which he professes to derive his information, instead of making it eight or nine leagues, makes it, as the reader sees, twenty-four or twenty-five. An anonymous writer, with whom I had some newspaper controversy on the subject, asserts, apparently on Mr. Marshall's authority, "that Attigue was at the mouth of the Kiskiminetas is just as sure as that Fort Duquesne was at the mouth of the Monongahela." In reply to this another person well versed in our local history writes me: "Your critic will search in vain for evidence on any map, of any Indian village at the mouth of the Kiskiminetas." Certainly Father Bonnecamp's map gives neither river nor village. But with the existence, or not, of a village there I am not at present concerned. The same writer continues: "The Kittanning or Adigo on the Ohio, of the Fort Stanwix treaty; the Attique of Celoron; the Attiga of Trotter, 1754, the Kittanny Town of Barbara Leininger, 1755, were the same, with a probable variation of a few miles as to exact location at different dates, as is usual with all Indian villages. One name, Attique, is probably Seneca; the other, the Delaware name for the same place." Another person writes me two letters in which he endeavors at length to prove that Attique was located on the west side of the river where Freeport now stands, seventeen miles below the present Kittanning. I shall not give the arguments on which he attempts to base his theory, as it is believed sufficient evidence will be brought to prove the position here maintained. By comparing the French account of the attack upon Attique with Colonel Armstrong's official report of the destruction of Kittanning, the point will, I think, be placed beyond question. Says Mr. Parkman: "The report of this affair made by Dumas, commandant at Fort Duquesne, is worth nothing. He says that Attique, the French name for Kittanning, was attacked by 'le General Washington,' with three or four hundred men on horseback; that the Indians gave way; but that five or six Frenchmen who were there in the town held the English in check till the fugitives rallied; that Washington and his men then took to flight, and would have been pursued but for the loss of some barrels of gunpowder which chanced to explode during the action. **** He then asks for a supply of provisions and merchandise to replace those which the Indians of Attique had lost by the fire." — *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. 1., pp. 426, 427. And he quotes as his authority a letter of Dumas a Vaudreuil, September 9th, 1756, cited in Bigot au Ministre, 6th October,

1756, and in Bougainville, Journal. Colonel Armstrong, in perfect harmony with this, says: "During the burning of the houses, which were nearly thirty in number, we were agreeably entertained with a quick succession of charged guns gradually firing off, as they were reached by the fire; but more so with the vast explosion of sundry bags and large kegs of gunpowder, wherewith almost every house abounded. The prisoners afterward informing us that the Indians has frequently said they had sufficient stock of ammunition for ten years, to war with the English. **** There was also a great quantity of goods burnt, which the Indians had received but ten days before from the French." — *Annals of the West*, p. 143. Comparing these two accounts of the engagement, we have the French statement that the commander of the colonial forces had three or four hundred horsemen, and the statement of the Americans that they had three hundred, (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. I., p. 423); the French confessing the loss of some barrels of gunpowder, which chanced to explode, and Col. Armstrong's account of "the vast explosion of sundry bags and large kegs of gunpowder;" the French acknowledgment of the loss of provisions and merchandise, and Armstrong's assertion that, "there was also a large quantity of goods burnt." The date of the two documents is a still further confirmation of the point here maintained. Dumas writes on the 9th of September, 1756, that Attique has been attacked; Col. Armstrong writes his official report, on the 14th of September of the same year, of the destruction of Kittanning on the 8th. Now, frontier history gives no account of any other notable engagement having taken place at or about that time and place. Hence the evidence is conclusive that Attique and Kittanning were one and the same place. The statement of Dumas that the attack was led by Washington makes for nothing; for the Indians, having been completely routed, had no means of knowing by whom the colonists were commanded; and Washington being already known as a frontier leader, it was natural to suppose that so great an achievement was due to him. This, I think, puts this vexed question to its final rest. The *Collection De Manuscripts*, &c., lately published in Quebec throws no light, so far as I can find, on this point.

44. Chartier's Town stood at or near the mouth of Bull creek, on the west side of the Allegheny, not far from where Tarentum is now located. A mile above Chartier's creek empties into the river on the opposite side.

45. English speaking colonists.

46. This letter has been made the subject of no little discussion. Mr. Marshall says (p. 143): "On reaching Chiningue Celoron found several English traders established there, whom

he compelled to leave. He wrote by them to Governor Hamilton, under date of August 6th, 1749, that he was surprised to find English traders on French territory," etc. As it was known that Celoron was not at Chiningue on the 6th, but on the 9th, it was attempted to reconcile Mr. Marshall's statement with the facts by supposing a typographical error, in which the 9 was inverted and thus became a 6. But this was met by the fact that the date was not given in figures, but was spelled out in full. Another writer in the *Magazine of Western History* (August, 1885, pp. 369, 378.) after discussing the question at some length, says, "It is possible that he (Celoron) inadvertently dated his letter the sixth instead of the seventh of August. We have no other conjecture to hazard." This cannot, of course, be admitted, because it is a mere conjecture in the face of a letter bearing a different date; because such a style of reasoning would be subversive of all historical accuracy, and because Celoron was keeping a journal with daily entries, not only for his own convenience, but also for the information of the authorities in Canada and for the home government. Celoron was at Chartier's Town on the 6th, on the one hand, and the letter was not written from Chiningue at all, on the other, as Mr. Marshall states. A letter was also written to the Governor of Pennsylvania on the 7th, but the Journal furnishes no copy of it. The date of this letter, as given in the Colonial Record, vol. V., p. 425, is the best, and the correct evidence of the time and place at which it was written. It is "De notre camp sur la Belle Riviere, a un ancien villages des Chaouanous, le sixieme Aoust, 1749."

47. As Celoron does not give the distances, it is impossible to locate this or the next village. It was most probably Sewickley's Indian town, marked on the Historical Map of Pennsylvania, about opposite the mouth of Pucketty Creek, seventeen miles above the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers.

48. "Rocher ecrite." It was most probably Shannopin's Town, which stood on the east bank of the Allegheny river about two miles from the point, and is noted on the Historical Map of Pennsylvania. But why it should have been called "Written Rock," I have no means of determining. Mr. Marshall speaks of but one town. The passage is not very clear; but I give it as it is. He says, (p. 112): "They reached Attigue on the sixth, where they found Joncaire waiting. Embarking together they passed on the right an old 'Chaouanous' (Shawnees) village. It had not been occupied by the Indians since the removal of Chartier and his band to the river Vermillion in the Wabash country in 1745, by order of the Marquis de Beauharnois.

Leaving Attigue the next day, they passed a village of Loups, all the inhabitants of which, except three Iroquois, and an old woman who was regarded as a Queen, and devoted to the English, had fled in alarm to Chiningue. This village of the Loups, Celoron declares to be the finest he saw on the river. It must have been situated at or near the present site of Pittsburg." The reader can compare this extract with the Journal, as above.

49. Aliquippa. See Researches, vol. I., p. 21, note 43.

50. All proper names are spelled as they are found in the Journal.

51. Probably M'Kee's Rocks, about two miles below Pittsburg on the south side of the Ohio. Strange that Celoron makes no mention of the Monongahela river.

52. The Librarian of Parliament, Ottawa, Canada, writes me: "In reference to Father Bonnacamp, who accompanied Celoron, I find that he came to Canada in 1742, having arrived at Quebec on the 21st of July. He returned to France in 1759, and remained there till his death." Rev. J. Sasseville, Cure of Ste. Foye, near Quebec, adopting a different orthography, says: "Louis Ignatius Bonnequant, a Jesuit, arrived at Quebec, July 21st, 1742, and returned to France in April, 1759. He was professor of mathematics and hydrography in the Jesuit College at Quebec. He left behind him the reputation of a distinguished mathematician and astronomer."—Archives of the Marine at Paris; Chronicle of the Canadian Clergy.

53. The location, etc., of the village of Chiningue will be discussed later.

54. This was beyond question the intention of the English who aimed at the permanent possession of the country to the exclusion of the natives; while the French, bent rather on traffic with the Indians, cared for little more than simple possession to the exclusion of other Europeans without any desire at least for immediate settlement. It was this mistaken policy of the home government that eventually lost France her possessions in North America.

55. This, like many other passages in the Journal, it is almost impossible to translate; but the rendering given in the text conveys the idea of the Celoron.

56. The meaning seems to be that these young men were not as yet sufficiently distinguished in their tribe to present the pipe to strangers, which was part of the formality customary in making treaties. But here it is a subterfuge resorted to the better to conceal their leaning towards the English.

57. The Indians usually called the Joncaire brothers "our children." For a notice of them, see *Register of Fort Duquesne*, p. 16, notes 19 and 20.

58. The reader is presented with Mr. Marshall's account of Celoron's transactions with the Indians at Chiningue, which he can compare with the Journal, and account for the extraordinary discrepancies as best he can. There are almost as many errors as there are statements; and it would have been much better for himself and for the cause of correct historical investigation, if he had never written his article. I know how difficult it is for a person to take even copious notes of any document, and afterwards weave them into an article. I have not yet succeeded in securing Father Bonnacamp's Journal of the expedition, which I am daily expecting. But it cannot so modify the official Journal of Celoron as to go any way towards clearing up the errors of Mr. Marshall. His account is as follows, (p. 143):

"On reaching Chiningue Celoron found several English traders established there, whom he compelled to leave. He wrote by them to Governor Hamilton, under date of August 6, 1719, that he was surprised to find English traders on French territory, it being in contravention of solemn treaties, and hoped the Governor would forbid their trespassing in future. De Celoron also made a speech, in which he informed the Indians that 'he was on his way down the Ohio, to whip home the Twightwees and Wyandots for trading with the English.' They treated his speech with contempt, insisting that 'to separate them from the English would be like cutting a man into halves, and expecting him to live.' (Reference is here made to N. Y. Col. Doc., VI, pp. 532-3, and the account continues.) The Indians were found so unfriendly to the French, and suspicious of the objects of the expedition, as to embarrass the movements of de Celoron. His Iroquois and Abenaki allies refused to accompany him further than Chiningue. They destroyed the plates which, bearing the arms of the French king, had been affixed to trees as memorials of his sovereignty."

As to the location of Chiningue, I take it to have been identical with the Indian village known to the English as Logstown, on the north bank of the Ohio river about eighteen miles below where Pittsburg now stands. This is well known to have been the most important trading post and place of negotiation between the Indians and the English. There were other villages on the Ohio and its tributaries, especially on the Big Beaver river, as all students of our early history need not be told. Mr. Parkman, (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. I., p. 46.) also embraces this opinion. I have never heard it questioned except by a gentleman who is led to think as he writes me, that Chiningue stood where the town of Beaver is now located; and he founds his argument on the disparity of the number of houses stated by Father Bonnacamp and that known to have existed at Logstown. But it is

difficult to deduce anything from the size of an Indian town. It is of too temporary a character to remain long the same if there are reasons for changing it. Again, he says that, "Joncaire had the best reason in the world for not stopping at Logstown. This was an Indian town much in the interest of the English, and in September, 1748, Weiser had been there with a large present, and confirmed them in the old friendship to the English. Joncaire was too vigilant an officer not to know this, and not wishing at that time to have any difficulty, quietly passed the place." But Celoron clearly states and shows that the Indians were under the influence of the English, and had received presents from them; and no difficulty was avoided, for the French had considerable, and had it not been for the strength of their forces they would have had more. Besides, Celoron was sent expressly to drive away the English, and it would be strange, indeed, that he should pass by a place simply because there were English there. The writer also refers to certain passages in the Pa. Archives, Colonial Records, History of Western Pa., &c. but I cannot see that they make more for the one place than for the other. As to the derivation of the name, it would seem to be identical with Shenango, a tributary of the Beaver. The latter is said to be a Tuscarora word meaning "Beautiful flowing water."

59. I am of opinion that this should be north instead of south; for, although Celoron's computation of distances is not very accurate, and this would answer for Raccoon Creek on the south almost as well as for the Big Beaver on the north, still our frontier history, as is well known, makes mention of a number of villages on the Beaver, while, so far as I am aware, there is no reference to any on the other stream, which itself is very unimportant. The Beaver valley was one of the routes from the Ohio to the western part of New York, the home of the Senecas, that portion of the Six Nations which figured most prominently in the affairs of the Ohio valley.

60. Mr. Marshall (p. 143) followed by Mr. Parkman (Montcalm and Wolfe, vol. I., pp. 47, 48) conjectures that this place was near the mouth of Wheeling creek. It is impossible to determine the precise spot from the Journal.

61. It would be to little purpose to conjecture what streams these were, as Celoron neither gives all the distances, nor mentions all the principal rivers he passes.

62. There can be no doubt that this plate was deposited at the mouth of the Muskingum river, as it was found there by some boys in 1748. But Celoron spells the name of the river Jenuanguelkouan, Mr. Marshall gives it Yenanguakomnan, on the

authority of Father Bonnacamp. The place is 171 miles below Pittsburg.

63. "Fortunately the discovery of the plate in March, 1846," says Mr. Marshall, (p. 145.) "leaves no doubt of the inscription. It was found by a boy while playing on the margin of the Kenawha river. Like that at the mouth of the Muskingum, it was projecting from the river bank, a few feet below the surface. The spelling of the Indian name of the river differs slightly from the Journal, that on the plate being Chinodahichetha. Kenawha, the Indian name of the river in another dialect is said to signify 'the river of the woods.'" The place is 263 miles below Pittsburg. The name, as given in my copy of the Journal is distinctly spelled "Chinoudaista."

64. With regard to this place Mr. Marshall says: "The name, St. Yotoc, seems to be neither French nor Indian. It is probably a corruption of Scioto. Father Bonnacamp calls it Sinhioto on his map. . . . Pouchet, in his *Memories sur la derniere guerre*, French edition, vol. III., p. 182, calls the river Sonhioto. This village of St. Yotoc, or Scioto, was probably on the north bank of the Ohio, a little below the mouth of the Scioto, now the site of Alexandria. Its principal inhabitants were Shawanees." Mr. Parkman also identifies the place with the present Scioto. *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. I., p. 48. The present town of Scioto dates from the settlement of a French colony some forty years later. It is 354 miles below Pittsburg.

65. This refers rather to the making up of the expedition at Montreal, although Mr. Parkman (p. 49) refers the cowardice of the young men to the present emergency.

66. This and the other names of chiefs found here, which are given as in the Journal, are unknown to me.

67. The same must be said of this place.

68. I have not met with any reference to Longueil so early as this, although his name is found later in French colonial affairs. Chuachias is probably Cahokia on the east bank of the Mississippi, nearly opposite St. Louis.

69. The wars which the Indian tribes constantly waged with each other are well known to the student of American history, and need not be discussed in this place.

70. The Kanawha River was, as we said above, (Researches, vol. II., p. 140) the stream by which traders were accustomed to penetrate to the west from Carolina.

71. See Researches, vol. II., p. 64.

72. Riviere la Blanche, probably the Little Miami.

73. La Demoiselle, (the Young Lady). This singular name was given -- for what reason it would be difficult to conjecture -- to the great chief of the Miami Confederacy, whom the English

called Old Britain, and who was their steadfast friend. His village, which stood near the confluence of Loramie Creek with the Miami and was named after him, was the scene where much trouble to the French was brewed a few years later, and in which the Demoiselle was the leading spirit. Notwithstanding his fair promises, he had no thought of quitting his village for Kiskakon, as the French soon learned to their cost. But the end of this noted chief was tragic enough, and it was due to this same Celoron, when, three years later, he was commander of the French fort of Detroit. Charles Langlade, a French trader who had married an Indian squaw, led the combined forces, and falling upon the village of the Demoiselle in June, 1752, when most of the warriors were on the hunt, they took the place, and, killing the Demoiselle, they showed their cannibalism by boiling and eating him. — *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Parkman, vol. I., pp. 84, 85. The reader will not fail to notice the difficulties in which Celoron is becoming more and more deeply involved, owing to the sympathies of the Indians with the English.

74. Riviere a la Roche, the Great Miami, where Celoron left the Ohio River.

75. This was the last leaden plate buried by the expedition.

76. This is apparently a mistake for the 1st.

77. An Indian village most probably occupying the site of the present city of Fort Wayne. "It undoubtedly took its name," says Mr. Marshall, (p. 147.) "from a branch of the Ottawas, that removed to this place from Michillimackinac, where they had resided as late as 1682." The reader will note a lack of uniformity in the spelling of this and other proper names in the Journal, but they are given as they are found.

78. Baril, the village a few miles from the mouth of White River, apparently named after the chief who lived there, and to whom Celoron sent messengers.

79. "John Baptist Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes, officer in a detachment of the marine service, was the tenth child of Francis Bissot, and was born at Quebec in January, 1668. Louis Joliet married his sister, Clara Frances. Vincennes, in 1696, married at Montreal, May Margaret Forestier. . . . The statement in some Western writers that his name was Morgan is unfounded." He was taken prisoner in an expedition against the Chickasaws in 1736, with some of his men, and was burned at the stake the day of the battle along with the Jesuit missionary, Father Senat, and others. — Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. VI., pp. 121, 122.

80. From the head of canoe navigation on the Miami to the head of navigation on the Maumee. The names of these two streams, which are the same in the Indian language from which they are derived, afford a fitting illustration of the manner in

which a name can be changed by adopting the vocal sounds of the French or the English, and will serve to explain other instances of the same kind. "To the French explorers there were two rivers known as the Miami—the Miami of the Lakes and the Little Miami, one emptying into Lake Erie and the other into the Ohio. Schoolcraft speaking of what is known to us as the Maumee, calls it 'the Miami of the Lakes,' preserving the old spelling. In the course of time this 'Miami of the Lakes' has been spelled as the English would have spelled it to make it conform to the French pronunciation—Maumee. To the French, Mi-a-mi would be the same as to us would be Mee-au-mee. The people on the lakes have conformed the spelling to the sound, while on the Little Miami, the French spelling has been preserved with the English pronunciation. The same has happened to the Ohio."—Russell Errett in *Magazine of Western History*, vol. II., p. 55, note.

81. Pied Froid, who was of a pusillanimous nature, and appears to have been faithful to neither the French nor the English.

82. See *Researches*, vol. II, p. 63.

83. Most probably for Goiogouen, the name of the Cayugas, one of the Six Nations. — Shea's *Jogues' New Netherlands*, p. 48.

84. He had succeeded the Marquis de la Galissoniere as Governor-General of New France.

85. It is here difficult to determine what tribe of Indians is here meant; but it could not have been that which is now known as the Flat-Heads.

86. French, Les chats, loutres, et peeous (or pecous.) I am at a loss to know what animal is meant by the last term. That the French word chat, commonly translated wild cat, means rather a raccoon will appear, I think, from the following: The name of Lake Erie and the tribe of Indians that once inhabited its shores, is derived from the Huron word Tiron; or Tu-era-kak, the Onondaga name of the raccoon. Contrast the two subjoined passages. Dr. O'Callaghan says: "There is in one of these islands" — in the western end of Lake Erie — "so great a number of cats that the Indians killed as many as nine hundred of them in a very short time." — *Memoirs of the Indians*, 1718, N. Y. Co. Doc. IX, 1886. Col. Smith, a man of no mean intelligence, who was on the spot some forty years later, says: "Some of the Wyandots or Ottawa, frequently make their winter hunt in these islands" — the same islands. "Though excepting wild fowl and fish, there is scarcely any game here but raccoons, which are amazingly plenty, and exceedingly large and

fat, as they feed upon the wild rice which grows in abundance in wet places round these islands. It is said that each hunter in one winter will catch one thousand raccoons." And, again, "As the raccoons here lodge in the rocks, the trappers make their wooden traps at the mouth of the holes; and as they go daily to look at their traps in the winter season, they generally find them filled with raccoons."—Col. Smith's *Captivity*, pp. 81, 82.

87. Joncaire?

REFERENCES TO REGISTER OF FORT DUQUESNE.

Because the Register of Fort Duquesne is out of print and very rare, the following observations on previous notes may prove helpful:

NOTE II.

Following is an abbreviation of this note: "In the present Register, the officer here mentioned is called 'Monsieur Pierre Claude de Contrecoeur, Esquire, Sieur de Beadey, Captain of Infantry, Commander-in-Chief of the forts of Duquesne, Presqu' Isle and the Riviere au Bouefs'. He was in command of Fort Niagara at the time of which we are now speaking; but he afterward succeeded to the command of Fort Duquesne. Whether he was in command of the fort at the time of Braddock's Defeat is disputed. * * * What became of him after his retiring from Fort Duquesne, I have not been able to learn."

NOTE 15.

There were seven brothers of this family, six of whom lost their lives in the Canadian wars. This one commanded an expedition against Fort Necessity in June, 1754. He was afterward taken prisoner by the English at the capture of Fort Niagara.—Mag. Amer. Hist., Vol. 2, p. 130; The Olden Time, Vol. 2, p. 152.

NOTE 20.

This lengthy note in the Register of Fort Duquesne has reference to the origin and meaning of the words Ohio and Allegheny. It opens thus: "It is well known that in early times both the French and English regarded the Allegheny and Ohio rivers as but one stream. The name given then by the French, 'La Belle Riviere,' 'The Beautiful River,' is but a translation of the Seneca name of the stream, 'Ho-he-jn,' changed by both the English and French at a later day into the present name, 'Ohio.'" Then follows a discussion of the etymology of the word Allegheny.

NOTES 25 AND 27.

This note refers to the elder Joncaire and quotes from Parkman's *Frontenac*, p. 441: "The history of Joncaire was a noteworthy one. The Senecas had captured him sometime before (the year 1700), tortured his companions to death and doomed him to the same fate. As a preliminary torment an old chief tried to burn a finger of the captain in the bowl of his pipe, on which Joncaire knocked him down. * * * The warrior crowd were so pleased with this proof of courage that they adopted him as one of their tribe, and gave him an Iroquois wife. He

lived among them many years and gained a commanding influence which proved very useful to the French." He died in 1740, leaving two sons, Chabert Joncaire and Philip Clauzonne Joncaire, both of whom were in Celoron's Expedition. The former took the most prominent part.

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY REV. A. A. LAMBING.

I am indebted to Mr. L. P. Sylvani, one of the Librarians of Parliament, Ottawa, Canada, for the following learned notes, which throw considerable light on Celoron's Journal:

Pierre-Joseph Celoron, sieur de Blainville, (whom you call Bienville de Celoron, p. 13, 1st vol., after Marshall, I suppose; our historians, Garneau, Ferland, Sulte and the parochial registers of Montreal, unanimously call him de Blainville,) was born at Montreal, on the 29th of December, in the year 1693. His father was Jean Baptiste Celoron, sieur de Blainville, lieutenant of a detachment of marine, and son of a Conseiller du Roy; his mother was Helene Picote de Belestre, widow of Antoine de la Fresnaye. They were married at Lacline, near Montreal, on the 29th November, 1686, and had a large family. Pierre-Joseph, who was the fifth child, married, first, Madeleine Blondeau in 1724, and for the second time, Catherine Eury de la Perelle, 13th October, 1743. After the death of Celoron, his widow entered the convent of the Grey Nuns, of Montreal, where she took the holy habit, in 1777, under the name of Sister Marie Catherine Eurrie. She died on the 4th of November, 1797, at the age of 74 years. In 1739, Mr. de Bienville, governor of Louisiana, having decided to march against the Chickasas, to get rid of them if possible, solicited the help of the Quebec government. Consequently troops were sent to his help, under the command of the Baron de Longueuil, with Celoron as captain. Sabrevois de Bleury, whom Celoron mentions in his Journal, and of whom I shall speak later on, was one of his lieutenants. Quite a considerable number of well known Canadian officers, and a party of Indians, joined the expedition under Celoron's orders. The rendezvous was in the vicinity of the spot where now stands the city of Memphis, in the State of Tennessee. The Canadian contingent arrived there in August, and under the direction of Celoron built the fort of l'Assomption, this being the day on which it was completed.* De Bienville's tardiness was the cause that nothing was done that winter. Early in the spring of 1740 he retreated with all his troops. Celoron, who had come all the way from Canada, was not to go back without dealing a blow. Consequently, on the 15th of March, with his Canadian troops, and from four to five hundred Indians, he started to march against the Chickasas. Frightened at his

* August 15.

arrival with such an army of troops, the Chickasas begged for peace, which was granted them by Celoron. Before leaving for home he destroyed the fort which he had erected the previous year, and then returned to Quebec. (See Gayarre *Histoire de la Louisiane*.) In 1741 he was sent to Michillimackinack to pacify the Indians.

As a fitting reward for the ability that he displayed in that campaign, Celoron was sent by M. de Beauharnois, to command at Detroit, with the rank of Major, and remained there from 1742 to 1743. In 1744 he was commanding at Niagara, and in 1747, at Fort St. Frederick,* from where he sent an expedition against New England.

About this time, the Indians in the vicinity of Detroit showing hostile intentions, Mr. de Longueuil, who was commanding there, requested the newly arrived governor, De la Galissoniere, to send him reinforcements. One hundred French soldiers and some Indians were dispatched from Quebec under the command of Celoron, to protect a convoy of traders who were going to Detroit. Indefatigable in his exertions, Celoron returned immediately to Quebec, where he arrived on the 5th of September of the same year.

In 1749, De la Galissoniere sent him to the Ohio river to take possession of the country west of the Alleghanies, in the name of the King of France. His Journal relates that expedition. Having returned to Canada he was a second time appointed commander of Detroit, where he remained from February, 1751, to March 1754.

Celoron had no sooner returned from that distant post which was definitely called Detroit under his administration, (see Farmer's *History of Detroit*, p. 222.) than the French governor, Marquis Duquesne de Menneville ordered him to go to Fort La Presentation, (now Ogdensburg,) under the command of Chevalier Benoist, (April 15th, 1754). A few months later, the Indians of Sault Ste. Marie having visited the Five Nations to ask them to keep neutral in the event of war between their allies the French, and the English, Celoron went to Quebec to make the governor acquainted with these transactions.

In the following year, 1755, Governor Duquesne knowing the value of Celoron's presence amongst the Indians, ordered him to command a body of troops which were sent to La Presentation, (see dispatch from Governor Duquesne to Chevalier Benoist, dated Montreal, March 3d, 1755.) He cannot have remained there very long as he formed part of a body of five hundred men sent to Fort Duquesne to support de Contrecoeur,

* At the head of Lake Champlain.

who was threatened with an attack by Braddock. In a list of the officers who distinguished themselves at the famous battle of Monongahela, Chevalier de Celoron's name appears with the rank of ensign.

In 1756, Celoron lived in Montreal enjoying quietly his appointments without taking any part in the active service. He was greatly missed by the Canadian officers, who knew him to be brave, intelligent and well qualified to command. Through jealousy, his enemies were the cause of his disgrace, but he was too proud to humiliate himself in pleading his own cause.

In a letter from M. de Vandreuil to M. de Machault, it is said that Celoron was killed in a skirmish near Fort Cumberland, in the summer of 1756. (See New York Hist., Doc. Vol. 10; but Ferland says that Celoron having been recalled to Quebec in 1756, took a prominent part in the trial of Stobo, the English prisoner. On the 28th of November, Stobo was ordered to appear before a court-martial, presided over by the Governor de Vandreuil, and Celoron is mentioned as being there in the capacity of attorney-general, (*procureur-general pour le Roy.*)

After having played an important role during the last years of the French régime in Canada, Celoron de Blainville disappears from the scene, and I must confess that I cannot find any record of his death. Perhaps some readers of this historical magazine will be able to finish this notice, which I would have desired more complete.

The manuscript Journal of Celoron rectifies an error about the number of Indians that accompanied him. Mr. Marshall, and all our historians, have made the same mistake about it.

Lanaudiere — M. de Lanaudiere, mentioned by Celoron in his Journal, (page 64), played a conspicuous role in his day. I subjoin a short sketch of him. Charles-Francois-Xavier Tarieu de Lanaudiere, was born near Quebec, in 1710, and was appointed Aide-Major of Quebec, in 1743. A few years later he was charged by the Governor, M. de Beauharnois, to transact the exchange of prisoners sent by Shirley, Governor of Boston. In 1748, he was sent by M. de la Galissonniere to the fort of the Miamis to settle difficulties which arose from the murder of a Frenchman, by the Miamis of La Demoiselle, alluded to by Celoron. He was on his way home after a voyage, for which he deserved the thanks of the Governor, when he was met by Celoron, at Quinte. He was then promoted to the rank of Captain. Five years after, he was at Oswego, where he distinguished himself. At the battle of Carillon, (*Ticonderoga*) he was commanding a company of Canadians. His services on this occasion were rewarded by the Cross of St. Louis. In 1759,

when Wolfe was besieging Quebec, Lanaudiere was ordered by the Governor to look after the safety of the inhabitants from the vicinity of the town. After the conquest he was appointed a Legislative Councillor, and died in 1776, leaving a large family, whose descendants occupy prominent positions in Lower Canada. See Daniel, *Histoire des grandes familles du Canada*.

Sabrevois de Bleury, (Jacques-Charles, not Sabrinnois, Researches, Vol. II, p. 64) whom Celoron met at Niagara, on the 6th day of July, had made the campaign against the Chickasas with Celoron as lieutenant, 1739. He had acted as French commandant at Detroit, from 1734 to 1738, and was on his way there for the second time when Celoron met him at Niagara. It is likely that he commanded at Detroit, till 1751, when Celoron replaced him.



ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE ON THE BEAUTIFUL RIVER
MADE IN 1749, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MON-
SIEUR DE CELORON, BY FATHER BONNE-
CAMPS.

MONSIEUR,

It was not possible for me last year, to give you an account of my voyage on the Beautiful River.

All the vessels had left Quebec when I reached it. I could, it is true, have written you by way of New England; but I had many things to say to you which prudence would not allow me to send through the hands of the English. Therefore, in spite of the great desire that I had to respond to the confidence which you have shown me, I have chosen the alternative of deferring to do so, until the departure of our vessels.¹

We left la Chine on the 15th of June, toward 3 o'clock in the afternoon, numbering 23 canoes both French and savage. We slept at pointe Claire, about two leagues distant from la Chine. The next day, although starting out quite early, we made hardly more progress; and we gained les Cedres with much difficulty, because of the Cascades up which we had to ascend with our canoes, where the greater number were badly injured by the rocks.

The 17th. A part of the day was employed in mending them, and in doubling pointe des Cedres ("point of Cedars") with half-cargoes. At night, we camped on the shore of the lake; the place was a bare tongue of earth, very narrow, at the end of which was a considerable fall. The canoe of Monsieur de Joncaire² unfortunately fell into the water there, and was lost; of the four men who were in it, three were fortunate enough to save themselves by swimming; the fourth was not so fortunate, and perished before our eyes, without our being able to give him the slightest aid. This was the only man whom we lost during the expedition.

The 18th. We reached once aux bateaux ("boat cove"), which is at the entrance of lake St. Francis. On that day, Mon-

sieur de Celoron³ detached a party of men to go to recover the remains of the wrecked canoe.

The 19th. I took our bearings at anse aux bateaux, which I found to be $45^{\circ} 32'$ of latitude. The 21st. We passed lake St. Francis, which must be seven leagues in length, and two leagues in its greatest breadth. That night we slept at mille Roches ("thousand Rocks"). The 22nd. We arrived at the Long Sault toward eleven o'clock in the morning. There we made a portage of somewhat more than a quarter of a league, and reentered the canoes now empty of their lading. We would do much better to carry them by land, as we would carry baggage; we would lose less time, and incur less risk; but custom is a law against which good sense does not always prevail. The Long Sault is divided into three channels by two islands. The ascent is made by the north channel, and the descent by the south channel. The middle one, which is called "the lonely channel," is said to be impracticable.

The 25th. We disembarked at the dwelling of the abbe Piquet, whose new establishment is south of the river—37 leagues from Montreal, and directly at the end of the rapids. We found him lodged under a shelter of bark, in the midst of a clearing of nearly 40 arpents. The fort which he has had constructed is a square of 70 feet on each side; it is situated at the mouth of a river, which he has named la Presentation, and at the base of a little headland, low and marshy. According to abbe Piquet, the soil is excellent; but it did not appear so to us. One sees there as many trees of fir as of hard wood. His whole village consisted of two men, who followed us into the Beautiful River.⁴

The 27th. We arrived at Cataracoui, soon after noon. The fort of Cataracoui is situated near the bottom of a cove, about thirty arpents from the river. It is a square of stone-work, 60 toises in extent, each corner being flanked by a bastion. Opposite the entrance, a small demilune has been constructed. The neighborhood of the fort is very open, and liable to surprise. It is slightly commanded by a little hill, not very far away. The 28th. I observed its latitude, which I found to be $44^{\circ} 28'$. It is here that the course of the river St. Lawrence properly begins,

which, in my judgment, does not exceed 230 leagues. The 29th. A strong wind from the southwest detained us at Cataracoui.

The 30th. The lake being calm, we took the route to Niagara, where we arrived on the 6th of July. In all the passage of lake Ontario, I have seen nothing which could excite curiosity. I will only tell you that the waters of this lake are very clear and transparent; at 17 and 18 feet, the bottom can be seen as distinctly as if one saw it through a polished glass. They have still another property, very pleasant to travelers,—that of retaining great coolness in the midst of the suffocating heat which one is sometimes obliged to endure in passing this lake.

The Fort of Niagara is a square made of palisades, faced on the outside with oak timbers, which bind and strengthen the whole work. A large stone barrack forms the curtain-wall, which overlooks the lake; its size is almost the same as that of fort Frontenac. It is situated on the eastern bank of the channel by which the waters of lake Erie discharge themselves. It will soon be necessary to remove it elsewhere, because the bank, being continually undermined by the waves which break against it, is gradually caving in, and the water gains noticeably on the fort. It would be advantageously placed above the waterfall, on a fine plateau where all canoes are obliged to land to make the portage. Thus the savages, people who are naturally lazy, would be spared the trouble of making three leagues by land; and if the excessive price of merchandise could be diminished, that would insensibly disgust the English, and we could see the trade, which is almost entirely ruined, again flourishing.

On the 6th and the 7th, I observed the western amplitude of the sun, when it set in the lake; that gave me $6^{\circ} 30'$ Northwest for the variation of compass. The latitude of the fort is $43^{\circ} 28'$.

On the 8th, the entire detachment arrived at the portage. The 12th. We encamped at the little rapid at the entrance of lake Erie. The channel which furnishes communication between the two lakes is about 9 leagues in length. Two leagues above the fort, the portage begins. There are three hills^s to climb, almost in succession. The 3rd is extraordinarily high and steep; it is, at its summit, at least 300 feet above the level of the water. If I had had my graphometer, I could have ascertained

its exact height; but I had left that instrument at the fort, for fear that some accident might happen to it during the rest of the voyage. When the top of this last hill is reached, there is a level road to the other end of the portage; the road is broad, fine, and smooth. The famous waterfall of Niagara is very nearly equidistant from the two lakes. It is formed by a rock cleft vertically, and is 133 feet, according to my measurement which I believe to be exact. Its figure is a half-ellipse, divided near the middle by a little island. The width of the fall is perhaps three-eighths of a league. The water falls in foam over the length of the rock, and is received in a large basin, over which hangs a continual mist.

The 13th. We remained in our camp at the little rapid to await our savages, who were amusing themselves with drinking rum at the portage, with a band of their comrades who were returning from Choagnen (Oswego). The 14th. The savages having rejoined us, we entered lake Erie, but a strong southwest wind having arisen, we put back to shore. The 15th. In the morning, the wind having ceased, we continued our route, and on the 16th, we arrived early at the portage of Yjadakoin.⁶

It began at the mouth of a little stream called Riviere aux pommes ("apple River"),—the 3rd that is met after entering the lake, and thus it may be easily recognized. The 15th. In the evening, I observed the variation, which I found to be nothing.

We always kept close to the shore. It is quite regular, straight, but moderately high, and furnishes little shelter; in many places it is mere rock, covered with a few inches of soil. Lake Erie is not deep; its waters have neither the transparency nor the coolness of those of lake Ontario. It is at this lake that I saw for the first time the wild turkeys; they differ in no way from our domestic turkeys.

The 17th. We began the portage, and made a good league that day. I observed the latitude at the 2nd station,—that is, half a league from the lake,—and I found it $42^{\circ} 33'$. The 18th. Our people being fatigued, we shortened the intervals between the stations, and we hardly made more than half a league. The 19th. Bad weather did not allow us to advance far; nevertheless

we gained ground every day, and, the 22nd, the portage was entirely accomplished.

In my judgment, it is three and a half leagues. The road is passably good. The wood through which it is cut resembles our forests in France. The beech, the ash, the elm, the red and white oak — these trees compose the greater part of it. A species of tree is found there, which has no other name than that of "the unknown tree." Its trunk is high, erect, and almost without branches to the top. It has a light, soft wood, which is used for making pirogues, and is good for that alone. Eyes more trained than ours, would, perhaps, have made discoveries which would have pleased the taste of arborists. Having reached the shore of lake Yjadakoin, Monsieur de Celoron thought it well to pass the rest of the day in camp to give his people a breathing-space. On the morning of the 23rd, we examined the provisions, pitched the canoes, and set out. Before starting, I took advantage of the fine weather to get the latitude, which I found to be $42^{\circ} 30'$. Lake Yjadakoin may be a league and a half in its greatest width, and 6 leagues in its entire length. It becomes narrow near the middle, and seems to form a double lake.

We left it on the morning of the 24th, and entered the little river which bears its name, and which is, as it were, its outlet. After a league and a half of still water, one enters a rapid, which extends for three leagues or more; in times of drouth, it is very shallow. We were told that in the spring, or after heavy rains, it is navigable; as for us, we found it drained dry. In certain places, which were only too frequent, there was barely two or three inches of water.

Before entering this place, Monsieur de Celoron had the greater part of the baggage unloaded, with people to carry it to the rendezvous. On the road, our natives noticed fresh trails, and huts newly abandoned. From these unequivocal indications, we inferred that some one had come to spy upon us, and that at our approach our discoverers had carried the alarm to the Beautiful River. Therefore, Monsieur the Commandant held a council on the morning of the 25th, in which, after having declared your

intentions, he proposed to send Monsieur de Joncaire to la paille coupee,⁷ to carry thither some porcelain branches, and to invite the natives to listen to the peaceful message of their father Onontio. The proposition was unanimously approved, and Monsieur de Joncaire set out, accompanied by a detachment of savages. We then worked at repairing our canoes, and sent them on, half-loaded. On the morning of the 27th, we again found the still water, on which we advanced tranquilly until half past 10 on the 28th, — a fatal hour, which plunged us again into our former miseries. The water suddenly gave out under our canoes, and we were reduced to the sad necessity of dragging them over the stones, — whose sharp edges, in spite of our care and precautions, took off large splinters from time to time. Finally, overcome with weariness, and almost despairing of seeing the Beautiful River, we entered it on the 29th, at noon. Monsieur de Celoron buried a plate of lead on the south bank of the Ohio; and, farther down, he attached the royal coat of arms to a tree. After these operations, we encamped opposite a little Iroquois village, of 12 or 13 cabins; it is called Kananouangon.⁸

The 30th. We arrived at la paille coupee. There we rejoined Monsieur de Joncaire, who told us that our conjecture was correct; that the report of our march had thrown all those people into consternation, and that he had had much difficulty in making the fugitives return. The chiefs came to greet Monsieur the Commandant, who bestowed upon them a thousand tokens of kindness, and sought to reassure them.

The 31st. In the morning, he spoke to them on your behalf; and in the evening he received their reply, that every one had been satisfied, — if one could believe it sincere; but we did not doubt that it was extorted by fear.

You will excuse me from reporting here, or elsewhere, either the words of Monsieur de Celoron, or the replies which they gave him, because he will send you copies of these.

La paille coupée is a very insignificant village, composed of Iroquois and some Loups. It is situated on the northern bank of the Ohio, and is bounded on the north by a group of moun-

tains which form a very narrow half-basin, at the bottom of which is the village; its latitude is $42^{\circ} 5'$.

On the 1st of August we broke camp, and that evening we slept at a little Loup village of 9 or 10 cabins. We marched all day between two chains of mountains, which border the river on the right and left. The Ohio is very low during the first twenty leagues; but a great storm, which we had experienced on the eve of our departure, had swollen the waters, and we pursued our journey without any hindrance.

Monsieur Chabert on that day caught seven rattlesnakes, which were the first that I had seen. This snake differs in no way from others, except that its tail is terminated by seven or eight little scales, fitting one into another, which make a sort of clicking sound when the creature moves or shakes itself. Some have yellowish spots scattered over a brown ground, and others are entirely brown, or almost black.

There are, I am told, very large ones. None of those which I have seen exceed 4 feet. The bite is fatal. It is said that washing the wound which has been received, with saliva mixed with a little sea-salt, is a sovereign remedy. We have not had, thank God, any occasion to put this antidote to the test. I have been told a thousand marvelous things about this reptile; among others, that the squirrel, upon perceiving a rattlesnake, immediately becomes greatly agitated; and, at the end of a certain period of time, — drawn, as it were, by an invincible attraction, — approaches it, even throwing itself into the jaws of the serpent. I have read a statement similar to this reported in philosophic transactions; but I do not give it credence, for all that.

The 2nd. Monsieur de Celoron spoke to the Loups. I took the bearing of our camp on the same day, and found it to be $41^{\circ} 41'$ of latitude.

The 3rd. We continued our route, and we marched, as on the first day, buried in the somber and dismal valley, which serves as the bed of the Ohio. We encountered on our route two small villages of Loups, where we did not halt. In the evening, after we disembarked, we buried a 2nd plate of lead

under a great rock, upon which were to be seen several figures roughly graven. These were the figures of men and women, and the footprints of goats, turkeys, bears, etc., traced upon the rock. Our officers tried to persuade me that this was the work of Europeans; but, in truth, I may say that in the style and workmanship of these engravings one cannot fail to recognize the unskillfulness of savages. I might add to this, that they have much analogy with the hieroglyphics which they use instead of writing.⁹

The 4th. We continued our route, always surrounded by mountains,—sometimes so high that they did not permit us to see the sun before 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning, or after 2 or 3 in the afternoon. This double chain of mountains stretches along the Beautiful River, at least as far as riviere a la Roche ("Rocky river"). Here and there, they fall back from the shore, and display little plains of one or two leagues in depth.

The 6th. We arrived at Atigue, where we found no person; all the people had fled to the woods. Seeing this, we went on, and came to the old village of the Chaouanons, where we found only a man and a woman, so old that their united ages would make fully two centuries. Some time afterward, we encountered five Englishmen who appeared to us to be engages; they were ordered to quit that region, and they responded that they were ready to obey. They were given a letter for the governor of Philadelphia; it was a copy of that which you had given for a model. These English came from Chiningue and Sinhioto.¹⁰ They had some forty packets of peltries, which they were preparing to carry to Philadelphia. These packets consisted of skins of bears, otters, cats, precans, and roc-deer, with the hair retained,—for neither martens nor beavers are seen there. The Englishmen told us that they reckoned it 100 leagues from that place to Philadelphia.

The 7th. We found another village of Loups. Monsieur de Celoron induced the chief to come to Chiningue to hear your message. At two leagues from there we landed, in order to speak to the English; the same compliments were presented to them as to the others, and they answered us with the same apparent submission. They were lodged in miserable cabins,

and had a storehouse well filled with peltries, which we did not disturb.

One of our officers showed me a bean-tree. This is a tree of medium size whose trunk and branches are armed with thorns three or four inches long, and two or three lines thick at the base. The interior of these thorns is filled with pulp. The fruit is a sort of little bean, enclosed in a pod about a foot long, an inch wide, and of a reddish color somewhat mingled with green. There are five or six beans in each pod. The same day, we dined in a hollow cottonwood tree, in which 29 men could be ranged side by side. This tree is not rare in those regions; it grows on the river-banks and in marshy places. It attains a great height and has many branches. Its bark is seamed and rough like shagreen. The wood is hard, brittle, and apt to decay; I do not believe that I have seen two of these trees that were not hollow. Its leaves are large and thickly set; its fruit is of the size of a hazelnut, enveloped in down; the whole resembling an apple, exactly spherical, and about an inch in diameter.

Now that I am on the subject of trees, I will tell you something of the *assimine*-tree, and of that which is called the *lentil*-tree. The first is a shrub, the fruit of which is oval in shape, and a little larger than a bustard's egg; its substance is white and spongy, and becomes yellow when the fruit is ripe. It contains two or three kernels, large and flat like the garden bean. They have each their special cell. The fruits grow ordinarily in pairs, and are suspended on the same stalk. The French have given it a name which is not very refined, *Testiculi asini*. This is a delicate morsel for the savages and the Canadians; as for me, I have found it of an unendurable insipidity. The one which I call the *lentil*-tree is a tree of ordinary size; the leaf is short, oblong, and serrated all around. Its fruit much resembles our lentils. It is enclosed in pods, which grow in large, thick tufts at the extremities of the branches.¹¹ But it is time to resume our course.

On the morning of the 8th, Monsieur de Celoron sent me with an officer to examine certain writings, which our savages had seen the evening before, on a rock, and which they imagined to contain some mystery. Having examined it, we reported to

him that this was nothing more than three or four English names scrawled with charcoal. I took the altitude in our camp, the latitude of which was $40^{\circ} 46'$.

A little after noon, we departed for the village of the Chiningue. It was three o'clock when we arrived. We disembarked at the foot of a very high slope. It was lined with people, and they saluted us with four volleys from their guns; we responded in the same manner.

Monsieur de Celoron, reflecting upon the disadvantageous situation of his camp, if we remained at the foot of the slope, decided to have it transported to the top, and to place our force between the village and the woods. This move was executed in sight of the savages, who dared not oppose us. When we were well established, the chiefs came to salute the Commandant. After an interchange of compliments, Monsieur de Celoron manifested his displeasure that they had set up the English flag opposite that of France, and ordered them to take it down. The firm tone with which he spoke caused them to obey him. In the evening we doubled the guard; and, instead of 40 men who had mounted guard regularly every night since our entrance into Yjadakoin, 80 were assigned to that duty. Moreover, all the officers and engages were ordered to sleep in their clothing.

On the morning of the 9th, a savage came to tell Monsieur de Joncaire that 80 warriors starting from Kaskaske were on the point of arriving; that they came intending to aid their brothers, and to deal us a blow.

Monsieur de Joncaire, having made his report of this to the Commandant, the latter immediately gave orders to prepare for a warm reception of the enemy. These preparations were not made. The savages, seeing our bold front and our superior number, quietly withdrew and saluted us very politely in passing before our camp. During the rest of the day, all was tranquil.

On the 10th, there was a council, in which Monsieur de Celoron spoke to them on your part. They responded on the 11th, and we departed immediately after the council. The village of Chiningue ²² is quite new; it is hardly more than five or

six years since it was established. The savages who live there are almost all Iroquois; they count about sixty warriors. The English there were 10 in number, and one among them was their chief. Monsieur de Celoron had him come, and ordered him, as he had done with the others, to return to his own country. The Englishman, who saw us ready to depart, acquiesced in all that was exacted from him, — firmly resolved, doubtless, to do nothing of the kind, as soon as our backs were turned.

From Chiningue to Sinhioto, my journal furnishes me with nothing curious or new; there are only readings of the Compass, taken every quarter of an hour, the list of which would be as tedious for the reader as for the copyist. I will only tell you that we buried three plates of lead at the mouths of three different rivers, the 1st of which was called Kanonouaora, the second Jenanguékona, and the 3rd, Chinodaichta. It was in the neighborhood of this river that we began to see the Illinois cattle; but, here and elsewhere, they were in such small numbers that our men could hardly kill a score of them. It was, besides, necessary to seek them far in the woods.¹³ We had been assured, however, at our departure, that at each point we should find them by hundreds, and that the tongues alone of those which we should kill would suffice to support the troops. This is not the first time when I have experienced that hyperbole and exaggeration were figures familiar to the Canadians.

When we were near Sinhioto, Monsieur de Celoron, by the advice of the officers and of the savages, despatched Messieurs de Joncaire and Niverville¹⁴ to announce our approaching arrival to the Chaouanons. Their reception was not gracious. Hardly had the savages perceived them, when they fired on them, and their colors were pierced in three places. In spite of this hail of musketry, they advanced as far as the bank, and disembarked without receiving any wound. They were conducted to the council-cabin; but scarcely had Monsieur de Joncaire commenced his harangue, when a miserable Panis (Pawnee), to all appearances influenced by the English, suddenly arose, crying out that they were deceived, and that the French came to them only to destroy them. This denunciation was like a war-cry. The savages ran to arms, and arrested our envoys; they talked of

binding them to the stake; and perhaps they would have executed this threat if an Iroquois, who was by chance present, had not appeased the furious savages by assuring them that we had no evil designs. He even promised to go with Monsieur de Joncaire to meet us, which he did.

We encountered them on the 22nd, about a league from the village. Monsieur de Celoron thanked the Iroquois for the zeal which he had displayed on this occasion, and made him some small presents.

We finally embarked, in order to go to Sinhioto. We encamped opposite the village, where we worked hard, in order to complete the fort, which had been begun the evening before.

On the 23rd, a council was held; but the savages raised some difficulties about the place where they were to assemble. They desired that we should address them in the cabin appointed for Councils; Monsieur de Celoron declared, on the contrary, that it was for the children to come to hear the words of their father in the place where he had lighted his fire. Briefly, after many disputes, the savages gave way and presented themselves in our camp. During the Council, two couriers arrived, to announce that canoes bearing the French colors had been seen descending the river of Sinhioto. This news somewhat disconcerted our grave senators, who imagined that it was a party of warriors sent against them from Detroit, and that it was our design to inclose them between two fires. Monsieur the Commandant had great difficulty to reassure them. Finally, however, their fears were dissipated, and they continued the Council. The 24th. The savages responded, but in vague and general terms, which signified nothing at all.

On the 25th, 4 outaouas arrived with letters from Monsieur (de) Sabrevois,¹⁵ which notified Monsieur de Celoron that he had not been able to persuade the savages of his government to come to join us on the Beautiful River, as had been projected. In the evening, there was a bonfire to celebrate the feast of St. Louis. All the detachment was under arms; they fired three volleys of musketry, preceded by several cries of *Vive le Roy!*

The 26th. The Chaouanons gave a 2nd response which was somewhat more satisfactory than the 1st. After which, we continued our journey to riviere a la Roche.

The situation of the village of the Chaouanons is quite pleasant, — at least, it is not masked by the mountains, like the other villages through which we had passed. The Sinhioto river, which bounds it on the West, has given it its name. It is composed of about sixty cabins. The English men there numbered five. They were ordered to withdraw, and promised to do so. The latitude of our camp was $39^{\circ} 1'$

The 28th. We encamped at the mouth of riviere Blanche ("White river"), where we found a small band of Miamis with their chief, named le Baril ("the Barrel"). They had established themselves there a short time before, and formed a village of 7 or 8 cabins, a league distant from the river. Monsieur de Celoron requested them to accompany him to the village of la Demoiselle ("the young Lady"), and they promised to do so. We passed two days waiting for them. Finally, on the morning of the 31st, they appeared, followed by their women, their children, and their dogs. All embarked, and about 4 o'clock in the afternoon we entered riviere a la Roche, after having buried the 6th and last leaden plate on the western bank of that river, and to the north of the Ohio.¹⁶

This Beautiful River — so little known to the French, and, unfortunately, too well known to the English — is, according to my estimate, 181 marine leagues from the mouth of the Yjadakoin (or Tjadakoin) to the entrance of riviere a la Roche. In ail this distance, we have counted twelve villages established on its banks; but if one penetrate into the small continent enclosed between lake Erie and the Ohio, one will find it, according to what has been told us, much more populous. We have been specially told of a certain village situated on the river Kaskaske, in which, we are assured, there are nearly 800 men.¹⁷ Each village, whether large or small, has one or more traders, who have in their employ engages for the transportation of peltries. Behold, then, the English already far within our territory; and, what is worse, they are under the protection of a crowd of savages whom they entice to themselves, and whose number increases every day.

Their design is, without doubt, to establish themselves there; and, if efficacious measures be not taken as soon as possible to arrest their progress, we run very great risk of seeing ourselves quickly driven from the upper countries, and of being obliged to confine ourselves to the limits which it may please those gentlemen to prescribe to us. This is perhaps all the more true that it does not seem probable. I resume the thread of my journal.

Riviere a la Roche is very well named. Its bottom is but one continuous rock; its waters are extremely shallow. Notwithstanding this, we had the good fortune to guide our canoes as far as the village of la Demoiselle. In order to lighten them, we had landed half of our people. This was thought to have (occasioned) the loss of Monsieur de Joannes, — who, having undertaken to follow a savage who was going to hunt, lost himself in the woods, and remained there two days without our being able to obtain any news of him, in spite of all the efforts which we made. On the 3rd day after his disappearance, we saw him, when we least expected to do so, at a bend in the river, conducted by two Miamis.

On the 13th of September, we had the honor of saluting la Demoiselle in his fort. It is situated on a vast prairie which borders Riviere a la Roche; its latitude is $40^{\circ} 34'$. This band is not numerous; it consists at most of 40 or 50 men.¹⁸ There is among them an English trader. Monsieur de Celoron did not talk with la Demoiselle until the 17th, because he awaited an interpreter from the Miamis, for whom he had asked Monsieur Raimond. But, wearied with waiting, and seeing the season already advanced, he determined to take for an interpreter an old Sounantouan who was in le Baril's company.

On the 18th la Demoiselle replied, and in his answer promised to take back his band to their old village in the following spring; he even gave his word that he would go with us as far as there, in order to prepare everything for his return. But the arrival of the Miami interpreter put him in a bad humor; he forgot all his promises, and in spite of all that we could do, he constantly refused to see us. We then left him; and, after having burned our canoes and all that we could not carry, we took leave of him on the morning of the 20th.

Our journey by land was only five days. We were divided into four brigades, each commanded by two officers. We marched in single file, because the narrowness of the path would not permit us to do otherwise. The road was passable, but we found it quite tedious. In my estimation, the journey from la Demoiselle's to the Miamis might cover 35 leagues. Three times we crossed Riviere a la Roche; but here it was only a feeble brook, which ran over a few feet of mud. A little more than half-way, we began to skirt the river of the Miamis, which was on our left. We found therein large crabs in abundance. From time to time we marched over vast prairies, where the herbage was sometimes of extraordinary height. Having reached Monsieur Raimond's post, we bought pirogues and provisions; and, on the afternoon of the 27th, we set out, en route for Detroit.

The fort of the Miamis was in a very bad condition when we reached it; most of the palisades were decayed and fallen into ruin. Within there were eight houses, — or, to speak more correctly, eight miserable huts, which only the desire of making money could render endurable. The French there numbered 22; all of them, even to the commandant, had the fever. Monsieur Raimond did not approve the situation of the fort, and maintained that it should be placed on the bank of the St. Joseph river, distant only a scant league from its present site. He wished to show me that spot, but the hindrances of our departure prevented me from going thither. All that I could do for him was to trace for him the plan of his new fort. The latitude of the old one is $41^{\circ} 29'$. It was while with the Miamis that I learned that we had, a little before entering riviere a la Roche, passed within two or three leagues of the famous salt-springs where are the skeletons of immense animals.¹⁹ This news greatly chagrined me; and I could hardly forgive myself for having missed this discovery. It was the more curious that I should have done this on my journey, and I would have been proud if I could have given you the details of it.

The Miami River caused us no less embarrassment than Riviere a la Roche had done. At almost every instant we were stopped by beds of flat stones, over which it was necessary to

drag our pirogues by main force. I will say, however, that at intervals were found beautiful reaches of smooth water, but they were few and short. In the last six leagues, the river is broad (and deep), and seems to herald the grandeur of the lake into which it discharges its waters. At 6 leagues above lake Erie, I took the altitude, which was found to be $42^{\circ} 0'$.

We entered the lake on the 5th of October. On entering it, there is to the left the bay of Onanguisse, which is said to be very deep. Soon after, one encounters to the right, the Isles aux Serpents ("islands where there are Snakes"). On the 6th, we arrived at the mouth of the Detroit River, where we found canoes and provisions for our return. Monsieur de Celoron had the goodness to permit me to go to the fort with some officers. We spent there the entire day of the 7th. I took the latitude in Father Bonaventure's courtyard, and I found it $42^{\circ} 38'$.

In the evening, we returned to our camp, where we spent the 8th waiting for our savages, a class of men created in order to exercise the patience of those who have the misfortune to travel with them. I profited by this hindrance in order to take the latitude of our camp, which was $42^{\circ} 28'$.

I remained too short a time at Detroit to be able to give you an exact description of it. All that I can say to you about it is, that its situation appeared to me charming. A beautiful river runs at the foot of the fort; vast plains, which only ask to be cultivated, extend beyond the sight. There is nothing milder than the climate, which scarcely counts two months of winter. The productions of Europe, and especially the grains, grow much better than in many of the cantons of France. It is the Touraine and Beauce of Canada. Moreover, we should regard Detroit as one of the most important posts of the Colony. It is conveniently situated for furnishing aid to Michilimakinak, to the St. Joseph River, to the Bay, to the Miamis, Ouiatanons, and to the Beautiful River, supposing that settlements be made thereon. Accordingly, we cannot send thither too many people; but where shall we find men therefor? Certainly not in Canada. The colonists whom you sent there last year contented themselves with eating the rations that the King provided. Some among them, even, carried away by their natural levity, have

left the country and gone to seek their fortune elsewhere. How many poor laborers in France would be delighted to find a country which would furnish them abundantly with what would repay them for their industry and toil.

The Fort of Detroit is a long square; I do not know its dimensions, but it appeared large to me. The village of the Hurons and that of the Outaouas are on the other side of the river, — (where father La Richardie told me, the rebels were beginning to disperse, and the band of Nicolas was diminishing day by day. We had asked news about him, when upon the Beautiful River;) and were told that he had established his residence in the neighborhood of lake Erie.²⁰

We left Detroit on the 9th of October, and on the 19th arrived at Niagara. I took the altitude twice on lake Erie, — once at Pointe Pelee, which was $42^{\circ} 20'$; the other time, a little below pointe a la Biche ("Fawn's point"), which was $43^{\circ} 6'$. We left Niagara on the 22nd, and, to shorten our road, we passed along the south shore of lake Ontario. We experienced on this lake some terrible storms. More than once, we were on the point of perishing. Finally, notwithstanding the winds and tempests, our bark canoes brought us safe and sound to Cataracoui on the 4th of November.

I saw Choaguen in passing, but it was too far for me to examine it.

On the 7th, we left Cataracoui, and on the 10th we arrived at Montreal. On the road we halted at the dwelling of abbe Piquet, who was then at Montreal. We found three-quarters of his fort burned by the Iroquois — sent, they say, for this purpose, by the English. At one of the angles of the fort they had caused to be constructed a little redout after the style of the Fort St. Jean. The fire had spared it. In returning, I shot all the rapids, the danger of which had been rather exaggerated to me. The first that one encounters in going out from abbe Piquet's is les Galaux ("the Gallops"); it is a very small matter. The rapide Plat ("Flat rapid") which succeeds it is of still less importance. The Long Sault has its difficulties. It is necessary to have a quick eye and sure hand, in order to avoid on the one side the Cascade, and on the other a great rock — against which

a canoe, were it of bronze, would be shattered like glass. The Coteau du Lac is not difficult, because one passes at a considerable distance from the Cascade. In the passage of les Cedres, there is no risk except for bark canoes, because the water has but little depth. "The Thicket" and "the Hole" are two difficult places; but, after all, one escapes save for shipping a little water while shooting this rapid. I have not shot "the Hole." Our guide led us by another way, which was not much better. It was necessary to cross a very violent current, which will precipitate you into a very deep cascade, if you miss the right point for crossing. One of our canoes came near turning a somersault, not having taken proper precautions. The Sault St. Louis is perfectly well known to you.

On the 14th, Monsieur de Celoron and I set out for Quebec, where we arrived on the 18th of November. — that is to say, five months and eighteen days after having left it.

I beg of you a few moments' further audience, in behalf of the chart which I have the honor to present to you. It is reduced, on account of its great extent; it has 20 fixed points which have been furnished to me by the latitudes observed, and which I have marked with double crosses. The longitude is everywhere estimated. If I had had a good compass, I would have been able to determine several of its points by observation; but could I or ought I to rely on a compass of indifferent merit, and of which I have a hundred times proved the irregularity, both before and since my return? Can I dare say that my estimates are correct? In truth, this would be very rash, — especially as we were obliged to navigate currents subject to a thousand alternations. In still water, even, what rules of estimation could one have, of which the correctness would not be disturbed by the variation and inequalities of the wind or of the rowers? As for the points of the compass, I can answer for having observed them all, and marked them in my journal with the utmost care; because I know that a part of the exactness of my chart depends upon it. I have not failed to correct them according to the variations that I have observed. I have similarly corrected the leagues of distance when such did not accord with the latitude observed. In a word I have done my utmost to deserve the marks of esteem which

you have had the goodness to bestow upon me. If I have been fortunate enough to succeed, I beg of you to deign to employ me, when occasion therefor shall present itself; that is the only recompense which I expect for my work

I cannot bring myself to finish this letter without rendering to Messieurs our officers all the justice that they merit. In the subalterns I have admired their zeal for the service, their courage when occasion required it, their submission to the orders of the Commandant, and their promptitude in exercising them.

As for Monsieur de Celoron, he is a man attentive, clear-sighted, and active; firm, but pliant when necessary; fertile in resources, and full of resolution, — a man, in fine, made to command. I am no flatterer, and I do not fear that what I have said should make me pass for one.

I have the honor to be with the most profound respect,

MONSIEUR,

Your very humble and
very obedient servant

At Quebec, October 17, 1750. DE BONNECAMPS, S. J.

NOTES.

1. Beauharnais (vol. lxxvii., note 4)* was nominally succeeded, as governor of New France, by Jacques Pierre Taffanel, marquis de la Jonquiere, who received his commission in March, 1746. In the summer of that year, La Jonquiere was sent, in command of a French squadron, to attack Port Royal; but, his fleet being dispersed by a storm off Cape Sable, he was forced to return to France. Again departing for Canada (May, 1747), his ship was captured by the English, and he was detained as a prisoner in England until the following year. Meanwhile, Beauharnais acted as governor until relieved (Sept. 19, 1747) by Count de la Galissoniere; the latter held office two years, when La Jonquiere came (September, 1749) to assume the authority granted to him three years before. The governorship was held by La Jonquiere until his death, May 17, 1752.

Bonnecamps's statement that he reached Quebec too late to report what he had done, is explained by the fact that La Galissoniere left that place, on his return to France, on Sept. 24; while Celoron's expedition did not arrive at Montreal until Oct. 10.

* Jesuit Relations.

2. Louis Thomas de Joncaire, sieur de Chabert, was a native of Provence, born in 1670. He came to Canada when a mere boy, and soon became an interpreter for the Indians; he also entered the army, and gained the rank of lieutenant. His special service was among the Seneca tribe, by whom he was adopted; he had great influence with them, and they regarded him as one of their chiefs. The date of his death is not recorded; but it must have been about 1740. In 1706, he married (at Montreal) Madeleine le Guay, by whom he had ten children. The eldest of these, Philippe Thomas, born in January, 1707, repeated his father's career, save that he was on intimate terms with all the Iroquois tribes, as well as with the Senecas. He was one of the officers who signed the capitulation of Fort Niagara (1759); it is not known how long he lived after that event. It is this son who is mentioned as an officer in Celoron's expedition. Some writers say that his mother was a Seneca squaw; but Tanguay makes him the son of Madeleine le Guay.

3. The identity of Celoron the explorer is not entirely certain, as there were two brothers of that name, both Canadian officers, and both employed at frontier outposts and among the Indians; moreover, most historical writers have neglected to make researches sufficiently detailed to settle this question satisfactorily.

The name of the family was Celoron de Blainville, according to Tanguay, Ferland, Gosselin, and other leading Canadian writers; but Parkman, Marshall, and some other English historians write it Celoron (or Celeron) de Bienville, and sometimes Bienville de Celoron. The first of this name in Canada was Jean Baptiste Celoron, sieur de Blainville; he was born at Paris, in 1664, the son of a royal councillor. In early youth he came to Canada, apparently as a lieutenant in the French troops; and married, at the age of twenty-two, Helene Picote (widow of Antoine de la Fresnaye, sieur de Brucy, Francois Perrot's partner in the fur trade), by whom he had seven children. He died at Montreal, in June 1735.

His elder son, Pierre Joseph (born in 1693), was also a military officer, and served with much distinction, especially when placed in charge of various forts. He was commandant at Michillimackinac at an early date — probably from 1737 to 1742, a period broken by a short term of service (in 1739) against the Chickasaws in Louisiana; he led against them a troop of French and Indians from Canada. From the autumn of 1742 to that of 1743, he commanded at Detroit and again from 1750 to March, 1754. In October, 1744, he was sent to take command of Fort Niagara, where he remained two years; then spent a short time at Montreal; and in the spring of 1747 became commandant at

Fort St. Frederic (Crown Point), remaining there about six months. In 1750, after his return from the Ohio expedition of the previous year, he was ordered to take charge of the Detroit post. Leaving it in 1754, he probably spent the next six years in various military operations of the French and Indian war; the latest mention of his name in Canadian affairs is, apparently, as one of the defenders of Quebec in 1759. He had married, in 1724 (at Montreal), Marie Madeleine Blondeau, widow of Charles le Gardeur, and had by her four children. He was again married (in 1743) — to Catherine Cury, by whom he had nine children; after she became a widow, she entered (1777) the Gray Sisters' convent at Montreal, where she died twenty years later.

The strong preponderance of evidence is in favor of Pierre as being the explorer of 1749; but some writers ascribe this service to his younger brother, Jean Baptiste. Celoron kept a journal of the expedition of 1749, which has been preserved at Paris, in the archives of the Department of Marine. From this document and Bonniecamps's journal (also resting in the archives of the marine), Marshall drew materials for his paper, "De Celoron's Expedition to the Ohio," published in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, March, 1878. Bonniecamps's journal was accompanied by a MS. map (in size 30 by 81 centimeters) drawn by him, locating all the places mentioned in his journal, where he had taken observations (p. 197 of this volume). This map was also preserved, with his memoir, in the above-named archives, but cannot now be found; its disappearance seems to have taken place at some time during 1892-94. A small copy of it (but with modern lettering) is given by Darlington in *Gist's Journals*, at p. 274.

Jean Baptiste Celoron was born in 1696, and was, like Pierre, an officer in the colonial troops. He married (in 1730) Suzanne Piot, by whom he had five children. Little is positively known about him, the general references in contemporary documents to "M. de Celoron" being somewhat confusing; but he was commandant at La Presentation in 1751, with the rank of lieutenant; and probably it is he who was killed in the summer of 1756, near Fort Cumberland, while on a scouting expedition. — On this whole subject, see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vols. ix., x., passim; Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. i.; Marshall, ut supra; Gosselin, as cited in note 11, ante, and in note 32, post (see p. 10 of Proceedings, vol. xii.); and Farmer's *Detroit*, p. 227.

4. Francois Picquet, a native of Burgundy, was born Dec. 6, 1708. He early showed a vocation to the religious life, and entered the Sulpitian order at Paris; he was there ordained in

1734, when but twenty-five years of age, and at once sent to Canada. He spent five years at Montreal, and ten more in the Sulpitian mission at Lake des Deux Montagnes (vol. lxiii., note 16); during his stay at the mission, many savages, especially Iroquois, came to reside there, and he gained much influence over them. Picquet's favorite scheme was to secure friendship and alliance between the Iroquois and the French against their English neighbors; to that end, he undertook to form a mission colony of Iroquois, under his personal care and direction. Accordingly, he founded (in the summer of 1749), at the mouth of the Oswegatchie River, upon or near the site of the present Ogdensburg, N. Y., the establishment named by him La Presentation; it was not only a mission, but a fortified post. The Iroquois savages were easily induced to settle there; at the end of two years, they numbered about 400—a number which finally increased to 3,000. Picquet won their enthusiastic affection and obedience, and secured their loyalty to the French—a service gratefully acknowledged by Canadian officials. He maintained this enterprise until the summer of 1760, when, unwilling to swear allegiance to England, he left Canada—returning to France by way of New Orleans, where he remained nearly two years. In his own country, he spent a considerable time in religious labors in the diocese of Paris; in 1765 and in 1770, he received certain sums of money, in recognition of the services which he had rendered in Canada; and he finally died at the house of his sister, at Verjon, July 15, 1781.—See Gosselin's admirable paper on "L'Abbe Picquet," with full and valuable annotations, in *Canad. Roy. Soc. Proc.*, vol. xii., sec. 1, pp. 3-28.

5. At this point there is, on the MS. which we follow, a note in Francis Parkman's handwriting: "The 3 mountains of Nonnenbin?"

6. Yjadakoin, Chadakoin, Tjadakoin, Yadakoin are all variants of the Iroquois name which has now become, through successive phonetic renderings by French and English tongues, Chautauqua. The expedition, after coasting the southern shore of Lake Erie, arrived at the Chautauqua portage (now Barcellona), and ascended Chautauqua Creek (the explorers' "Riviere aux Pommes"). Thence to Chautauqua Lake is a portage of six miles; having crossed this, Celoron voyaged down the lake and the "outlet," so-called, and then through Cassadaga and Conewango Creeks, into the Alleghany. By Celoron and other early explorers the names "Ohio" and "Beautiful River" were applied to the Alleghany as well as to the river now called Ohio. Marshall (p. 138 of citation in note 31, ante), says that the Senecas do the same even now. Regarding the region just mentioned, with identification of Celoron's route, and description of

the old portage road, see Edson's *Hist. of Chautauqua Co., N. Y.* (Boston, 1894), pp. 74-136.

The "unknown tree" mentioned by Bonnecamps may be the cottonwood. Gosselin conjectures that it may be the common cedar (*Thuja*).

7. The appellation *paille conpee* ("broken straw"), is doubtless the French translation of the name given by the Indians of that region to the village in question, which was occupied mainly by Senecas. It was situated on the Alleghany, a few miles below the present Warren, Pa.

8. Kananouangon: the village was situated at the mouth of the stream now known as Conewango — which, after receiving the waters of Chautauqua Creek, falls into the Alleghany River, just above the village of Warrer. Celoron took possession for France of the region through which he traveled — indicating this, in accordance with the custom of the time, by burying at the mouths of rivers engraved leaden plates; upon these were suitable inscriptions, recording place, date, and circumstances of this taking possession. One of these plates, stolen or found by Iroquois savages, was delivered by them to Col. William Johnson, in December, 1750; and was soon after forwarded to the Lords of Trade at London. A facsimile of this inscription is given in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. vi., p. 611; translated, it reads as follows: "In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis XV., King of France, we, Celoron, commandant of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere, General Commandant of New France, to reestablish tranquillity in certain Savage villages of these districts, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and Tchadakoin, this 29th of July, near the River Oyo, otherwise Belle Riviere. This we do as a monument of the renewal of possession which we have taken of the said River Oyo, and of all the rivers which discharge into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, even as they have been possessed, or ought to have been possessed by the preceding Kings of France, and as they have maintained their authority therein by arms and by treaties, especially by those of Riswick, of Utrecht, and of Aix la Chapelle." A proces-verbal, of similar tenor, was also drawn up, and signed by the officers present, at each place thus indicated.

9. The second plate was buried at or near a large boulder, inscribed by the Indians with numerous hieroglyphics; it was situated about 9 miles (by the windings of the river) below the mouth of the stream called by the French of that time Riviere aux Boeufs (by the English, Venango), and now known as French Creek. A view of this rock and a facsimile of the

hieroglyphics thereon are given in Schoolcraft's *Ind. Tribes*, vol. iv., p. 172 and plate 18.

10. "Attigue (Atigue, Attique) was probably on or near the Kiskiminitas river, which falls into the south side of the Alleghany about twenty-five miles above Pittsburgh." The old village of Chaouanons (Shawnees) "had not been occupied by the Indians since the removal of Chartier and his band to the river Vermillion in the Wabash country in 1745, by order of the Marquis De Beauharnois." — See Marshall's "Celoron's Expedition," p. 142.

Parkman (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. I., p. 45) says that Attigue was at the site of Kittanning, Pa. This view is strongly supported by Lambing (*Cath. Hist. Researches*, Jan., 1886, pp. 105-107, note 6).

11. These trees are thus identified by Professor L. S. Cheney, of the University of Wisconsin: The "bean-tree" is the honey locust (*Gleditschia*); the "cotton-tree" is the American sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*); and the "lentil-tree," the red-bud or Judas-tree (*Cercis Canadensis*). Gosselin ("Bonbecamps," in *Canad. Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 1895, p. 49) thinks that the first-named is *Robinia pseudacacia*, a tree belonging to an allied genus.

12. The Chiningue of Bonbecamps (Shenango, in English accounts) was later known as Logstown. It stood on the north side of the Ohio River, immediately below the present town of Economy, Pa. (a German communistic settlement established in 1824 by George Rapp). In notes to his edition of Gist's Journals (Pittsburg, 1893), Darlington says: "The Shawanese established themselves here, probably soon after their migration from the Upper Potomac country and Eastern Pennsylvania, in 1727-30." Celoron found there also Iroquois, Mohican, and Algonkin savages. French and English traders, in succession, had stores at Logstown, which was then an important post in the Indian trade; but, after the capture of Fort du Quesne and the erection of Fort Pitt (1758), Logstown steadily diminished, until, early in the Revolutionary War, it was wholly deserted, — except that Wayne's army encamped near its site, from November, 1792 to April 30, 1793; the place was then called Legionville. — See Darlington's careful sketch of its history (ut supra, pp. 95-100). A note by Parkman on this MS. says: "There appear to have been, at different times, three distinct villages of Shenango, — one at the junction of the Chataqua and the Alleghany (Mitchell's Map), the one mentioned above, some way below, and the third some way up the Big Beaver, near Kuskuski, the Kaskaske of this journal (Bouquet map)."

13. The rivers where Celoron buried his next three plates are thus identified: Kanonouaora (Kanououara, in Marshall), probably Wheeling Creek, in West Virginia; Jenanguékona (or Yenanguakonon), the Muskingum River, in Ohio; and Chinodaiéhtia (Chinondaista), the Great Kanawha, of Virginia. The plates at the two latter rivers were found, in 1798 and 1846 respectively; the former has been preserved by the American Antiquarian Society, the latter by the Virginia Historical Society.

14. Reference is here made to one of the Niverville branch of the noted Boucher family. Jean Baptiste Boucher, sieur de Niverville, and seigneur of Chanbly, was born in 1673. In 1710, he married Marguerite Therese Hertel, by whom he had fourteen children. Two of these became officers in the Canadian troops — Joseph (born 1715), and Pierre Louis (born 1722). It is probably the former who accompanied Celoron; he was then an ensign, and became a lieutenant in 1756. He accompanied Le Gardien de St. Pierre's expedition to the Rocky Mountain region (1750-52); but his serious illness in 1751 prevented him from going with the soldiers under his command who in that summer established Fort La Jonquiere, far up the Saskatchewan. Sulte says (*Canad. Fran.*, t. vii., p. 84) that this fort was at the site of the present Calgary, N. W. T.

15. Jacques Charles de Sabrevois de Bleury, a lieutenant in the royal troops, came to Canada probably about 1685; he was commandant at Detroit in 1714-17. In 1695, he married Jeanne Boucher, by whom he had five children. At least two of his sons became Canadian officers; at the time of the conquest, one was a major, the other a captain. One of them was a commandant at Fort St. Frederic in 1748 and in 1756; and it is presumably this one who also was in command of the Abenaki allies of the French at the capture of Fort William Henry. Jacques Charles, apparently the eldest son, was in command at Detroit during 1734-38, and again in 1749; probably it was he who accompanied Celoron. We have not sufficient data for further identification of these brothers and their respective careers.

16. Sinhioto is the same as Scioto; another name applied to the village by the French was St. Yotoc — apparently a corruption of the other name. Most of its inhabitants were Shawnees, although many Iroquois and Northern Algonkians had joined them, as at Logstown.

The Great Miami River was called by the French Riviere a la Roche ("Rocky River"), on account of its numerous rapids. Riviere Blanche is a name applied by them to several streams which had unusually clear waters; in this case, the distances would suggest that reference is made to the Little Miami. Dunn

(*Indiana*, p. 65, note 1) thinks that it was the stream now called White Oak Creek. Celoron buried the last of his plates at the mouth of the Great Miami.

17. Kaskaske (Kushkushkee, Kuskuskis): a Delaware town—on Beaver Creek, according to Parkman; but more exactly located by Darlington (*Gist's Journals*, p. 101) thus: "On the Mahoning, six miles above the forks of Beaver, where Edenburgh, Lawrence County, now stands. Old Kuskuskis stood on the Shenango, between the Forks and the mouth of the Neshannock (where New Castle now stands), on the wide bottom on the west side. Kuskuskis was divided into four towns, some distance apart."

18. At the time of Celoron's expedition, a band of Miamis had recently settled on the Great Miami, near the mouth of Loramie Creek. At their head was the leading chief of the Miami confederacy, known to the French as "La Demoiselle," and to the English (whose firm friend he was) as "Old Britain." Celoron urged these savages to return to their old settlements on the Maumee, but La Demoiselle refused to do so, and induced so many of his tribesmen to settle in his village (called by the English Pickawillany) that it became one of the largest and most important Indian towns in the West; it was also a center of English trade and influence. In June, 1752, it was attacked by a strong force of Ottawas from the Upper Lakes, under the command of Charles Langlade; they captured the village, killed and ate La Demoiselle, and made prisoners of five English traders, who were taken by Langlade to Quebec.—See Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. i., pp. 51, 52, 83-85; and Darlington's *Gist's Journals*, pp. 124-126. For biography of Langlade, see Tasse's "*Memoir of Langlade*," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. vii., pp. 123-187.

19. Reference is here made to the salt springs and "lick" in Boone county, Ky., about twelve miles south of Burlington. The place is called "Big Bone Lick," from the bones of mastodons and elephants which have been found there in great abundance. Various collections of these fossil remains have been made—one by Thomas Jefferson, about 1805; he divided it between the American Philosophical Society (of which he was president) and the French naturalist Cuvier. This locality was known to the whites as early as 1720. Salt was made at these springs by the Indians, doubtless from a very early period, and afterward by the whites.—See Collin's *History of Kentucky* (Covington, Ky., 1874), vol. ii., pp. 51-55; and Thwaites's *Afloat on the Ohio*, p. 197. The latter work contains (pp. 320-328) a list of journals of travel down the Ohio, dating from 1750 to 1876.

The "fort of the Miamis" was located at Kekionga (or Kiskakon), on the Maumee River, at the site of the present Fort Wayne, Ind. The Indian name is that of an Ottawa clan (Kiskakons — see Vol. xxxiii., note 6), who probably had a village there, early in the 18th century. The Miamis had moved eastward to the Maumee by 1712; and Fort Miamis was early erected by the French, in order to protect their trade with the savages of that region. As a result of a conspiracy among these Indians against the French, Fort Miamis was captured by them and burned (1747); but it was soon afterward rebuilt. This post was surrendered to the English in 1760; after various vicissitudes of possession, Gen. Anthony Wayne's army encamped there (1794), and a strongly-garrisoned fort was established — named, in honor of him, Fort Wayne.

20. The Ottawa and Huron bands here referred to had come to Detroit with Cadillac in 1701. The latter tribe had at first settled near Fort Pontchartrain; but removed their village (probably about 1746) to the Canadian side of the strait, near the Ottawa village, where now stands the town of Sandwich, Ont. La Richardie had since 1728 ministered to these and other Hurons settled in that region. A band of these savages, under a war-chief named Nicolas, had settled (ca. 1740?) at Sandusky Bay, where they soon established commerce and friendship with English traders. Nicolas was the head of the conspiracy against the French, mentioned in the preceding note; after its failure, he abandoned Sandusky, and in 1748 removed to the Ohio River. He was no longer living in 1751.



DE CELORON'S EXPOSITION TO THE OHIO IN 1749.*

BY O. H. MARSHALL

The extensive territory lying between the Ohio River and Lake Erie has been the theatre of many remarkable historical changes. Its earliest inhabitants left no record of their origin or history, save in the numerous tumuli which are scattered over its surface, bearing trees of the largest growth, not distinguishable from the adjacent forest. Measured by the extent and character of those vast structures, the race that built them must have been intelligent and populous. When and how they disappeared we know not. Whether they were directly succeeded by the present race of Indians, or by an intermediate people, are questions to which history gives no answer. When LaSalle discovered the Ohio he found it in the occupation of the red man, who claimed possession and ownership over the territory comprised within the limits of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, until the close of the last century. His villages were on every stream, and his hunting grounds embraced every hill and valley.

The attractions of the fur trade stimulated eastern adventurers to penetrate, from time to time, the forest recesses of the west, and glowing descriptions were reported of the fertile soil, mineral wealth and the abundance of the fur-bearing animals. It was not until England and France, the two great rival powers of Europe, became impressed with the prospective growth and value of the territory, and each prepared to grasp the coveted prize, that the native owners of the soil began to take serious alarm. On the one side, England claimed to the northern lakes, while France asserted ownership not only as far south as the Ohio, but over all the lands drained by its extensive tributaries.

The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, to which both of those powers were parties, while it terminated a long and sanguinary war in

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Europe, left many subjects of controversy still unsettled. Among them were the boundaries between the French and English in America. At the conclusion (130)* of that treaty England lost no time in initiating measures for the occupation and colonization of the disputed territory, and encouraged the formation of the Ohio Company as one of the efficient means for accomplishing that purpose. Half a million of acres were granted by the Crown to that association, to be selected mainly on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers. This was coupled with the condition that settlements, protected by suitable forts, should be established on the grant. The French were equally alive on the subject, and the demonstrations of the English aroused the attention of the Marquis de la Galissoniere, a man of eminent ability and fore-thought, who was then Governor of Canada. In order to counteract the designs of the English, he dispatched Captain Bienville de Celoron,¹ a chevalier of the order of St. Louis in command of a detachment, composed of eight subaltern officers, six cadets, an armorer, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, thirty Iroquois and twenty-five Abenakis, with orders to descend the Ohio and take possession of the country in the name of the King. The principal officers under him were de Contrecoeur, who had been in command of Fort Niagara, and Coulon de Villiers, one of seven brothers, six of whom lost their lives in the Canadian wars. Contrecoeur was subsequently in command of Fort du Quesne, at or immediately after the defeat of Braddock.

The present article is designed to give an account of that expedition, to trace its route and to identify as far as possible the geographical points which it visited. Only brief notices of the undertaking have heretofore been given to the public. The discovery of some of the leaden plates, buried by its officers on the banks of the Ohio, have from time to time awakened public interest and curiosity, which the meagre accounts already published have failed to satisfy. While recently examining the archives of the Department de la Marine in Paris the writer met with the original manuscript journal kept by de Celoron during

* Bold face numerals in parentheses indicate pages in *The Magazine of American History*, vol. 2.

his entire voyage. He also found in the *Grandes Archives* of the *Depot de la Marine*, No. 17 rue de l'Université, a manuscript diary of Father Bonnacamps, who styles himself "Jesuite Mathematicien," and who seems to have been the Chaplain, as well as a kind of sailing master of the expedition, keeping a daily record of the courses and distances they traveled, the latitudes and longitudes of the principal geographical points, with occasional brief notes of the most important occurrences. In another department, called the *Bibliothèque du depot de la Marine*, there was found a large Ms. Map, 31½ by 34½ inches square, representing the country through which the expedition passed, including the St. Lawrence (131) westward of Montreal, Lakes Erie and Ontario, the territory south of those lakes as far as the Ohio, and the whole course of that river from the source of the Allegheny to the mouth of the great Miami. This map forms an important illustration of the expedition. On it are delineated by appropriate characters the points where leaden plates were deposited, where the latitudes and longitudes were observed, and the localities of the Indian villages visited on the route.

The journals of de Celoron and Father Bonnacamps and the map of the latter, have furnished the ground-work of the narrative. Explanatory and historical notes, drawn from other sources, have occasionally been added.

The first of the leaden plates was brought to the attention of the public in a letter addressed by Governor George Clinton to the Lords of Trade in London, dated New York, December 19, 1750, in which he states that he "would send to their Lordships in two or three weeks a plate of lead, full of writing, which some of the upper nations of the Indians stole from Jean Coeur,² the French interpreter at Niagara, on his way to the river Ohio, which river, and all the lands thereabouts, the French claimed, as will appear by said writing." He further states "that the lead plate gave the Indians so much uneasiness that they immediately dispatched some of the Cayuga chiefs to him with it, saying that their only reliance was on him, and earnestly begged he would communicate the contents thereof to them, which he had done, much to their satisfaction and the interests of the English." The Governor concludes by saying that "the contents

of the plate may be of great importance in clearing up the encroachments which the French have made on the British Empire in America."⁴ The plate was delivered to Colonel, afterwards Sir, William Johnson, on the 4th of December, 1750, at his residence on the Mohawk by a Cayuga sachem, who accompanied it by the following speech:

"Brother Corlear and War-ragh-i- ya-ghey:⁴ I am sent here by the Five Nations with a piece of writing, which the Senecas, our brethren, got by some artifice from Jean Coeur, earnestly beseeching you will let us know what it means, and we will put our confidence in you, our brother; we hope you will explain it ingeniously to us."

Colonel Johnson replied to the sachem, and through him to the Five Nations, returning a belt of wampum, and explaining the inscription on the plate. He told them that "it was a matter of the greatest consequence, involving the possession of their lands and hunting-grounds and that Jean Coeur and the French ought immediately to be expelled from the Ohio and Niagara." In reply, the sachem said that "he had heard with great attention (132) and surprise the substance of the 'Devilish writing' he had brought," and that Colonel Johnson's remarks "were fully approved." He promised that belts from each of the Five Nations should be sent from the Seneca's castle to the Indians at the Ohio, to warn and strengthen them against the French encroachments in that direction.

The following is a literal copy of the inscription in question. It was sent by Governor Clinton to the Lords of Trade on the 17th of January, 1751:

L'AN 1749 DV REGNE DE LOVIS XV ROY DE FRANCE, NOVS CELORON, COMMANDANT D'VN DETACHMENT ENVOIE PAR MONSIEVR LE MIS. DE LA GALISSONIERE, COMMANDANT GENERAL DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE POVR RETABLIR LA TRANQUILLITE DANS QUELQUES VILLAGES SAUVAGES DE CES CANTONS, AVONS ENTERRE CETTE PLAQUE AU CONFLUENT DE L'OHIO ET DE TCHADAKOIN CE 29 JVILLET, PRES DE LA RIVIERE OYO AUTREMENT

BELLE RIVIERE, POUR MONUMENT DU RENOUVELLEMENT DE POSSESSION QUE NOUS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE RIVIERE OYO, ET DE TOUTES CELLES QUI Y TOMBENT, et de TOUTES LES TERRES DES DEUX COTES JVSQVE AVX SOURCES DES DITTES RIVIERES AINSIQV'EN ONT JOVI OU DV JOVIR LES PRECEDENTS ROIS DE FRANCE, ET QU'ILS S'Y SONT MAINTENVS PAR LES ARMES ET PAR LES TRAITTES, SPECIALEMENT PAR CEVX DE RISWICK, D'VTRECHT ET D'AIX LA CHAPELLE."

The above is certified to be "a true copy" by "Peter De Joncourt, interpreter."

TRANSLATION.

"In the year 1749, of the reign of Louis the 15th, King of France, we Celoron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor General of New France, to reëstablish tranquility in some Indian villages of these cantons, have buried this Plate of Lead at the confluence of the Ohio and the Chatauqua, this 29th day of July, near the river Ohio, otherwise Belle Riviere, as a monument of the renewal of the possession we have taken of the said river Ohio, and of all those which empty into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, as enjoyed or ought to have been enjoyed by the kings of France preceding, and as they have there maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially those of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle."

On the 29th of January, 1751, Governor Clinton sent a copy of the above inscription to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, informing him that it was "taken from a plate stolen from Joncaire some months since in the Seneca country as he was going to the river Ohio."⁵

The expedition was provided with a number of leaden plates, about eleven inches long, seven and a half inches wide and one-eighth of an (133) inch thick, on each of which an inscription in French, similar to the one above given, was engraved or stamped in capital letters, with blanks left for the insertion of the names of the rivers, at the confluence of which with the Ohio they should be deposited, and the dates of their deposit. The name

of the artist, Paul de Brosse, was engraved on the reverse of each. Thus provided, the expedition left La Chine on the 15th of June, 1749, and ascended the St. Lawrence to Fort Frontenac. From thence, coasting along the eastern and southern shore of Lake Ontario, they arrived at Fort Niagara on the 6th of July. They reached the portage at Lewisston on the 7th, and ascended the Niagara into Lake Erie. On the 14th, after advancing a few miles up the lake, they were compelled by a strong wind to encamp on the south shore. They embarked early on the morning of the 15th, hoping to reach the portage of "Chatakouin" the same day, but an adverse wind again forced them to land.

The southern shore of the lake at this point is described as "extremely shallow, with no shelter from the force of the winds, involving great risk of shipwreck in landing, which is increased by large rocks, extending more than three-fourths of a mile from the shore." Celoron's canoe struck on one, and he would inevitably have been drowned, with all on board, had not prompt assistance been rendered. On the 16th at noon they arrived at the Chatakouin portage. This was an open roadstead, where the United States Government many years ago attempted unsuccessfully to construct a safe harbor. It is now known as Barcelona or Portland. As soon as all preparations were made for the overland passage, and the canoes all loaded, Mm. de Villiers and le Borgue were dispatched with fifty men to clear the way, while Celoron examined the situation of the place, in order to ascertain its fitness for the establishment of a Post. He says: "I found it ill-adapted for such a purpose, as well from its position as from its relation to the navigation of the lake. The water is so shallow that barks standing in cannot approach within a league of the portage. There being no island or harbor to which they could resort for shelter, they would be under the necessity of riding at anchor and discharging their loading by batteaux. The frequency of squalls would render it a place of danger. Besides, there are no Indian villages in the vicinity. In fact, they are quite distant, none being nearer than Ganaougon and Paille Coupee. In the evening Messrs. de Villiers and le Borgue returned to lodge at the camp, having cleared the way for about three-quarters of a league." Up to this time, the

usual routes of the French to the Mississippi (134) had been by the way of Detroit, Green Bay, the Wisconsin, Lake Michigan and the Illinois River. They had five villages on the Mississippi near the mouth of the Illinois, as early as 1749.

"On the 17th," continues the Journal, "at break of day, we began the portage, the prosecution of which was vigorously maintained. All the canoes, provisions, munitions of war, and merchandise intended as presents to the Indians bordering on the Ohio, were carried over the three-quarters of a league which had been rendered passable the day previous. The route was exceedingly difficult, owing to the numerous hills and mountains which we encountered. All my men were very much fatigued. We established a strong guard, which was continued during the entire campaign, not only for the purpose of security, but for teaching the Canadians a discipline which they greatly needed. We continued our advance on the 14th, but bad weather prevented our making as much progress as on the preceding day. I consoled myself for the delay, as it was caused by a rain which I greatly desired, as it would raise the water in the river sufficient to float our loaded canoes. On the 16th, the rain having ceased, we accomplished half a league. On the 20th and 21st we continued our route with great diligence, and arrived at the end of the portage on the banks of Lake Chatacoin on the 22d. The whole distance may be estimated at four leagues. Here I repaired my canoes and recruited my men."

It is a little over eight miles in a direct line from the mouth of Chautauqua Creek on Lake Erie to the head of Chautauqua Lake. The route taken by the expedition would of course be more, and probably equal to the four leagues, or ten miles, stated by Celoron. The difficulties they encountered must have been exceedingly formidable. Chautauqua Lake is 726 feet above Lake Erie, and in order to reach the water-shed between the two lakes, an ascent of at least one thousand feet had to be overcome. Although at that early day, when the forests were yet undisturbed, the Chautauqua Creek flowed with fuller banks than now, yet even then but little use could be made of it by loaded canoes, except near its mouth. The portage could only be accomplished for the greater part of the way by carrying the

canoes, baggage, provisions and supplies on the shoulders of the men up the steep mountain sides to the summit, from which the waters flowed southward into Chautauqua Lake. Looking back from this elevation, a magnificent panorama must have presented itself to Celoron and his companions. Lake Erie lay at their feet, with the Canada shore, forty miles distant, in plain sight, while the extremities of that great inland sea, extending east and west were lost below the horizon.

(135) The expedition did not loiter long on the banks of Chautauqua Lake. On the 23d they launched their bark flotilla on its clear, cool waters, and paddling south-eastward through the lake, passed the narrows at what are now known as Long and Bemus Points. The shape of the lake is quite peculiar. Its northwestern and southeastern extremities, which are nearly equal, and comprise the greater part of the lake, are connected by two short irregular straits, between which nestles a small beautiful bay. The singular configuration of the whole gives plausibility to the interpretation of the Indian name, Chautauquau, which is said to signify "a sack tied in the middle."

On the evening of the 23d of July the expedition encamped on shore within three miles of the outlet. The lake is stated by Celoron to be "nine leagues," or about twenty-two miles long. The actual length is less than sixteen. Distances are almost always overstated by the early French voyageurs in America. In the evening a party of Indians, who had been engaged during the day in fishing in the lake, reported they had seen the enemy watching them from the adjacent forest. They had fled as soon as discovered. Early on the morning of the 24th the expedition entered the outlet, a narrow stream, winding through a deep morass, bordered by a tall forest, which, over-arching the way, almost shut out the light of day. The water being found quite low, in order to lighten the canoes, they sent the greater part of their loading about three-quarters of a league by land, over a path pointed out by the *Sieur de Saussaye*, who was acquainted with the country.⁶ The distance they accomplished this day by water did not exceed half a league. It probably carried them through the swamp as far as the high land in the neighborhood of the present village of Jamestown. The next day, before

resuming their march, Celoron deemed it expedient to convene a council to consider what should be done in view of the evident signs of an enemy in the vicinity, who on being discovered had abandoned their canoes and effects and fled, carrying the alarm to the adjacent village of Paille Coupee. The council decided to dispatch Lieutenant Joncaire, some Abenakis and three Iroquois, with three belts, to assure the fugitives of the friendly object of the expedition. After the departure of the embassy the march was resumed over the rapids, with which the outlet abounded.

"We proceeded," says the Journal, "about a league with great difficulty. In many places I was obliged to assign forty men to each canoe to facilitate their passage. On the 26th and 27th we continued our voyage not without many obstacles; notwithstanding all our precautions to (136) guard our canoes, they often sustained great injury by reason of the shallow water. On the 29th at noon I entered the 'la Belle Riviere.' I buried a plate of lead at the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the river Oyo (Ohio) and of the Chanougon, not far from the village of Kanaouagon, in latitude $42^{\circ} 5' 23''$." It is unnecessary to give a copy of the inscription on the above plate, as it is similar to the one which was sent to Governor Clinton, as before related, except slight variations in the spelling, accents and arrangement of lines. The three plates which thus far have been discovered present the same differences. The places and dates of deposit are coarsely engraved, evidently with a knife. In the one just described the blanks were filled with the words: "Au confluent de l'Ohio et Kanaaiagon, le 29 Juillet."

"At the confluence of the Ohio and Kanaaiagon the 29th of July."

The river, spelled "Kanaaiagon" on the plate, "Chanougon" by Celoron in his Journal, and "Kananouangon," on Bonnevilles' map, is a considerable stream that rises in western New York, and after receiving the Chautauqua outlet as a tributary, empties into the Alleghany just above the village of Warren. It is now known as the Conewango. On the site of Warren, at the northwesterly angle of the two rivers, there was, at the time of Celoron's visit, an Indian village, composed principally of

Senecas, with a few Loups, bearing the name of Kanaougon. It was opposite the mouth of the Conewango, on the south bank of the Alleghany, that the leaden plate was buried. The following is Father Bonnecamps' entry in his diary:

"L'on a enterre une lame de plomb, avec une inscription, sur la rive meridionale de cette riviere, et vis-a-vis le confluent des deux rivieres."

"We buried a leaden plate bearing an inscription on the south bank of this river, and opposite the confluence of the two rivers."

The place of deposit is a little differently described in the *Proces Verbal* drawn up on the occasion. "Au pied d'un chene rouge, sur la rive meridionale de la riviere Ohio, et vis-a-vis la pointe d'une ilette, ou se joignent les deux rivieres Ohio et Kanaougon." "At the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the Ohio river, and opposite the point of a small island, at the confluence of the two rivers Ohio and Kanaougon." It will be noticed that the inscription on the plate recites that it was buried on the south side of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the "Chanougon" (Conewango).

This presents a discrepancy between the inscriptions as given in the *Journals* of Celoron and Bonnecamps, and the one on the plate forwarded by Colonel Johnson to Governor Clinton in 1751 as above described. (137) The latter states it to have been buried "at the confluence of the Ohio and Tchadakoin." The solution of the difficulty seems to be, that the latter plate was never buried or used, but was abstracted by the Iroquois friendly to the English, and another plate, having a correct inscription, was substituted by the French. The inscription on the one sent to Governor Clinton, was undoubtedly prepared on the supposition that the Chautauqua outlet emptied into the Ohio. But when that outlet was found to be a tributary of the Conewango, and that the latter emptied into the Ohio, a corrected plate containing the name of the Conewango instead of the Chautauqua, was substituted and buried, as stated in Celoron's journal.⁸ The latter plate has never been found. This solution is strengthened by the fact that none of the accounts of the plate sent to Gov-

ernor Clinton state that it had been buried, or had been dug up. The Cayuga Sachem, in his speech quoted in Colonel Johnson's letter of December 4th, 1750, states that "the Senecas got it by some artifice from Jean Coeur."

Governor Clinton, in his letter to the Lords of Trade, states that some of the upper nations, which include the Senecas, "stole it from Jean Coeur, the French interpreter at Niagara, on his way to the river Ohio." The Governor states the same in substance in his letter to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania. The theft must therefore have occurred while the expedition was on its way to the Ohio, and before any of the plates were buried. The original plate was probably soon after carried to England by Governor Clinton. The names "Chatacoïn" and "Chatakouïn," as spelled by Celeron in his journal, and "Tchadakoin," as inscribed on the plate, and "Tjadakoin," as spelled by Bonnevilles on his map, are all variations of the modern name Chautauqua. It will be found differently written by several early authors. Pouchot writes it "Shatacoïn;" Lewis Evans, 1758, "Jadachque;" Sir William Johnson, "Jadaghque;" Mitchell, 1755, "Chadocoin;" Alden, as pronounced by Cornplanter, "Chaud-dauk-wa." It is a Seneca name, and in the orthography of that nation, according to the system of the late Reverend Asher Wright, long a missionary among them, and a fluent speaker of their language, it would be written "Jah-dah-gwah," the first two vowels being long and the last short. Different significations have been ascribed to the word. It is said to mean "The place where a child was swept away by the waves." The late Dr. Peter Wilson, an educated Seneca, and a graduate of Geneva Medical College, told the writer that it signified literally, "where the fish was taken out."

He related an Indian tradition connected with its origin. A party of (138) Senecas were returning from the Ohio to Lake Erie. While paddling through Chautauqua Lake, one of them caught a strange fish and tossed it into his canoe. After passing the portage into Lake Erie, they found the fish still alive, and threw it in the water. From that time the new species became abundant in Lake Erie, where one was never known before. Hence, they called the place where it was caught, Jah-dah-gwah.

the elements of which are Ga-job, "fish," and Ga-dah-gwah, "taken out." By dropping the prefixes, according to Seneca custom, the compound name "Jah-dah-gwah" was formed. Among other significations which have been assigned to the word, but without any authority, may be mentioned "The elevated place," and "The foggy place," in allusion probably, to the situation of the lake, and the mists which prevail on its surface at certain seasons.

It will be noticed the Alleghany is called by Celoron the Ohio, or "La Belle Riviere." This is in accordance with the usage of all early French writers since the discovery of the river by LaSalle. The same custom prevailed among the Senecas. They have always considered the Alleghany as the Ohio proper. If you ask a Seneca his name for that river, he will answer O-hee-yuh. If you ask him its meaning, he will give it as "Beautiful river."

Mr. Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, supposing the word to be of Delaware origin, endeavors to trace its etymology from several words, signifying in that language, "The white foaming river." The late Judge Hall of Cincinnati adopted the same derivation. Neither of them seem to have been aware that it is a genuine Seneca word, derived from that nation by the French, and by the latter written "Ohio." Its pronunciation by a Frenchman would exactly represent the word as spoken by a Seneca, the letter "i" being sounded like "e." The name "Ohio" was, therefore, correctly inserted on the plates buried on the banks of the Alleghany, above its junction with the Monongahela at Pittsburgh.

At the time the plate was interred opposite the mouth of the Conewango, as already narrated, all the officers and men of the expedition being drawn up in battle array, the chief in command proclaimed in a loud voice, "Vive le Roi," and that possession was now taken of the country in the name of the King. The royal arms were affixed to a neighboring tree, and a Proce Verbal was drawn up and signed as a memorial of the ceremony. The same formality was adopted at the burial of each succeeding plate. This proces verbal was in the following form, and in each instance was signed and witnessed by the officers present: (139)

"L'an, 1749, nous Celeron, Chevalier de l'ordre Royal et militaire de St. Louis, Capitaine Commandant un detachement envoye par les ordres de M. le Marquis de Galissoniere, Commandant General en Canada, dans la Belle Riviere accompagne des principaux officiers de notre detachement, avons enterre (Here was inserted the place of deposit.) une plaque de plomb, et fait attacher dans le meme lieu, a un arbre, les Armes du Roi. En foy de quoi, nous avons dresse et signe, avec M. M. les officiers, le present Proces verbal a notre camp, le (the day of the month) 1749." "In the year 1749 we, Celeron, Chevalier of the Royal and military order of St. Louis, commander of a detachment sent by order of the Marquis of Galissoniere, Governor General of Canada, to the Ohio, in presence of the principal officers of our detachment, have buried (Here was inserted the place of deposit) a leaden plate, and in the same place have affixed to a tree the Arms of the King. In testimony whereof we have drawn up and signed, with the officers, the present Proces verbal, at our camp, the (day of the month), 1749." This method of asserting sovereignty over new territory is peculiar to the French, and was often adopted by them. La Salle, at the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682, thus proclaimed the dominion of Louis Le Grand, and more recently the same formality was observed when a French squadron took possession of some islands in the Pacific Ocean.

A few miles from Kanaouagon, on the right bank of the Alleghany, just below its junction with the Brokenstraw Creek, was the Indian village of "Paille Coupee," or Cut Straw, the name being given by Celoron as Kachuiodagon, occupied principally by Senecas. The English name, "Broken Straw," and the French name, "Paille Coupee, were both probably derived from the Seneca name, which is De-ga-syo-noh-dyah-goh, which signifies literally, broken straw. Kachuiodagon, as given by Celoron, and Koshenunteagunk, as given on the Historical Map of Pennsylvania, and the Seneca name, are all three the same word in different orthography, the variation in the first two being occasioned by the difference between the French and English mode of spelling the same Indian word. Father Bonnecamps states

the village to be in latitude $41^{\circ} 54' 3''$ and in longitude $79^{\circ} 13'$ west of Paris.

While the expedition was resting in the vicinity of these two Indian villages, a council was held with the inhabitants, conducted by Joncaire, whom Celoron states had been adopted by the Senecas, and possessed great influence and power over them. They addressed him in the council as "our child Joncaire." He was probably the person of that name met by Washington at Venango four years afterwards,⁹ and a son of (140) the Joncaire mentioned by Charlevoix as living at Lewiston on the Niagara in 1721, "who possessed the wit of a Frenchman and the sublime eloquence of an Iroquois." The father, who was a captive, died in 1740, leaving two half-breed sons, who seem to have inherited his influence and distinction. Their names were Chabert Joncaire, Junior, and Philip Clauzonne de Joncaire. Both were in the French service, and brought reinforcements from the west to Fort Niagara at the time it was besieged by Sir William Johnson in 1759. Their names are affixed to the capitulation which took place a few days later. The former was in command of Fort Schlosser, his brother, who was a captain in the marine, being with him. They were both in the expedition of Celoron.

The result of the council held by Joncaire was not satisfactory to the French. It was very evident there was a strong feeling among the Indians on the Alleghany in favor of the English. It did not, however, prevent the French from descending the river. After pledging the Senecas in a cup of "Onontios milk" (brandy) the expedition left the villages of Kanaouagon and Paille Coupee on the first day of August, and after proceeding about four leagues below the latter, reached a village of Loups and Renards, composed of ten cabins. The Loups were a branch of the Delawares, called by the English Munseys. Four or five leagues farther down they passed another small village, consisting of six cabins, and on the third of August another of ten cabins. The next was a village on the "Riviere aux Boeufs." According to Father Bonnecamps, they passed between Paille Coupee and the Riviere aux Boeufs one village on the left and four on the right, the latitude of the third on the right being

41° 30' 30", and the longitude 79° 21' west of Paris. The Riviere aux Boeufs is now known as French Creek, it having been so called by Washington on his visit there in 1753. The English named it Venango. A fort was built by the French in 1753-4 on its western bank, sixty rods below its junction with the Alleghany, called Fort Machault. In 1760, when the English took possession, they built another, forty rods higher up, and nearer the mouth of French Creek, which they called Fort Venango. In 1787 the United States Government sent a force to protect the settlers, and built a fort on the south bank of the creek, half a mile above its mouth, which was called Fort Franklin. From all of which it appears that this was at an early day an important point on the river. It is now the site of the flourishing village of Franklin. At the time of Celeron's visit the Indian village numbered about ten cabins.

(141) After passing the Riviere aux Boeufs and another on the left, the expedition reached on the same day a bend in the river about nine miles below, on the left or eastern bank of which lay a large boulder, nearly twenty-two feet in length by fourteen in breadth, on the inclined face of which were rude inscriptions, evidently of Indian workmanship, representing by various symbols the triumphs of the race in war and in the chase. It was regarded by the natives attached to the expedition as an "Indian God," and held in superstitious reverence. It was a well-known landmark, and did not fail to arrest the attention of the French. Celeron deemed it a favorable point at which to bury his second leaden plate. This was done with due form and ceremony, the plate bearing an inscription similar to that on the first, differing only in the date and designation of the place of deposit. Celeron's record is as follows: "Aout 3me, 1749. Enterre une plaque de plomb sur la rive meridionale de la riviere Oyo, a 4 lieues, au dessous de la riviere aux boeufs, vis-a-vis une montagne pelle, et aupres d'une grosse pierre, sur laquelle on voit plusieurs figures assez grossierement gravees." "Buried a leaden plate on the south bank of the Ohio river, four leagues below the river Aux Boeufs, opposite a bald mountain, and near a large stone, on which are many figures rudely engraved."

Father Bonnecamps states the deposit to have been made under a large rock. An excellent view of the rock in question, with a fac-simile of the hieroglyphics on its face, may be found in Schoolcraft's work on the "*Indian Tribes in the United States*," Vol. VI, p. 172. It was drawn by Captain Eastman of the U. S. Army while standing waist deep in the river, its banks being then nearly full. At the time of the spring and fall freshets the rock is entirely submerged. The abrasion of its exposed surface by ice and floodwood in winter has almost obliterated the rude carvings. At the time of Celoron's visit it was entirely uncovered. It is called "Hart's rock" on Hutchins' Topographical Map of Virginia. The distance of "four leagues" from the mouth of the river Aux Boeufs, or French Creek, to the rock, as given by Celoron, is, as usual, a little exaggerated. The actual distance by the windings of the river is about nine miles. The league as used by Celoron may be estimated as containing about two miles and a half. The leaden plate deposited at this point has never been found, and some zealous antiquarian living in the vicinity might, from the record now given, be able to restore it to light, after a repose of more than a century and a quarter.

From this station Celoron sent Joncaire forward to Attigue the next day, to announce the approach of the expedition, it being an Indian settlement (142) of some importance on the left bank of the river, between eight and nine leagues farther down, containing twenty-two cabins. Before reaching Attigue they passed a river three or four leagues from the Aux Boeufs, the confluence of which with the Alleghany is described as "very beautiful," and a league farther down another, having on its upper waters some villages of Loups and Iroquois.

Attigue was probably on or near the Kiskiminitas river, which falls into the south side of the Alleghany about twenty-five miles above Pittsburgh. It is called the river d'Attigue by Montcalm, in a letter dated in 1758.¹⁰ There were several Indian villages on its banks at that date. They reached Attigue on the sixth, where they found Joncaire waiting. Embarking together they passed on the right an old "Chaouanons" (Shawnees) village. It had not been occupied by the Indians since the removal

of Chartier and his band to the river Vermillion in the Wabash country in 1745, by order of the Marquis de Beauharnois. Leaving Attigue the next day, they passed a village of Loups, all the inhabitants of which, except three Iroquois, and an old woman who was regarded as a Queen, and devoted to the English, had fled in alarm to Chiningue. This village of the Loups, Celoron declares to be the finest he saw on the river. It must have been situated at or near the present site of Pittsburgh. The description of the place, like many given by Celoron, is so vague that it is impossible to identify it with any certainty. The clear, bright current of the Alleghany, and the sluggish, turbid stream of the Monongahela, flowing together to form the broad Ohio, their banks clothed in luxuriant summer foliage, must have presented to the voyagers a scene strikingly picturesque, one which would hardly have escaped the notice of the chief of the expedition. If, therefore, the allusion to "the finest place on the river" has no reference to the site of Pittsburgh, then no mention is made of it whatever. On landing three leagues farther down, they were told by some of their Indians that they had passed a rock on which were some inscriptions. Father Bonnecamps and Joncaire, who were sent to examine it, reported nothing but some English names written in charcoal. This was near the second entrepot of the English.

Their camp being only two leagues above Chiningue, they were enabled to reach the latter the next day. They found the village one of the largest on the river, consisting of fifty cabins of Iroquois, Shawnees and Loups; also Iroquois from the Sault St. Louis and Lake of the Two Mountains, with some Nippissingues, Abenakis and Ottawas. Bonnecamps estimated the number of cabins at eighty, and says, "we called it (143) Chiningue, from its vicinity to a river of that name." He records its latitude as $40^{\circ} 35' 10''$ which is nearly correct, and longitude as $80^{\circ} 19'$. The place was subsequently known as "Logstown," a large and flourishing village which figures prominently in Indian history for many years after this period. Colonel Croghan, who was sent to the Ohio Indians by Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, in August, 1749, mentions in his journal that "Monsieur Celaroon with two hundred French soldiers, had passed through

Logstown just before his arrival."¹¹ Crogan inquired of the inhabitants the object of the expedition, and was told by them that "it was to drive the English away, and by burying iron plates, with inscriptions on them at the mouth of each remarkable creek, to steal away their country."

On reaching Chiningue Celoron found several English traders established there, whom he compelled to leave. He wrote by them to Governor Hamilton, under date of August 6th, 1749, that he was surprised to find English traders on French territory, it being in contravention of solemn treaties, and hoped the Governor would forbid their trespassing in future. De Celoron also made a speech, in which he informed the Indians that "he was on his way down the Ohio to whip home the Twightwees and Wyandots for trading with the English." They treated his speech with contempt, insisting that "to separate them from the English would be like cutting a man into halves, and expecting him to live."¹² The Indians were found so unfriendly to the French, and suspicious of the objects of the expedition, as to embarrass the movements of de Celoron. His Iroquois and Abenaki allies refused to accompany him farther than Chiningue. They destroyed the plates which, bearing the arms of the French King, had been affixed to trees as memorials of his sovereignty.

After leaving Chiningue, they passed two rivers, one on either side, and crossing the present boundary line between Pennsylvania and Ohio, reached the river Kanououara early on the 13th. Here they interred the third leaden plate, with the usual inscription and customary ceremonies. The blank in the plate was filled as follows: "Enterre a Pentree de la riviere, et sur la rive Septentrionale de Kanououara, qui se decharge a Pest de la riviere Oyo." "Buried at the mouth and on the north bank of the river Kanououara, which empties into the easterly side of the Ohio river." Neither Celoron nor Bonnacamps gives such a description of the locality as to warrant a positive identification of the site. The plate was probably buried on the northerly bank of Wheeling Creek, at its junction with the Ohio, in the present state of (144) Virginia, and near where Fort Henry was subsequently built in 1774. No vestige of the plate has been discovered so far as known.

The expedition resumed its voyage on the 14th, passing the mouths of three streams, two on the left and one on the right. Deer abounded along the banks. Two of the rivers are stated to be strikingly beautiful at their junction with the Ohio. On the 15th they arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum, called by Father Bonnevamps *Yenanguakomnan*, and encamped on the shore. Here the fourth leaden plate was buried on the right bank of that river, at its junction with the Ohio. Celoron describes the place of deposit as follows: "Enterre au pied d'un erable, qui forme trepieed avec une chene rouge et un orme, a l'entree de la *Yenanguakonon*, sur la rive occidentale de cette riviere." "Buried at the foot of a maple, which forms a triangle with a red oak and elm, at the mouth of the river *Yenanguakonon*, and on its western bank."

In 1798, half a century later, some boys, who were bathing at the mouth of the Muskingum, discovered something projecting from the perpendicular face of the river bank, three or four feet below the surface. With the aid of a pole they loosened it from its bed, and found it to be a leaden plate, stamped with letters in an unknown language. Unaware of its historic value, and being in want of lead, then a scarce article in the new country, they carried it home and cast a part of it into bullets. News of the discovery of so curious a relic having reached the ears of a resident of Marietta he obtained possession of it, and found the inscription to be in French. The boys had cut off quite a large part of the inscription, but enough remained to indicate its character. It subsequently passed into the hands of Caleb Atwater, the historian, who sent it to Governor De Witt Clinton. The latter presented it to the Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts, in the library of which it is now deposited. A poor fac-simile of the fragment is given in Hildreth's *Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley*, at page 20. It appears to have been substantially the same as the other plates which have been discovered, with the exception of a different arrangement of the lines. The place of deposit is given as "*riviere Yenangué*" on the part of the plate which was rescued from the boys. Mr. Atwater, Governor Clinton and several historians, misled by the similarity between the names "*Yenangué*" and "*Venango*," sup-

posed that it had originally been deposited at Venango, an old Indian town at the mouth of French Creek in Pennsylvania, one hundred and thirty miles above the mouth of the Muskingum, and had been carried down by a freshet, or removed (145) by some party to the place where it was discovered. The Journal of de Celoron removes all doubt on the subject, and conclusively establishes the fact that the plate was originally deposited where it was found, on the site where old Fort Harmer was subsequently built, and opposite the point where the village of Marietta is now situated.

After the deposit of the fourth plate was completed, the expedition broke up their forest camp, embarked in their canoes, and resumed the descent of the river. About three-fourths of a mile below the Muskingum, Father Bonnecamps took some observations, and found the latitude to be $39^{\circ} 36'$ and the longitude $81^{\circ} 20'$ west of Paris. They accomplished twelve leagues on the 16th, and on the 17th, embarking early, they passed two fine rivers, one on each side, the names of which are not given. On the 18th, after an early start they were arrested by the rain at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, which is called by Father Bonnecamps "Chinodaichta." The bank of this large stream, flowing from the southeast, and draining an extensive territory, was chosen for the deposit of the fifth plate. Only a brief record of the ceremony is given. A copy of the inscription is omitted by Celoron, but his record of the interment of the plate is as follows: "Enterree au pied d'un orme, sur la rive meridionale de l'Oyo, et la rive orientale de Chinondaista, le 18 Aout, 1749." "Buried at the foot of an elm on the south bank of the Ohio, and on the east bank of the Chinondaista, the 18th day of August, 1740.

Fortunately the discovery of the plate in March, 1846, leaves no doubt of the inscription. It was found by a boy while playing on the margin of the Kanawha river. Like that at the mouth of the Muskingum, it was projecting from the river bank, a few feet below the surface. Since the time it was buried, an accumulation of soil had been deposited above it by the annual river freshets for nearly one hundred years. The day of the deposit, as recorded on the plate, corresponds precisely with the

one stated by de Celoron. The spelling of the Indian name of the river differs slightly from the Journal, that on the plate being "Chinodalichetha." Kenawha, the Indian name of the river in another dialect, is said to signify "The river of the woods." The place selected by Celoron for the interment of the plate must have been one of surpassing beauty. The native forest, untouched by the pioneer, and crowned with the luxuriant foliage of Northern Kentucky, covered the banks of both rivers, and the picturesque scenery justified the name of "Point Pleasant," which was afterwards bestowed by the early settlers. On the 16th day of October, 1774, it became the scene of a bloody (146) battle between an army of Virginians, commanded by Colonel Lewis, and a large force of western Indians, under the leadership of the celebrated Cornstalk, Logan, and others, in which the latter were defeated.¹³

The expedition was detained at this point by the rain. It re-embarked on the 20th, and when they had proceeded about three leagues, Father Bonsecamps took the latitude and longitude, which he records at $38^{\circ} 35' 57''$ for the former, and $82^{\circ} 1'$ for the latter. Joncaire was sent forward the next day with two chiefs from the Sault St. Louis and two Abenakis, to propitiate the inhabitants of "St. Yotoc," a village they were now approaching. They embarked early on the morning of the 22d, and reached St. Yotoc the same day. This village was composed of Shawnees, Iroquois, Loups, and Miamis, and Indians from the Sault St. Louis, Lake of the Two Mountains, as well as representatives from nearly all the nations of the "upper country." The name "St. Yotoc" seems to be neither French nor Indian. It is probably a corruption of Scioto. Father Bonsecamps calls it "Sinhियो" on his map. He records the latitude of the south bank of the Ohio, opposite its mouth, at $38^{\circ} 50' 24''$, and the longitude $82^{\circ} 22'$. Pouchot, in his "*Memoires sur la derniere guerre*," French edition, vol. III., page 182, calls the river "Sonhioto." This village of St. Yotoc, or Scioto, was probably on the north bank of the Ohio, a little below the mouth of the Scioto, now the site of Alexandria. Its principal inhabitants were Shawnees.

The expedition remained here until the 26th of August. On the 27th they proceeded as far as the riviere La Blanche, or White river, which they reached at ten at night. On the bank of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of this river, Bonnecamps found the latitude to be $39^{\circ} 12' 01''$, and the longitude $83^{\circ} 31'$. Embarking on the 30th, they passed the great north bend of the Ohio, and reached the riviere a la Roche, now known as the Great Miami. Here their voyage on the Ohio ended, and they turned their little fleet of bark gondolas northward into the channel of its great tributary.

The sixth and last of the leaden plates was buried at this place. The text of Celoron's Journal reads as follows: "Enterree sur la pointe formee par la rive droite de l'Ohio, et la rive gauche de la riviere a la Roche, Aout 31, 1749." "Buried on the point formed by the intersection of the right bank of the Ohio, with the left bank of the Rock river, August 31, 1749." So far as known, this plate has never been discovered. Celoron calls the Great Miami the Riviere a la Roche, and Pouchot, quoted above, and other French writers give it the same name.

The expedition left its encampment at the mouth of this river on the (147) first day of September, and began the toilsome ascent of the stream, now greatly diminished by the summer drought. On the 13th they arrived at "Demoiselles," which Father Bonnecamps, with his constant companion the astrolabe, found to be in latitude $40^{\circ} 23' 12''$, and longitude $83^{\circ} 29'$. This was the residence of La Demoiselle, a chief of a portion of the Miamis who were allies of the English.¹⁴ The fort and village of La Demoiselle were mentioned by M. de Longueil in 1752. It was probably situated on what was afterwards known as Loramie's Creek, the earliest point of English settlement in Ohio. It became quite noted in the subsequent history of the Indian wars, and was destroyed by General Clark in his expedition of 1782. A fort was built on the site several years afterwards by General Wayne, which he named Fort Loramie. Here the French remained a week to recruit, and prepare for the portage to the Maumee. Having burned their canoes, and obtained some ponies, they set out on their overland journey. In arranging for the march, M. de Celoron took command of the right, and

M. de Contrecoeur of the left. The distance was estimated by Celoron as fifty leagues, and five and a half days were allotted for its accomplishment.

They completed the portage on the 25th, and arrived at Kiskakon. This appears to be the Indian name for the site of Fort Wayne, which was built there in 1794. Celoron found it a French post, under the command of M. de Raymond. It undoubtedly took the name of Ki-kakon, from a branch of Ottawas that removed to this place from Missillimackinac, where they had resided as late as 1682. It was here that de Celoron provided pirogues and provisions for the descent of the Maumee to Lake Erie. The Miami Chief "Pied Froid," or Coldfoot resided in the village. He appears not to have been very constant in his allegiance either to the French or the English.

Leaving Kiskakon on the 27th of September, a part of the expedition went overland to Detroit, and the remainder descended the river by canoe. The latter landed near Detroit on the 6th of October. Having renewed his supplies and canoes for the transportation of his detachment, Celoron prepared for the return to Montreal by way of Lake Erie. His Indian allies, as usual, occasioned some delay. They had stopped at the mouth of the Maumee, and were overcome by a drunken debauch on the white man's fire water. It was not until the 8th of October that the party finally launched their canoes, and descended the river into Lake Erie. Their first night was spent on its northern shore at Point Pellee. Nothing worthy of note occurred during their traverse of the lake. They reached Fort Niagara on the 19th, where they remained three (148) days. Leaving there on the 22d, they coasted the south shore of Lake Ontario, and arrived at Fort Frontenac on the 6th of November, their canoes badly shattered by the autumnal gales, and their men greatly fatigued with the hardships of the voyage. They pushed on, however, with as little delay as possible to Montreal, which they reached on the 10th of October, having, according to the estimate of both de Celoron and Father Bonsecamps, traveled at least twelve hundred leagues.

Allusion has been made to the changes which took place in the Ohio Valley prior to the expedition of de Celoron. Those

which have since occurred are no less remarkable. Both the French and the English continued equally determined to possess the country north of the Ohio. The former stretched a chain of posts from Niagara to the Mississippi, as a barrier against English encroachments, and to exclude the Indians from their influence and control. To counteract these demonstrations, Gist was sent by the Ohio Company in 1750 to survey its lands preliminary to their occupation and settlement. In 1753 Washington was dispatched by Governor Dinwiddie to Venango and Le Boeuf on what proved to be a fruitless mission. A post was established the same year by the English at Pittsburgh, which was captured the next by the French, and called after the Marquis du Quesne. It was occupied by the latter until retaken by General Forbes in 1756.

This was followed the next year by an expedition under Washington, who at the age of twenty-two drew his maiden sword at the Great Meadows in an encounter with a detachment of French under Jumonville, which resulted in the death of the latter. Washington pushed on farther west, but the advance of the enemy with strong reinforcements compelled him to fall back to the Great Meadows, which he strengthened and fortified, under the significant name of Fort Necessity. Here he was attacked by the French under Coulon de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, with a vigor inspired by the desire of avenging his brother's death. Washington was compelled to capitulate. The French were thus enabled to acquire complete control for the time being over the disputed territory. Thus was the opening scene in the great drama of the "Old French War" enacted. The disastrous defeat of Braddock followed the next year, and exposed the whole frontier to the hostile incursions of the French and Indians.

In 1759 the grand scheme for the conquest of Canada, conceived by the illustrious Pitt, was carried into execution. The expeditions of Amherst against Ticonderoga, Wolfe against Quebec, and Prideaux against Niagara, resulted in the fall of those important fortresses. (149) Major Rogers was sent to the Northwest in 1760 to receive possession of the French posts, which had been surrendered to the English by the capitu-

lation of Quebec. He was met at Cuyahoga by Pontiac, the Ottawa, who forbade his farther progress. "I stand," says he, "in your path; you can march no farther without my permission." A friend to the French, a leader in the attack on Braddock, ambitious and vindictive, Pontiac was a chief of commanding intellect and well qualified for bold enterprises and strategic combinations. These qualities were indicated in his great conspiracy for the simultaneous capture of the ten principal posts in the Northwest, and the massacre of the English trading in their vicinity. Eight of those posts, embracing Sandusky, St. Joseph, Miami, Ouatanen, Mackinaw, Presque Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango successively fell before the deep laid plans of the wily chieftain. Forts Pitt and Detroit successfully withstood the most vigorous assaults, and the latter a protracted siege conducted by Pontiac himself.

Now war in all its horrors raged with savage intensity along the entire frontier. The unprotected settlers, men, women and children, were massacred and scalped, or if spared, borne away into a hopeless captivity. The English colonists were aroused to meet the emergency, and Colonel Bouquet was sent in 1763 with a large force into the Indian territory to relieve the western posts, but was compelled to halt at Pittsburgh.

The succeeding spring found the Indians again on the war-path, and Detroit was invested for the second time by Pontiac. An expedition was sent to the Northwestern posts under Bradstreet, and another under Bouquet penetrated the interior of Ohio. Bradstreet was duped by his crafty adversaries into a peace not intended to be kept, but Bouquet, undeceived by similar artifices, pushed on to the heart of the Indian country. At the junction of the White Woman and Tuscarawas rivers he dictated a peace by his bold and energetic movements, which, with the exception of occasional outbreaks, was destined to last until the commencement of the great contest between the colonists and the mother country.

The treaty of 1783 left the western tribes without an ally, and the United States became free to extend the arts of peace over their new territory. The pioneers shouldered the axe and the rifle, and marching westward in solid column, invaded the

land. The frail canoe and sluggish batteau, which had so long and wearily contended with the adverse currents of the Ohio, were soon replaced by the power of steam. The dense forests that for a thousand miles had fringed both borders of the (150) river were opened to the sunlight, and thriving cities and smiling villages arose on the ruins of the mound builders. The narrow trails of the Indian, deep worn for centuries by the tread of hunter and warrior, were now superseded by the iron rail and broad highway. The hardy emigrants and their descendants subdued the wilderness, and with the church, the school-house, the factory and the plough planted a civilization on the ruins of a fallen barbarism.

The dominion and power of France have disappeared, and no traces of her lost sovereignty exist, save in the few names she has left on the prominent streams and landmarks of the country, and in the leaden plates which, incised in her language and asserting her claims, still lie buried on the banks of the "Beautiful River."

O. H. MARSHALL.

NOTES.

1. This name is usually spelled Celeron, but incorrectly. M. Ferland, in his *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, vol. ii, p. 493, calls him Celoron de Blainville.

2. Joncaire.

3. N. Y. Col. Doc., vi, p. 604.

4. The Indian name of Sir William Johnson. It signifies "Superintendent of Affairs."

5. V. Penn. Col. Records, p. 508.

6. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix, p. 1097.

7. This observation, like most of those taken by Father Bonsecours, is incorrect. Either his instruments were imperfect or his methods of computation erroneous. The true latitude of the mouth of the Conewango is less than $41^{\circ} 50'$, as it is twelve miles south of the boundary line between New York and Pennsylvania.

8. On Crevecoeur's Map of 1758, in *Depots des Cartes*, *Ministere de la Guerre*, Paris, the Conewango is called the "Chatacouin" as far down as its junction with the Alleghany.

9. Governor Clinton, in his address before the New York Historical Society in 1811, inquires if the Joncaire met by Char-
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levoix and Washington were the same. They could not have been, for the one mentioned by Charlevoix died in 1740.

10. N. Y. Col. Doc., IX, 1025; X, *ib.*, 901.
11. N. Y. Col. Doc., VII, p. 267.
12. N. Y. Col. Doc., VI, pp. 532-3.
13. See Vol. I, p. 747, *Magazine of American History*.
14. N. Y. Col. Doc., X, pp. 139, 142, 245 and 247.
15. Major Long of the U. S. Army, in his second expedition to the St. Peter's River in 1823, traveled over the same route



ORIGIN OF INDIAN NAMES OF CERTAIN STATES AND RIVERS.

BY WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY,

Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Explanations of the origin of certain Indian names are varied and conflicting. The writer submits the following authoritative statements relative to the derivation and meaning of the names of the states of Iowa, Missouri, Mississippi, Ohio and Kentucky, and the rivers Ohio, Mississippi, Missouri and Neosha :

IOWA.

The Iowa Indians called themselves *Pahoja*, meaning Gray Snow. The Iowas are of the Siouan family. They descended from the Winnebago stem of that family. At an early day they, in company with kindred bands, migrated to the Southwest from the country of the Great Lakes. On the Fox river, near the Mississippi, they separated from the others. They wandered over all that country between the Missouri and the Mississippi rivers as far north as Minnesota and the Dakotas. The first whites to come in contact with them called them *Aiaoucz* or *Ioways*. They still maintain tribal relations on the reservations in Kansas and Nebraska. These are the people who gave their name to that tract of country now embraced in the state of Iowa — and furnished the name to the state itself.

MISSOURI.

The origin and the meaning of this word are both lost. It is probably of Algonquian origin. People of that stock lived on the east bank of the Mississippi in what is now Illinois. Perhaps they spoke of the river and country to the west as the Missouri river and the Missouri country. The cause for the use of this name and the circumstances under which it came to be applied are no longer known. Among the people from whom the Iowas separated on the Fox river was another band calling themselves *Niutachi*. They, too, wandered in this western land through

which flows the great river. It may be that on this account, their Algonquian neighbors called them *Missouris*. At any rate, they became known as the Missouri tribe of Indians. They belong to the great Siouan family. Members of this tribe are still to be found on reservations in Kansas and Nebraska. Their applied name attached itself to the great river, and from the river the state of Missouri got its name. There is no sufficient evidence that the name has any reference to the muddy water of the Missouri. If it should turn out that it is of Sioux origin, then it certainly has not. The Sioux word for water is *me-ne*. *Me-ne-sota*, *Me-ne-apolis*, *Me-ne-haba*, are good examples of its extensive use for present-day geographical names. It was shortened to *ne* by the Osages, who named the Neosho — *ne*, water, and *osho*, bowl, a river of deep places — bowls or basins. So, *Missouri*, so far as now known, does not mean *muddy water*. In all probability it has no reference to water of any kind.

MISSISSIPPI.

This name is of Algonquian origin. *Sipu* in that tongue means *river*. The traditions of the Delawares tell of a migration of that people. They came to a mighty river, now believed to have been the Mississippi. They called it *Namaesi-sipu*, that is, *Fish river*. They always spoke of it as the *Namaesi-sipu*. Whether they had in fact crossed this river or not, their descendants believed they had and applied to it always the name given it by their ancestors in an early age. In its wide-spread usage through the centuries, the name became modified or slightly shortened. But it remains to this day the *Macsisipu* or *Fish river*. The name of the river gave name to the state of Mississippi. There is no significance in the name even approaching "Gathering in all the Waters", or "Great Long River", or "Father of Waters", or "Mother of Floods". White people may rightly attribute these qualities to the great river, but it is erroneous and wrong to contend that the Indian name carries any such meaning; for it does not.

OHIO.

It is strange that students still perpetuate — or attempt to perpetuate — the errors which have long surrounded the origin

of this name. There is no doubt but that the French called the Ohio River "La Belle Riviere" or "Beautiful River". But they got no such name from the Indians. It was their own name for this fine stream. In Colonial times it was often spoken of as "The River Red with Blood", or "The Bloody River". These allusions later attached to the Kentucky river through the misapprehension of the explorers and pioneers.

The word *Ohio* means great—not beautiful. It is an Iroquoian word. In Wyandot it is O-hē-zhū. In the Mohawk and Cayuga it is O-hē-yō. In the Oneida it is O-hē'. In the Seneca it is the same as in the Wyandot. The Wyandots called the river the O-hē-zhū—the *Great river*. All the Iroquois called it the Great river. It ran from their western possessions to the gulf—the sea. They considered it the main stream. With them it was the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico.

The state of Ohio got its name from the Ohio river.

KENTUCKY.

The origins urged for the name of Kentucky are erroneous. "Meadow-lands", "At the Head of a River", "The Dark and Bloody Ground", are all applications of misapprehensions. "The River Red with Blood", or "Bloody River", attached to the Ohio river, as already noticed. From this, the name "Bloody River" became fixed upon the Kentucky river, and possibly other branches of the main stream. This connection is the progenitor of the "Dark and Bloody Ground" of Boone and other explorers.

The Iroquois conquered the Ohio valley and expelled or exterminated the Indian tribes living there and with whom they battled. It was, no doubt, a bloody conquest. Memory of it remained among the victors as well as the defeated tribes, for a fair land was made a solitude. None dared live there. The conquerors might have done so, but the time for their removal thither never came. The land included in the state of Ohio was a part of the conquest. In fact, it embraced the larger part of the Ohio valley.

The Iroquois desired to retain this conquered domain. They set the Wyandots (Iroquoian) as over-lords of it to live in it, and to manage it in their name. They had seen the ruin of

other eastern tribes and could but believe that they might share the same fate. In that case, they, too, would take refuge in the West — in the Ohio valley. They saved their possessions there for that purpose. And in speaking of their fine holdings in that valley they designated them as "The Land of Tomorrow", that is, the land in which they intended to live in the future if thrown out of their present homes.

Häh-shě'-träh, or George Wright, was the sage of the Wyandots. He lived to a great age, and died on the Wyandot Reserve, in what is now Oklahoma, in 1899. His father was a St. Regis Seneca, and his youth was spent among the Iroquois in New York and Canada. He was a man of great intelligence, and he had the instinct of the historian. He belonged by both kinship and adoption to the Wolf Clan of the Wyandots, and his name signifies "The Footprint of the Wolf". I knew him well for a quarter of a century. Much of what I have written here under the head of "Kentucky" he told me.

And he said more. The word Käh'-tĕn-täh'-tĕh is of the Wyandot tongue. It means, in the abstract, *a day*. It may mean a period of time, and can be used for past or future time. When shortened to Kĕn-täh'-tĕh it means "tomorrow", or "the coming day", though it is not the word ordinarily used for those terms. But it came to be the word used to apply to the Iroquoian possessions on the Ohio, and, gradually, to those on the south side of the Ohio. That is, these holdings constituted "The Land of Tomorrow", or "The land where we will live Tomorrow" — "The Land where we will live in the future". A good translation of the word as it came to apply to the country of Kentucky is "The Land of Tomorrow".

This Wyandot word, like other Indian proper names, was corrupted by the whites. "Kĕn-täh'-tĕh" easily became "Cantocky". "Cantuckee", or "Kaintuckee", and, finally, through various changes, assumed its present form — Kentucky, "The land of Tomorrow".

I have no doubt as to this being the true origin and correct significance of the name *Kentucky*.
Topeka, Kansas, August 18, 1920.

THE CENTENARY OF SANDUSKY COUNTY.

BY BASIL MEEK.

(Read at the centennial celebration of Sandusky county, August 2, 1920.)

Sandusky county has a wonderfully interesting history, but only a few of the more important facts will be attempted to be given by me on this occasion of its centenary of years. The time allotted will necessarily preclude the mention of many of the romantic incidents in its aboriginal and early civil and military history. Reference to these is hereby made to an article by the writer, entitled "The Evolution of Sandusky County", published in the Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications, Vol. 24, page 138, where a fuller history appears.

The region of country, comprising what is now Sandusky county, is within what has been, since the discovery of the New World by Columbus, under the dominion of the several powers of Spain, France, England, and of course the United States. And it is not saying too much to add, the dominion of what may be called the Republic of Virginia, for to this power, rather than the greater ones mentioned, we are more directly connected, in our history; and to this our more particular attention will be given, with some facts as to the aboriginal occupation.

Virginia's claim to all the vast domain later known as the Northwest was based on the charter of 1609, granted her colonists by England, which in its area of country included all within defined boundaries, West and Northwest from the Atlantic coast, from "sea to sea", i. e., from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, but which was subsequently, by treaty with contending powers, limited in its western boundary by the Mississippi river.

Virginia formed counties whose western boundaries extended to the Mississippi river, and in which our region was embraced, in the order following: Orange county, in 1734; Augusta, in 1738; Botetourt, in 1769; and the county of Illinois formed from Botetourt in 1778. This latter county was created as the result of the conquest from England, of the country west

of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio river to the Mississippi, by George Rogers Clark, under the authority of Virginia, in 1778, then a defacto republic, and claiming that England, by the act known as the Quebec Act, in 1774, was violating the rights of Virginia granted by the charter of 1609, in annexing this region to the Province of Quebec and prohibiting settlements therein by her people.

In 1784 Virginia ceded all the region named to the Federal Government, and we accordingly came under the jurisdiction of the United States. Counties were formed including the region of what is now Sandusky county, as follows: Hamilton county, which came into existence in 1790. It did not then, however, embrace our county, but in 1792 its boundaries were extended to include the same; Wayne county was formed in 1796. The latter was not the present county by that name in Ohio. It was and is Wayne county, of which Detroit, in the state of Michigan, is the county seat. It included all of northwest Ohio, part of Indiana, including Fort Wayne, part of Illinois, including the site of Chicago, and all of Michigan. Thus it will appear that we were then in a county with Detroit its seat of justice.

Ohio state was admitted into the Union in 1803; since when Sandusky county has been during the periods mentioned, embraced within the county of Franklin, 1803-1808; within the county of Delaware, 1808-1815; and in the county of Huron, 1815-1820.

ABORIGINAL OCCUPATION.

Long ages prior to the advent of civilized man this region was inhabited by a pre-historic race, long since wholly vanished from the earth, leaving no evidence whatever of their existence save only structures known as "earthworks" or "enclosures", found here along the Sandusky river, one of which was within what is now the city of Fremont, two south of the city, several between the city and Sandusky Bay, and two near the mouth of Pickeril Creek, a total in all, in the county, of eighteen of these pre-historic sites (History of Sandusky Co.—Meek, p. 38.)

The aborigines of authentic history here were, first, the Erie or Cat Nation, from whom Lake Erie is believed to have derived its name. They, about the first of the seventeenth century, in

war with the Indians from east of the Niagara country, known as the Five Nations, were completely exterminated and their region, left a solitude, thus continued until about the first decade of the eighteenth century, when it was reinhabited by the Wyandots, with Ottawas and remnants of dispersed western tribes, which had been driven into exile westwards by the Five Nations, about the middle of the seventeenth century. It seems that the Five Nations had lost or abandoned their absolute supremacy, but still claimed some rights in the region.

Thereafter the Wyandots became the dominant aboriginal power, but other tribes on friendly relations with them shared in occupation of the region, which was an important one for them all. The beautiful Sandusky river, which flows through the entire county, teemed with fish, and its marshes and valleys abounded in fowl and large game. It was, indeed, a suggestion to them of their happy hunting ground, in their hoped for "Land of the Hereafter".

All pretended dominion over the Northern Ohio country, by the Five Nations, then the Six Nations, was by treaty, in 1784, abandoned in favor of the Federal Government.

By a treaty in 1795 (there were previous, but unsatisfactory treaties), with the Wyandots and all other tribes in any way claiming to be interested, known as the "Greenville Treaty", all lands south of the treaty line, together with the two-mile square tract at the lower rapids of the Sandusky river, now the city of Fremont, were ceded to the United States; and all the lands north thereof except certain reservations, which we need not mention, were conveyed to the tribes "to live and hunt on", being the extent of title recognized by civilized governments in favor of native savage tribes.

The first land owned by the United States, embraced in Sandusky county, clear of Indian claim, was this two-mile square tract, now the county seat of the county. The next was the Maumee and Western Reserve road lands, by treaty in 1808, ceding a tract the entire distance through the county, from the western line of the Western Reserve, and passing through the site of what is now Fremont, in a northwesterly direction, 120 feet in width, for a road, and one mile adjoining the same on

either side for settlement; and also for a road tract 120 feet in width, to run southwardly from Lower Sandusky to the Greenville treaty line.

By a treaty, September 20th, 1817, at the foot of the rapids of the Maumec river, the tribes ceded all their title to all the remaining lands in northwestern Ohio to the United States Government, which was in 1820, February 12th, carved by the Ohio legislature into fourteen separate counties, of which Sandusky was one. The act creating these counties took effect April 1, 1820.

The name of Sandusky county is derived from that of the river, which in aboriginal expression is Tsaendosti, pronounced San-doo-tee, and means "It is cold fresh (water)".

When created the county contained two townships only, Sandusky on the west side of the river, and Croghan on the east side, both organized by the county commissioners of Huron county. The two embraced all the territory within the following boundaries, viz.: East of the east line of Wood county and Lucas county, as now existing, including the townships of Oregon and Jerusalem in the latter, to the west lines of Huron and Erie counties, as now organized, with a small part of Erie now adjoining Sandusky Bay in the northeast part of Margarett township, and north, all within said east and west boundaries, from the north line of Seneca county to Lake Erie. Seneca county was attached to Sandusky county for judicial purposes, and thus remained for four years. Our county, with Seneca attached, contained only about eight hundred souls. At the first election for county officers, the first Monday in April, 1820, there were only 175 votes cast.

In 1840 Ottawa County was created, taken mostly from Sandusky, and now includes all of the territory of the latter as originally formed, lying north of the north boundary lines of the townships of Townsend, Riley, Rice, Washington and Woodville, as now existing, and extending thence to the original boundary line in Lake Erie.

The seat of justice was located temporarily at Croghansville, on the east side of the river, where it remained for the period of two years. Here the common pleas court was held and

official business conducted in a house owned by Moris A. Newman, at the northeast corner of Ohio Avenue and Pine Street. The first term of the court was held May 8th, 1820, with Judge George Todd presiding, and associate Judges David Harrold, Alexander Morris and Israel Harrington sitting. David Todd, the noted War Governor of Ohio, was a son of Judge George Todd.

At the May term, 1822, of the court of common pleas, Charles R. Sherman, of the commission appointed by the legislature to permanently locate the county seat, made his report for the commission, establishing the same in the "Town of Sandusky" on the west side of the river. The report was approved by the court, which thereupon adjourned to a hewn log school house, situated in the permanent seat of justice, thus located. This log house stood near the site of the location of the present high school building. Courts were here held, both common pleas and supreme, for several years, until the erection of a frame building as a permanent court house, on the grounds where Rev. W. A. Bowman resides, on Court Street, then fronting on Arch Street. It was first located and partly constructed where the M. E. Church stands, and finally removed to its present location about 1828. Charles R. Sherman, who made the report on the permanent county seat, was the father of a son named William Tecumseh, then about four years old, who became the distinguished General Sherman in the Civil War. Mr. Sherman Sr. became a supreme court Judge and, with Judge Burnet, held a term of that court in this school house.

In 1829, by act of the state legislature, the two villages of Croghansville and Sandusky were united by the name of the "Town of Lower Sandusky." In 1849 the name was changed to Fremont.

When this county was formed there was not a railroad in existence in the United States. There were no telegraphs, telephones, electric lights, grain reapers, mowing machines, sewing machines, threshing machines, power printing presses, linotypes, typewriters, automobiles or flying machines. All these with many other inventions and discoveries, adding comfort and happi-

ness to the people, have come within the marvelous century of the county's history.

The first year tax collection was \$3,535. The last year's collection is about one million dollars. Its population was 800, with only 175 voters; now we have a population of 37,000 with 9,000 voters. Outside the two-mile square tract, the county was comparatively a wilderness. A view now of the country comprising the county, with its splendid farms of broad and fertile fields, productive orchards, sightly wood lands, its fair capital city of 13,000 population with its great factories and successful merchants, its thriving villages, its churches and school houses, steam and electric railways, telegraphs, telephones, improved roads, automobiles, flying machines passing over us daily, rural mail delivery, and beautiful homes in the city, villages and country, inspire us with joy to say of our beloved county: Surely "The lines have fallen to us in pleasant places; Yea, we have a goodly heritage".



OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BY THE EDITOR.

TWO TIMELY BOOKS ON LAFAYETTE

The True LaFayette, by George Morgan J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. 489 pages. Price \$2.50.

"The True Lafayette" is a somewhat ambiguous title; but in this instance the word "true" is applicable alike to the man and the story of his life.

The work is about all that could be desired in a single volume. It is a timely, straight-forward and authentic portrayal of this consistent champion of liberty in Europe and America. It is based on the authority of a galaxy of writers who at different periods have borne testimony to Lafayette's varied, fortunate and eminent career. The reader is kept constantly in touch with the sources from which the author has drawn his materials for this remarkably interesting book.

The frequent quotations and marginal references make it a valuable manual for students wishing to develop more fully any phase of the life of Lafayette, while they fortify the general reader in the essential truth of the narrative. For instance, practically every biographer who has written on the subject tells us how words that fell from the lips of the Duke of Gloucester, brother to George III of England, at a banquet, turned the thoughts of the youthful Lafayette to the war that our forefathers were waging for independence. We here quote to show how appropriately and convincingly the author presents this turning point in the career of this French boy of noble birth:

"With several other officers, LaFayette, 'in his handsome dress uniform of blue and silver,' was a guest at this long-drawn-out banquet given by a prince of France to a prince of England.

Let us now summon Jared Sparks, who had an account of the dinner from the lips of LaFayette himself, and who shall tell us what happened:

'Dispatches had just been received by the Duke from England and he made their contents the topic of conversation; they related to American affairs. The details were new to LaFayette; he listened with eagerness to the conversation and prolonged it by asking questions of the Duke. His curiosity was deeply excited by what he had heard, and the idea of a people fighting for liberty had a strong influence on his imagination; the cause seemed to him just and noble, from the representation of the Duke himself; and before he left the table, the thought came into his head that he would go to America, and offer his services to a people who were struggling for liberty and independence. From that hour he could think of nothing but this chivalrous enterprise.'

"Of course this was the turning point of La Fayette's life. Historic indeed was the scene at the Commandant's board in that old garrison town two hundred miles east of Paris. The impression made upon LaFayette, comments Charlemagne Tower, 'was of the kind which goes deep down into men's hearts and remains there forever.'"

Here we have the story from so eminent an authority as Jared Sparks, who got it from Lafayette himself.

Americans who think of Lafayette in terms of his knightly service in the Revolution and the joyous outpouring of the people to greet him on the occasion of his visit as the "nation's guest" in 1824-1825 are naturally somewhat surprised that there should be any question raised in regard to the high place that this friend of universal liberty should hold in history.

It was Lafayette's fortune, however, to pass through the French Revolution. From America he took back to his native land an abiding faith in constitutional liberty. He was opposed to the arbitrary rule of the Bourbon king. When that rule was overthrown, he refused to support the red terror that rose in its place. Thus he incurred the hatred of the royalists on the one hand and the Jacobin regicides on the other. His position was somewhat similar to that of Milyukof and Kerensky after the overthrow of Czar Nicholas. As they were driven from power by the Bolsheviki — the red regicides of our day — so Lafayette was driven into exile and the dungeon by the Jacobin communists

of his day. That portion of Morgan's book which treats of this period of Lafayette's career is illuminating and highly satisfactory.

The account of Lafayette's visit to America is comparatively brief but this is adequately covered, for the general reader, in Levasseur's two volumes devoted to this happy experience of his career.

The author has adopted the spelling *La Fayette*. It is true that writers differ in their spelling of this name, but the final authority on the subject is Lafayette himself who wrote it "Lafayette" as his numerous autograph signatures attest.

Fortunately the book has a table of contents and index. The latter, however, might have been more extended.

Something must be added in regard to the attractive form of the work. The paper and typography are fully up to the high standard of the "true" biography series of this well-known publishing house. The illustrations are numerous and uniformly excellent. The reproduction of paintings, engravings and miniatures has become an art in recent years, and the cuts in this book exhibit this art at its best.

The general merit of Mr. Morgan's book is of such high order that it deserves a place in every public and private library that accords shelf room to the founders of our Republic and the friends of constructive progress. We live in times when Lafayette's ideal of republican institutions is approaching realization; in times, too, that call for a larger measure of his altruistic spirit and a wider exemplification of his guiding principle and master passion of "Liberty regulated by Law."

With Lafayette in America, by Octavia Roberts. Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston and New York. 294 pages. Price \$5.00.

When one picks up this beautiful volume his attention is caught by the portrait of Lafayette on the front cover artistically stamped in gold. Opening the book, he is delighted to find a striking and faultless reproduction of the famous painting by Peale, representing the benefactor of America as he appeared when with generous impulse and youthful ardor he donned the

Revolutionary uniform and entered the army of Washington. In fidelity to the original and artistic finish this portrait is unsurpassed. Other illustrations are fitting accompaniments to this sumptuous volume, with large clear type that rests and delights the eye.

Under the frontispiece portrait is a faithful autograph signature which shows that the General spelled his name "Lafayette," not "La Fayette."

The textual content of the book is the history of Lafayette's service in the Revolution and his visit to America. This is told in a style that will interest boys and girls and the general reader of mature years. The person who reads the opening paragraphs will reluctantly lay it aside before he has read it through.

While the author does not introduce lengthy quotations or use notes of any kind, she constantly keeps the reader apprised of the fact that she has consulted the authorities. Some of her brief excerpts are very happy and, so far as we are aware, not elsewhere found in a work of this scope and purpose.

Many who with keen ancestral consciousness trace their origin to the Emerald Isle will read with satisfaction, on page 95, that Lafayette in a letter to Washington declared that Ireland "is a good deal tired of English tyranny" and adds:

"I, in confidence, tell you that the scheme of my heart is to make her as free and independent as America."

On page 290, occurs the quotation from Lafayette's reply to the twenty-six congressmen who had voted against reimbursing him for the money he had expended in the American Revolution and who now came to assure him that their objections to the bill were "technical not personal." For this vote they had been severely criticised by the press and their constituents. Lafayette relieved their embarrassment in these felicitous words:

"I can assure you that if I had the honor of being your colleague, we should have been twenty-seven, not only because I partake of the sentiments that determined your votes, but because I think the American nation has done too much for me."

This quotation is a gem, and the reader will thank the author for including it.

A wrong impression is left on page 288, by the statement that the senate "finally voted 'yea' unanimously" on this bill. Seven senators at one time voted against it including Senator Brown from Ohio who opposed it in a speech.

While the author uses the correct spelling of the name of Lafayette she makes a mistake in the spelling of another name that occurs very frequently in the volume. She writes the name of Lafayette's private secretary "Lavasseur." It should be "Lcvasseur."

The book has no index. Why so reputable a publishing house would issue such a work without an index we do not know. In these times of "ready references," "prompt library service" and "American hurry," indexes are almost a necessity. Perhaps the index is reserved for a second edition.

This book is stimulating and inspiring. It is timely and covers in a single volume a field not recently attempted by other writers. It is an appropriate gift to any young American.

PANISCIOWA — JEAN BAPTISTE DUCOIGNE.

Through an incidental suggestion of Mr. W. D. Barge, of 1708 Prairie Ave., Chicago, Illinois, we have been enabled to establish the identity of Chief Panisciowa and Jean Baptiste Ducoigne, or, as the name is variously spelled, Decoigne, Ducoin and Du Quoin. There are still other variations. The daughter of this chief met Lafayette at Kaskaskia and much space was given to that meeting in the July Quarterly. Levasseur speaks of her as Mary and of her father as Panisciowa. This was probably his Indian name. Lafayette's secretary devoted much attention to what she said and doubtless exercised care in recording her name and that of her father as he received them from her lips.

In Bulletin No. 30, Part 1, "Handbook of American Indians," issued by the Bureau of American Ethnology, page 405, we have the following:

Vol. XXIX—30.

"Ducoigne, Jean Baptiste. A Kaskaskia chief at the beginning of the 19th century, noted mainly for his firm adherence to the United States and friendship for the whites. Reynolds (*Pion. Hist.*, III, 22, 1887) describes him as a cunning half-blood of considerable talent. In his *Memoirs*, Gen. W. H. Harrison, who had dealings with Ducoigne, speaks of him as 'a gentlemanly man, by no means addicted to drink, and possessing a very strong inclination to live like a white man; indeed has done so as far as his means would allow.' Writing to the Secretary of War, he says: 'Ducoigne's long and well-proved friendship for the United States has gained him the hatred of all the other chiefs and ought to be an inducement with us to provide as well for his happiness, as for his safety.' According to Reynolds, Ducoigne asserted that neither he nor his people had shed the blood of white men. He was a signer of the treaties of Vincennes, Aug. 7 and 13, 1803; by the latter the United States agreed to build a house and inclose 100 acres of land for him. He had two sons, Louis and Jefferson, and a daughter, Ellen, who married a white man and in 1850 was living in Indian Ter. The name of Louis appears on behalf of the Kaskaskia in the treaty of Edwardsville, Ill., Sept. 25, 1818. Ducoigne's death probably occurred shortly before Oct., 1832, as it is stated in the treaty at Castor Hill, of that date, that there should be reserved 'to Ellen Ducoigne, the daughter of their late chief,' a certain tract of land. The name is perpetuated in that of the town of Dequoin, Perry Co., Ill."

It will be noted that the daughter named in this sketch is Ellen. Whether this was another daughter or whether she was married a second time to a white man or whether it was the same daughter, here given a different name, we are not able to determine at this time. It is pretty well established, however, that Mr. Cyrus Thomas of the Bureau of American Ethnology who wrote this sketch is mistaken in regard to the approximate time of the death of the Indian chief. He had been dead some time before the coming of Lafayette in 1825 according to the statement of his daughter Mary.

In a letter under date of May 1, 1790, Governor Arthur St. Clair, writing from Cahokia to the Secretary of War, thus refers to this chief:

"Baptiste DuCoigne, whom you may remember with the Marquis de Lafayette, is chief of the Kaskaskia nation, settled in Kaskaskia. I have been plagued with a great many of his

talks. The nation is very inconsiderable, and I do not think it necessary to trouble you with them at present. He himself is the greatest beggar I have met with among nations who are all beggars. He counts no little upon his having been with the American troops in Virginia and so far he merits some countenance."

Under date of May 8, 1799, writing from the same place, however, Governor St. Clair takes occasion to answer a speech by Ducoigne in a very different spirit from that suggested in the above quotation. His speech to the Indian chief was in French. The original and the translation are both found in Vol. 2 of the *St. Clair Papers*. The translation is as follows:

"My son:—It is with much pleasure that I have received the congratulations which you have offered me upon my arrival in this country: I and the other gentlemen whom you see around me render thanks to God, who has guarded and sustained us during a very long and wearisome journey. I have great pleasure in seeing you, and in taking you by the hand in witness of my friendship. The firm attachment which you have shown to the United States of America, is well known, and consequently you are entitled to much respect.

"It is true, my son, that for a long time you have seen no one who has come from the government of the States, and I, who am the first envoy on their part, have been hindered a long time after the time fixed for my arrival, by many inevitable accidents; but the United States never forget their friends, and the people of this country are their children, whom they will never abandon.

"My son, my heart is troubled on account of the injuries which you have suffered. I know well that you are surrounded by foolish and cruel nations, who love to have their hands steeped in blood; but I have good hopes that an end will be put to their depredations, because I am come as the ambassador of peace to all the people who dwell in this land. If they will listen to the good words which I shall speak to them, it will be for their own happiness and that of the human race—all, they and ourselves, then can follow our occupations with good courage, and the young people will grow and flourish like the green trees, and abundance will be found beneath their steps. But, my son, it is only to a certain point that evil proceedings can be suffered: after that, patience becomes feebleness, a reproach from which the United States at all times withdraw themselves. If they will

listen to me — good; if they will not listen, they will suffer the consequences.

"Peace is the delight of the United States, but they are also formidable in war; of that you, Du Coigne, have been the eye-witness. Believe me, my son, it will not always be a disgrace to have been their friend.

"My son, I have all the confidence in the world in the sincerity of your words, that they come from the depths of your heart, and that you do not speak with the lips only. I also tell you, with all possible sincerity, that I am very glad to see you, that I am touched by your misfortunes and that I shall try to soften them.

"That which you have told me touching brandy is but too true. This excess in drinking is verily the ruin of the Indians, but they have such a passion for it that it is difficult to restrain them; it is not easy, either, to deter the whites from this species of commerce, because, scattered like you through the woods, they can carry it to you secretly, and consequently with impunity. And if it were possible to hinder the Americans and the French entirely from carrying on this trade, there are others who would do it, and if not, they would go and seek it themselves from the Spaniard; however, we will try to put some limit to this traffic.

"The love, my son, which you show for the place of your birth, where the ashes of your ancestors are deposited, is a sentiment of nature and of generosity in which I am perfectly in accord with you. I hope the good God will never forsake this country and that when you have run the number of days that are assigned to you, you will have an honorable burial with all the rites of religion.

"The inclination which you have, my son, to see the worship of God established, and that a proper attention should be paid to the education of the young people, pleases me extremely, and I am troubled to know that the priests have withdrawn. Certainly I shall recall them only at the end, and I hope that you will follow the good road, and that the young will be instructed, in their duties towards God, towards man, and towards each other.

"You can assure the Peorias and the Cahokias of my good will on their account, and that I will make known to the President of the United States, General Washington, whom you know, and who is at this hour the chief of all, both civil and military, the desire they have to return to this country. The commissary will give you some powder, to aid your people who are in the hunting-ground."

COLONEL FREDERICK W. GALBRAITH, JR.

NEWLY ELECTED NATIONAL COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN
LEGION.

Colonel Galbraith enjoys the distinction of having been both sailor and soldier in the course of his career. He was born at Watertown, Massachusetts, May 6, 1874, and later attended grammar school in Springfield, that state. He was graduated from a nautical training school at Boston in 1893 and served in various positions aboard American sailing ships after his graduation. In 1908 he went to Cincinnati where he became treasurer of the Western Paper Goods Company. A fellow soldier who has intimately known the Colonel for years has furnished the following sketch of his military service:

Colonel F. W. Galbraith's connection with things military began in 1916 when he became identified with the First Ohio National Guard at Cincinnati in the capacity of Major. His first big task was to gain for the regiment the support and co-operation of the leading interests of Cincinnati and the other cities where units of the regiment were located.

In the spring of 1917 he became Colonel and immediately undertook an intense recruiting campaign to bring the unit of the regiment up to full strength. The declaration of war increased the seriousness of the responsibility but did not materially increase voluntary enlisting. However, on being called into Federal service on July 15, 1917, the Colonel's regiment, the First Ohio Infantry, was in excellent shape as to personnel and spirit. For two and one-half months the training of the regiment was carried on according to a program laid out by the Colonel.

The regiment was ordered to Camp Sheridan and was assembled in the camp quarters on October 13, 1917. Here the first real trials began, for two weeks after arrival the Colonel found that the regiment he had worked so hard to build up had been transferred from his command and officers and men were divided between the 147th Infantry, 148th Infantry and the 136th Machine Gun Battalion by the process of organizing the 37th Division. But it did not take him long to show himself a capable man. By hard work and leadership he soon found himself in command of the 147th Infantry where the majority of his old officers and men were. This unit was formerly the old Sixth Ohio Infantry and had seen service on the border. The Colonel is a man who believes in seeing the best, doing the best, and hav-

ing the best, and endeavors to pass this spirit on to his officers and men; hence, pride in condition, personnel and efficiency became paramount throughout the 147th. Training was undergone with a will, and when the call to overseas duty came, the 147th was ready.



COLONEL F. W. GALBRAITH, JR.

Leaving Camp Sheridan, Alabama, in May, 1918, the regiment arrived at Camp Lee, Virginia, and towards the end of June embarked for France in two units, arriving at Brest on the 5th of July. During the next four months came the real war activity of his command. For six weeks the regiment manned the famous Rainbow Sector in the Bacarrat Sector in the Vosges.

Lorraine, and had the honor of capturing the first German prisoners taken by the Division. In this place, the real fighting organization was developed and perfected, and on leaving the sector the Colonel received the highest compliments from the incoming French commanders.

Early in September the regiment moved toward the famous Argonne, and on the 26th went "over the top" in the initial attack. In the five days that followed no commander ever showed more thoughtfulness for his men, more energy in holding every inch gained, more real leadership at critical times when the morale or spirit of the fighting men was low because of lack of food or physical fatigue, or more personal indifference to danger when the occasion demanded. He was not to be found in the rear but always where he could see and know what was the real condition so that helpful and well directed moves were made without entirely needless sacrifice of life. The Colonel never forgot that mothers, wives, sisters and sweethearts had entrusted their all to him. It was here that he narrowly escaped death as he was sniped by a machine gunner, the bullet passing through the gas mask on his chest, and he was also struck on the cheek by flying shrapnel. On the second of the five days he found himself in command of two regiments and both in a very serious condition. For his splendid conduct here he received the D. S. C.

The holding of the Xannes Sector on the St. Mihiel front next fell to his command. From there his regiment went to Belgium for the first and second offensive. The 147th Infantry went into action for the last time in the night of November 9th, continued the attack through the 10th and 11th, until the signing of the armistice and reached a line marking the farthest advance of the American Army in Belgium. Picked troops of his command participated in the triumphal entry into Brussels and into Aix la Chappelle or Achen. His interest and inspiring leadership made the return trip to the United States a matter to be proud of as few units, if any, cleared the fort of Brest with a record that his regiment acquired as a well disciplined and efficient organization. The Colonel stands out as a real American who believes in his country and his fellowmen and will do more than his part to make it all that it should be.

It is very gratifying to know that one so entirely worthy of the distinguished honor has been chosen National Commander of the Legion. The recent annual meeting of that patriotic order was held in Cleveland. The procession was inspiring as it marched through the streets of that city and the proceedings of the meetings were of a character to impress most favorably all

who had an opportunity to be present at the sessions or read the reports in the public press.

Colonel Galbraith was elected Department Commander at the first state convention of the American Legion held in Ohio. He was elected National Commander on September 29th, two years to the day after he performed the act of heroism which won for him the Distinguished Service Cross. His citation for this honor reads:

"For extraordinary heroism in action near Ivoiry, France, September 29, 1918. When an enemy counter-attack was imminent, he went into the front lines under a violent artillery and machine-gun barrage, and by the coolness and certainty of his orders and the inspiring example of his personal courage reorganized his own command and took command of other units whose officers had been lost or diverted in the confusion of battle. Knocked down by a shell, he refused to be evacuated and continued to carry on the work of reorganizing his position and disposing the troops to a successful conclusion."

OHIO—ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAME

William D. Gallagher, the well-known early Ohio poet in 1835 wrote an ode to "Our Western Land" in which the following lines occur:

"Ohio-peh-he-le! — Peck-han-he! The pride
Of the land where thy waters, O-pe-le-chen glide.

* * *

"Ohio-Pechen! Belle Riviere!
For beauty none with thee compare."

In notes the explanation is made that "Ohio-peh-he-le" means very white frothy water; "Peck-han-ne," deep and white stream; "O-pe-le-chen," bright, shining; "Ohio-pe-chen," it is of a white color. Here is material from which we may arrive at the poet's conception of the significance of the name Ohio.

In the *New International Encyclopedia*, edition of 1904, we find the statement that Ohio is a corruption of the Iroquois *Ohionhio* which means beautiful river.

A writer in the *Quarterly* (Vol. XIV, page 274) suggests

that the name is from the Seneca language and means beautiful river.

On the same subject Archer Butler Hulbert in the first chapter of his valuable and authentic work, "The Ohio River, A Course of Empire", devotes considerable space to the discussion of this subject. We here quote at length from this volume:

"The first brave English adventurers who looked with eager eyes upon the great river of the Middle West learned that its Indian name was represented by the letters Oyo, and it has since been known as the Ohio River. The French, who came in advance of the English, translated the Indian name, we are told, and called the Ohio *La Belle Riviere*, 'the beautiful river.'

"We have, however, other testimony concerning the name that cannot well be overlooked. It is that of the two experienced and well-educated Moravian missionaries, Heckewelder and Zeisberger, who came into the trans-Allegheny country long before the end of the eighteenth century. Upon such a subject as the meaning of Ohio, one might easily hold these men to be final authorities. John Heckewelder affirms that Oyo never could have been correctly translated 'beautiful'; Zeisberger adds that in the Onondaga dialect of the Iroquois tongue there was a word *oyoneri* which meant 'beautiful' but only in the adverbial sense — something that was done 'beautifully,' or, as we say, done 'well.' Mr. Heckewelder, knowing that it was commonly understood that the French had translated Oyo when they gave the name *La Belle Riviere* to the Ohio, took occasion to study the matter carefully. He found that in the Miami language *O'hui* or *Ohj*, as prefixes, meant 'very'; for instance, *Ohio-peek* meant 'very white'; *Ohiopeekhanne* meant 'the white foaming river.'

"The Ohio River (he writes), being in many places wide and deep and so gentle that for many miles, in some places, no current is perceivable, the least wind blowing up the river covers the surface with what the people of that country call "white caps"; and I have myself witnessed that for days together, this had been the case, caused by southwesterly winds (which, by the way, are the prevailing winds in that country), so that we, navigating the canoes, durst not venture to proceed, as those white caps would have filled and sunk our canoes in an instant. Now, in such cases, when the river could not be navigated with canoes, nor even crossed with this kind of craft—when the whole surface of the water presented white forming swells, the Indians would, as the case was at the time, say, "ju *Ohiopechen*, *Ohiopeek*, *Ohiopeekhanne*"; and when they supposed the water very deep they would say "*Kitschi*, *Ohiopeekhanne*," which means, "verily this is a deep white river."

"For one, I like the interpretation of 'Ohio' as given by those old missionaries — the 'River of Many White Caps.' True, there is a splendid, sweeping beauty in the Ohio, but throughout a large portion of its course the land lies low on either bank, and those who have feasted their eyes on the picturesque Hudson, or on the dashing beauty of the Saguenay, have been heard to call in question the judgment of the French who named the Ohio La Belle Riviere. But it must be remembered that the French first saw the upper waters of the Ohio, which we now know as the glittering Allegheny. La Belle Riviere included the Ohio and the Allegheny; it was not until the English had reached the Ohio, about the middle of the eighteenth century, that it came to be said that the Allegheny and Monongahela formed the Ohio at Pittsburgh. To one acquainted with the roaring Allegheny, dancing down through the New York and Pennsylvania hills, and who can see how clear the waters ran in the dense green of the ancient forests — to such a one it is not difficult to see why the French called it La Belle Riviere."

Mr. Marshall, as will be seen in his contribution to the *Magazine of American History*, reproduced in this issue of the Quarterly, explains that the word Ohio comes from the Seneca word O-hee-yuh, meaning "beautiful river." In the Cayuga and Mohawk dialects, we are told, the name is O-hee-yo; in the Onondago and Tuscarawa, O-hee-yee; Oneida, O-hee, all signifying "fine or fair river".

And now comes Mr. William E. Connelley, another recognized authority, whose carefully prepared contribution appears elsewhere in this issue of the Quarterly, who tells us that the word Ohio does not mean "the beautiful river" or "the river of many white caps" but that it very clearly signifies "the great river."

When authorities differ thus widely the average layman will naturally be silent on this subject until he "is shown." It seems that the original significance of the word is involved in almost as much doubt as the origin of the mound builders and many problems suggested by their remains.

Just now, in view of Ohio's eminence among the histerhood of states, however, we are disposed to favor the view of Mr. Connelley. Ohio is "great" in so many ways.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

The forthcoming annual meeting of the Society will be one of the most important in its history. For reasons that will be explained in due time the date of the meeting will be later than usual.

A supplement to the October Quarterly will be printed before the close of the year. This will contain the full proceedings of the annual meeting, the index to the current volume and other matter of interest.

SPELLING OF PROPER NAMES.

The spelling of proper names is apt to involve the average writer and editor in doubts and difficulties. Elsewhere we have drawn attention to the spelling of Lafayette. Some authors spell it La Fayette. Authorities are divided in regard to the spelling Galissoniere. *The New International Encyclopedia* has it Gallissonniere, and there are other variations. The name of Father Bonnacamps is spelled by a well known historian Bonnacamps, while Celoron and Father Lambing spell it Bonnacamp. As far as possible we refer the orthography in such cases to the party who bore the name. It should be Lafayette and Galissoniere because these two men spelled their names thus, as will be seen in their autographs. It should be Bonnacamps because he so signed it to his Journal and so wrote it in his map of the Celoron expedition. In like manner Celoron is final authority on the spelling of his own name which frequently is incorrectly printed Celeron.

We are pleased to present in this issue the paper of William E. Connelley, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. This paper was written to correct what the author believes are a number of mistakes in an article on origin of State names, published in the August number of the *National Geographic Magazine*. We are pleased to have Mr. Connelley's paper. There should be reciprocity on matters of general and local interest among the historical societies of the different states and

we trust that we shall receive from similar sources future contributions relating to Ohio or the Mississippi valley.

We are under especial obligations to the Burrows Brothers Company, of Cleveland, Ohio, publishers and owners of the copyright of *The Jesuit Relations*, for the privilege of reproducing the translation of Father Bonnevamps' Journal of the expedition of Celoron.

The number of gifts that are coming to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society is increasingly gratifying. A full account of these, with recognition of the generous donors, will appear in the supplement to this issue which will be printed after the annual meeting of the Society.

Publishers are invited to send for review any books that they may issue on American history or archaeology. Beginning with the year 1921, we expect to organize more fully for the work of reviewing such publications. We hope to have some assistance from professors of the Ohio State University.

Will some member or friend of our Society be so kind as to procure for us a set of *The Olden Time*, republished by the Robert Clark Company; also a set of *Parkman*, late edition. Our set of the latter work is old and incomplete. Someone doubtless has a set that he would be willing to contribute to the Society.

LEADEN PLATE AT THE MOUTH OF THE MUSKINGUM

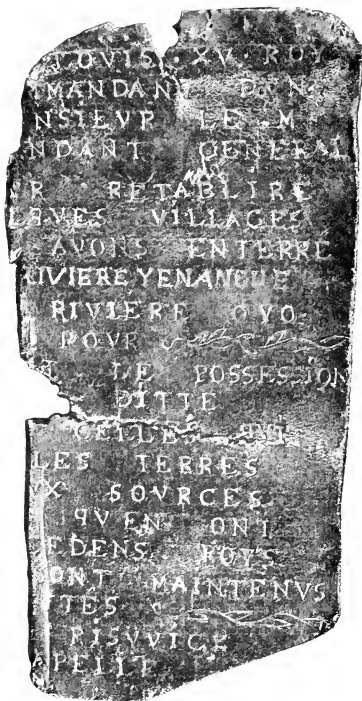
In the October QUARTERLY were published cuts of the leaden plate prepared for deposit at the mouth of the Conewango and the one buried at the mouth of the Kanawha.

On the following pages are illustrations of the remnant of the plate buried at the mouth of the Muskingum and what was probably its entire text. This plate was considerably mutilated. A portion of the lead was cut away for bullets before the significance and importance of this relic were realized. We are under obligation to the American Antiquarian Society for a very satisfactory photograph of this remnant from which has been produced the illustration on the following page.

The plates which have been found thus far show that an effort was made to include identical text on each with the exception of the date and the name of the river at the mouth of which the plate was buried. No two of the plates, however, could have been made from the same mold, as they contain respectively nineteen, twenty-one and eighteen lines of varying length. A separate mold must have been used in casting each and space was left to engrave the date and the name of the river, at the confluence of which with the Ohio, each plate was buried. Some writers have ventured the opinion that the inscription, with the exception above noted, was stamped upon the plates.

The full text of the inscription on the plate buried at the mouth of the Muskingum is not given in either of the Journals, but from the official statement, the text of the inscriptions on the other plates and the assertion of Celoron that "the inscription is always the same" (page 371) the writer has undertaken to supply, with the aid of the fragment left, the full inscription of this plate. The result is found on page 479. It cannot vary materially from the original and is believed to be practically identical with it.

A comparison of the texts of these plates shows some variations and slight inaccuracies in orthography. The artist, Paul



HALF-TONE FROM PHOTOGRAPH OF REMNANT OF LEADEN PLATE DEPOSITED
 AT THE MOUTH OF THE MUSKINGUM.

L'AN 1749 DV REGNE DE LOVIS XV ROY
 DE FRANCE NOVS CELORON COMMANDANT D'VN
 DETACHMENT ENVOIE PAR MONSIEVR LE MIS
 DE LA GALISSONIERE, COMMANDANT GENERAL
 DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE POVR RETABLIR
 LA TRANQVILLITE DANS QUELQUES VILLAGES
 SAUVAGES DE CES CANTONS AVONS ENTERRE
 CETTE PLAQUE A L'ENTREE DE LA RIVIERE YENANGUE
 KOUAN LE 15 AOUT PRES DE LA RIVIERE OYO
 AUTREMENT BELLE RIVIERE, POVR
 MONVMENT DV RENOVVELLEMENT DE POSSESSION
 QUE NOVS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE
 RIVIERE OYO, ET DE TOVTES CELLES QUI
 Y TOMBENT, ET DE TOVTES LES TERRES
 DES DEUX COTES JUSQUE AVX SOVRCES
 DES DITTES RIVIERES AINSI QU'EN ONT
 JOVY OV DV JOVIR LES PRECEDENS ROYS
 DE FRANCE, ET QU'ILS S'Y SONT MAINTENVS
 PAR LES ARMES ET PAR LES TRAITTES,
 SPECIALEMENT PAR CEVX DE RISVICK
 D'UTRECHT ET D'AIK LA CHAPELLE

de Brosse. Like Celoron himself, had evidently not taken first prize in spelling words of his native tongue and was somewhat careless as the variations in the texts of the inscriptions indicate. Mr. Marshall in his paper, page 442, tells us how Caleb Atwater, Governor Clinton and others were led for years to suppose that the leaden plate found at the mouth of the Muskingum had originally been buried at the mouth of French Creek on the site of the old Indian village, Venango. They were led to this conclusion by the similarity of the words "Yenangue" and "Venango." The fact is, as the Journal of Celoron shows, that "Yenangue" is only part of the name of the river, the concluding portion of which, "kouan" undoubtedly was carried over to the beginning of the next line, completing the word "Yenanguekuan" the name given to what is now the Muskingum River.

The circumstances under which this plate was discovered are stated on a succeeding page and more fully in Hildreth's *Flower History of the Ohio Valley* pages 19 and 20. The names of the boys who discovered the plate are not given. In *The Oiden Time*, Vol. 3, pages 238-241, is published an account of the discovery of the plate at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. This plate was found by "a little son of J. W. Beale, while playing on the margin of the river." The writer in *The Oiden Time* makes the following comment on the inscription of this plate:

"The French is none of the purest, and the accents, apostrophes, and punctuation are wanting, except that the circumflex is placed over the initial O in Oyo the first time that word occurs, while the I's, though capitals, are invariably dotted, and the Q's are of the old black letter form, like a P reversed."

CELERON'S JOURNAL

Continued from page 377.

The 9th of October, I set out from the lower part of the Narrows and came to pass the night at Point Pelee. During our voyage across Lake Erie nothing happened worth mentioning. On the 19th I arrived at Niagara, where I was delayed three days from stress of weather. The 22d I set out from Niagara for the southern part of Lake Ontario, so as to pass that way to Fort Frontenac. It took me fourteen days to sail over this lake, and many of my canoes were broken by the violence of the winds. On the 6th of November I arrived at the fort.

The 7th of November I set out from Fort Frontenac and passed by the establishment of M. Piquette.* I had received orders from M. the Marquis de la Galissiere to notice how many deserted during my expedition. I did not find any more desert than when I was passing there in the beginning of July. His (M. Piquette's) fort was burned after his departure for Montreal, by some Indians who are believed to have been sent by the English at Chouéquin. A granary stocked with hay was also burned, and a sort of a redoubt which stood in the angle of the bastion was saved, although it was set on fire on different occasions.

There were but three men on guard at this fort, one of whom had lost his arm by a gun exploding in his hand whilst firing on those who were setting the place on fire. I made inquiries as to whether it was known which nation it was that had perpetrated this act, and I was told that it was two Chouéquin,[†] who had passed the summer with M. Piquette, and who had been hired by the English to take away his negro from him. I set out and came to pass the night at the foot of the Rapids.

The 10th of November, I arrived at Montreal where I stayed two days. I went down to Québec to render an account

*. †. See page 391.

of my expedition to M. the Marquis de la Jonquiere.⁸⁴ I felt happy enough, notwithstanding the fatigues of the campaign, the poor diet, and the number of sick, to have lost (only) one man, who was drowned in the shipwreck of M. Dejonquiere. I was happy too in the esteem of Father Bonnecamp, a Jesuit and great mathematician, who paid very great attention to the route. The journey is twelve hundred leagues. I was still more happy in my own esteem and in that of the officers of the detachment. All that I can say is, that the nations of these localities are very badly disposed towards the French, and are entirely devoted to the English. I do not know in what way they could be brought back. If violence were to be used, they would be notified of it, and would take to flight. They find a great refuge with the Flat-Heads,⁸⁵ from whom they are not very distant. If our traders were sent there for traffic, they could not sell their merchandise at the same price as the English sell theirs, on account of the many expenses they would be obliged to incur. Moreover, I think it would be dangerous to make any easier conditions with the nations who inhabit the Beautiful River, than those made at the other posts. Detroit, Miamis, and the rest would abandon our ancient posts and perpetuate the nations on the Beautiful River, who are within the grasp of the English government. However, some persons have been sent there these last years; but there were fewer English then, and they had not so much credit as they have to-day; and, if the French traders will tell the truth, they will agree that their profits will prove just as trade made with the English by the exchange of furs. The raccoons, the otters and the pecos⁸⁶ command a very low price in England, while with us they are very high; and, besides, only these furs are known to come from that quarter, but never beavers, this last is given in exchange to the English. A solid establishment would be useful in the colony, but there are a great many inconveniences in being able to sustain it, on the score of the difficulties of the ways for transporting provisions and the other suitable requisites. I am in doubt as to the feasibility of the undertaking without incurring enormous expenses. I feel myself obliged on account of the knowledge

⁸⁴, ⁸⁵, ⁸⁶. See page 391.

I have acquired of all these places, to put these reflections at the end of my *journal*, so that one may make use of them as he shall judge proper.

Signed,

CELORON.

Copy of the Summons served on the English of the Beautiful River :

We, Celoron, Captain, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Commander of a detachment sent by order of M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor-General of New France, have summoned the English traders who were in an Indian village, situated on the Beautiful River, to withdraw into their own country with their effects and baggage, under penalty of being treated as smugglers in case of refusal, to which summons the said English traders responded—that they were going to withdraw into their own country with their effects. Made in this, our camp of the Beautiful River.

Copy,

LECIONQUIERE,⁸⁷
T. S. V. P. (or B.)

⁸⁷. See page 392.

**THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**

SOCIETY BUILDING,
COLUMBUS, OHIO,
December 15, 1920,
9:30 A. M.

Pursuant to a call issued December 10, 1920, the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society met in annual session at the Museum and Library Building.

The meeting was called to order by President Campbell.

The following members were present:

G. Frederick Wright,	James E. Campbell,
Daniel J. Ryan,	B. F. Prince,
Waldo C. Moore,	W. H. Cole,
W. O. Thompson,	George F. Bareis,
E. F. Wood,	Van A. Snider,
J. Warren Keifer,	H. C. Shetrone,
Fred Palmer Hills,	W. F. Felch,
George F. Smythe,	Dr. Wm. H. Harper,
L. S. Sullivant,	W. L. Curry,
J. S. Roof,	Frank Henry Howe,
George F. Waters, Jr.,	R. C. Baker,
Daniel Hosmer Gard,	R. S. Dunlap,
W. H. Scott,	Frank Tallmadge,
Fred J. Heer,	Theodore Leonard,
C. B. Galbreath,	W. C. Mills.
C. W. Justice,	

Mr. Ryan moved that the President of the Society act as chairman of the meeting of the members; seconded by Mr. Heer; carried.

PRESIDENT CAMPBELL: I have no report to make. The various reports of committees will be exceedingly interesting.

and will disclose the fact that we have made some great strides this year. I think special mention should be made of the fact that the *Columbus Dispatch* contributed more than sixteen hundred dollars for the opening up of the Mound City Group of mounds, wherein were found some wonderful archaeological specimens and important discoveries were made. It did this so quietly that even I, though nominally the titular head of this Society, never heard of it until a week ago. I think when any one is so willing to assist in a cause, and ask no more credit than that, some one should say something in commendation. [Applause.]

Mr. Bareis moved that the usual custom be followed, and the Secretary of the Society act as Secretary of the meeting. Carried.

President Campbell stated that the terms of three of the Society's Directors have expired, and a vacancy exists, caused by the death of Mr. L. P. Schaus. The Trustees whose terms expire are Dr. Wright, Dr. Thompson and Colonel Hayes.

Mr. Bareis moved, and it was seconded, that the chair appoint a committee on nominations to recommend candidates for these positions. Carried.

President Campbell appointed Messrs. George F. Bareis, Theodore Leonard and W. L. Curry as the committee on nominations.

Secretary Galbreath read the

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

which follows:

"It is the duty of your secretary at this meeting to report generally the work of the Society for the period since the last annual meeting which was held August 21, 1919. This includes a little less than four months of the service of his predecessor and about three months during which a vacancy existed in the office he now holds. Fortunately, however, a careful record had been kept up to the time of his election, March 16, 1920, and the materials are at hand for a complete report for the time intervening since the last annual meeting.

"A meeting of the trustees was held December 2, 1919, at which was considered the proposition of Colonel Webb C. Hayes to provide a fund for the erection of an addition to the Hayes

Memorial Library and Museum. At this meeting Mr. Wood called attention to the action of the Society at its previous annual meeting, 'authorizing the finance committee not only to prepare the budget hereafter, but also to stand back of it with the general assembly.'

"On December 15, 1919, an agreement was entered into by the President and Treasurer of the Society with Colonel and Mrs. Webb C. Hayes creating the Spiegel Grove Building Fund.

"On December 18, 1919, the finance committee was called together by the death of the Secretary, Emilius Oviatt Randall. Arrangements were made to attend the funeral in a body and all gave expressions of respect and esteem for Mr. Randall and regret for the irreparable loss to the Society in his death.

"On January 5, 1920, a meeting of the finance committee was held to consider a request from the joint legislative committee on salaries for suggestions as to what increases were desired for the employes of the Society. A schedule of increases in salaries was discussed and agreed upon. President Campbell requested the members of the finance committee to meet January 6th for the purpose of appearing before the joint committee of the general assembly on salary increases.'

"On February 11, 1920, Governor Cox appointed Honorable James E. Campbell and William P. Palmer trustees of the Society for the term ending February 18, 1922; and Mr. Claude Meeker for the term ending February 18, 1923, to succeed the late E. O. Randall.

"On March 1, 1920, the finance committee met and called a meeting of the trustees of the Society for March 16, 1920, President Campbell announced appointments on various standing committees to fill vacancies occasioned by the death of Honorable E. O. Randall.

"At the special meeting of the trustees, March 16, 1920, C. B. Galbreath was elected Secretary of the Society to fill the vacancy created by the death of Mr. Randall. The reprint of the publications of the Society and affiliation with other historical societies of the state were considered and referred respectively to the committee on publications and Dr. Mills. One hundred and fourteen new members were elected to the Society.

"The April number of the QUARTERLY is the Society's tribute to the memory of Emilius Oviatt Randall.

"At a meeting of the finance committee held June 7, 1920, the secretary was requested to publish a guide book to Fort Ancient prepared by Dr. William C. Mills. At this meeting Dr. Mills was authorized to attend the conference of museum directors at Washington, D. C.

"A meeting of the finance committee was held November 3, 1920, to prepare and submit to the state budget commissioner requests for appropriations for the two years ending June 30, 1923. After a careful consideration of the estimates filed by the heads of departments and chairmen of the various committees, the finance committee agreed upon a budget and directed the secretary to submit the same with sustaining statements prepared by himself in accord with the conclusions reached by the finance committee. This the secretary did and the results in printed form are in your hands.

"A meeting of the board of trustees was held at Spiegel Grove, October 4, 1920, the 98th anniversary of the birth of President Rutherford B. Hayes. At this meeting resolutions were adopted expressing appreciation of the generosity of Colonel Webb C. Hayes in transferring to the state Spiegel Grove Park and providing for maintenance of the property and the library as a perpetual memorial to his father. At a large public meeting held in the afternoon under the auspices of the Society, President James E. Campbell gave in an address a complete statement of the gifts of Colonel Hayes to the state. This is presented in full in the account of the meeting published in the October QUARTERLY. A summary paragraph of Governor Campbell's address indicates the magnitude of the gift to the state:

"On July 1st of last year Colonel Hayes placed \$100,000 in trust to be used in the maintenance and upbuilding of this patriotic memorial. I am within a conservative estimate when I state that Colonel Hayes has disposed, for the benefit of posterity, in the form of the beautiful and attractive property which you see before you, at least \$500,000; \$250,000 in cash and securities for endowment funds and \$250,000 in real estate and personal property including the library of Americana and collections.

"This summary of the work of the Society to date will be supplemented by the program for the afternoon detailing the notable gifts that are formally presented as the crowning achievements of the year. The splendid contribution by Governor Cox of the money held in trust by him; the generous gift of Mr. Meeker in the presentation of the best privately owned library of Ohioana in the state; the two notable gifts by Mr. Kettering that link his name with the most generous donors to our Society; the transfer of the papers and relics of John Brown to the keeping of the state in which he grew up to manhood and in which his valiant sons with a single exception were born; and

the presentation of a cane with a story and a safe reminiscent of colonial banking days by Mr. Deshler, certainly signalize a most successful and notable year in the history of our Society.

"It should be remembered in this connection that a steady stream of other valuable gifts is constantly flowing in and that a public spirit never before manifest is developing for the up-building of this institution.

"Here are gathered mementoes of the Civil War and the war with Spain. Hither are coming manuscripts, letters, personal reminiscences, accounts of voyages, expeditions and campaigns, thrilling narratives of heroic service in the camps and battlefields of foreign soil and all that goes to form the basis of an enduring memorial to Ohio's sons who followed the flag in the World War.

"Here, with a few felicitations, I might close. Something remains to be said, however, in regard to the work which was especially assigned to your secretary at the time of his appointment.

LIBRARY WORK AND POLICY

"He is expected to act not only as secretary, but as editor and librarian. The most important work that he has done, and the work that makes the least show, has been done under his direction by his faithful and industrious assistant in the library. On the 16th day of last March hundreds of books were waiting some one to bring the key to open the mysteries of Dewy's decimal system of cataloging. For more than a year no printed cards had come from the library of Congress, not even for the publications of our own Society. An order was at once sent for a thousand cards analyzing these publications. Promptly afterwards three thousand cards were ordered for the reports of the American historical association. The enthusiastic interest of our assistant librarian made it easy to unlock the mysteries of Dewy's decimals. The four thousand cards were promptly marked and filed in our catalogue to guide patrons and assistants to the contents of these two important historical sets. About as many more cards have been purchased and used for other works that were in waiting and the deck will soon be cleared to handle additions as they are received. So satisfactorily is the work in this department progressing that even now your secretary is seldom called to look after details. Of course, thousands of books that are coming to the library as gifts and the thousands that we hope to be authorized to purchase before the close of another year will make additional help necessary. As our ability to meet requests of patrons increases and becomes known, additional trained service will be demanded.

"In this connection mention should also be made of our faithful assistant who presides at the typewriter, always at her post and ready to answer the call to duty.

"Your secretary, on entering upon his duties, was promptly made conscious of the fact that this Society has two libraries, one in Columbus and one at Spiegel Grove. For the purchase of books for the latter a trust fund of \$50,000 has been created and this in time, I am advised, may reach \$100,000. The interest on this fund means an income for books alone amounting to from \$2,500 to \$5,000 annually. How is this money to be expended? What are to be the relations of these two libraries?

"The problem presented by this situation is important. Its solution has already been long deferred. A critic has said, 'The Spiegel Grove Library will become an elephant on your hands.' It is our business to prevent that. The solution of the problem demands patience and a consistent, continuous library policy. Some duplication will be necessary but the two libraries must be made to supplement each other. The Spiegel Grove Library with a perpetual income for the purchase of books offers an opportunity which this Society must realize to the full limit. With the rare library of President Hayes as a nucleus, a collection of especially selected books that need not be duplicated here may be purchased for the Spiegel Grove Library, and the combination of the two may be made to serve efficiently the needs of students and historians of our own state or those that come from other states to consult our library resources. What is imperatively needed at Spiegel Grove is a trained librarian to direct the work in harmony with the joint policy of the two libraries.

"Additions to the library here should be made with reference, first of all to present needs, and next to an enlarged program for the future. Many of the volumes that are received as gifts and that might not now be properly placed on the shelves may be required in the expanding demands of the future.

COLLECTION OF NEWSPAPERS

"In the two libraries of this Society should be placed at an early day all the valuable manuscript collections in the possession of the state. Here should also be gathered, as soon as room can be provided, the bound newspapers belonging to the state and the Society. A room equipped for prompt access to newspaper files would be as thoroughly appreciated by newspaper correspondents and students as are the neat and orderly rooms where relics are now displayed with labels explaining each. Now as never before there is need for such service and

most fortunate will be this institution if it is enabled to provide such a room.

"What shall be our policy relative to the collection and binding of newspapers? Will it be wise to attempt to keep on file and in bound form all the papers of the state? If not, where shall the limit be fixed? These are questions that may well be pondered before an inflexible policy is adopted.

"In the meantime, we should accept bound files of Ohio newspapers whenever they may be had, especially those covering early periods of our history. In 1850 a law was enacted by our general assembly requiring county commissioners to 'subscribe for one copy of the leading newspapers of each political party, printed and published in their county, and cause them to be bound and filed in the auditor's office as public archives, for the gratuitous inspection of the citizen of such county.' That law is still in full force and it is presumed that it is generally complied with. As a result files of newspapers have accumulated in the court houses of the various counties of the state, except where they have been destroyed by fire in such depository. Not infrequently they have been stowed away in the attic of the court house where they are rarely or never consulted.

"If a law were enacted authorizing some designated officer in each county, for a nominal fee and with the approval of the county commissioners, to transfer these files to the library of our Society with the understanding that officers and citizens of said county, under specified conditions, should be furnished on request typewritten or photostat copies of any desired article or extract from such files, it is believed that many counties in time would send their files to the library of this Society. With modern agencies for service, such papers in most instances could be more readily consulted, even by citizens of the county in which they were published, from this library than from the loft of the county court house. The Library of Congress photostats an entire newspaper page for 75 cents. The same thing could be done in Columbus.

"Our library is now a subscriber to a newspaper clipping bureau. The clippings are carefully assorted and those of value will be securely and permanently bound in scrap books with typewritten indexes.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

"In spite of an effort to get out the QUARTERLY on time its appearance has been delayed beyond a month of its nominal publication. Other Societies seem to have the same difficulty. One of the most carefully edited and valuable publications which

comes to our table is now over one year behind time, the last issue, which was received within the past week, bearing the date of April, 1919. This, however, is not a sufficient excuse for our delay. An earnest effort will be made to publish more promptly and your secretary feels that he can assure you that the April Number will appear on time. So much cannot be promised for the coming January number, although we hope to have it in the mails before the close of that month.

"The distribution of the publications of the Society, like our two libraries, must have a definite, fixed policy. The frequent republications of bound volumes of the *QUARTERLY* for gratuitous distribution by the general assembly is likely to be criticized as was the similar publication and distribution of Howe's Historical Collections. It may become even more embarrassing. Frequent requests come to this office for volumes to complete sets given away years ago. Those who were so fortunate to get these free evidently think that they should have the following volumes as issued without paying anything for them—a somewhat illogical but perfectly natural conclusion.

"Of course, volumes should always be available to complete sets by purchase, and for educational purposes the following limited gratuitous distribution is suggested:

- "1. Send the quarterly to every college and every free tax supported library in the state that is regularly open under the care of a librarian.
- "2. Send regularly to all such libraries each year the bound volumes of the *QUARTERLY*.
- "3. Send with each issue and each bound volume a card acknowledging receipt and require the return of the card duly signed as the only formality necessary to insure continued sending of the publications free of charge.

"With each issue might properly be sent, for insertion in local papers, a news item giving a very brief synopsis of the contents of the number and stating that it could be had at the library. Such a policy would be in harmony with the purposes of this Society and would bring our work into closer contact with the educational forces of the state.

"With the library of President Hayes, came his carefully preserved diary and correspondence covering the period of his life from his school days to his latest year. His biographer, Professor Charles R. Williams, of Princeton College, is arranging these papers for publication in a series as nearly as

possible identical in style with the two very creditable volumes of the life of President Hayes already published. As soon as the first volume of the proposed series of diary and letters is in the press, Colonel Webb C. Hayes proposes to present to the Society the remaining copies of the life already published and the plates, illustrations and everything necessary to reproduce the two volumes at the nominal cost of press work and binding. It is the purpose of your appropriate committee to commence the proposed publication as soon as Professor Williams furnishes the edited copy.

"A survey of our requests filed with the state budget commissioner may leave the impression that a very generous increase in expenditures is contemplated, but this is only apparent. The Society is adding every year to the tangible, substantial property of the state more than it gets from the public treasury, to say nothing of the educational service that it performs. It is winning the attention and confidence of the public and if the state will do but approximately what other states are doing this institution will soon become a vast treasury of source materials from which will be written the incomparable history of Ohio.

"The legislature of Wisconsin, at an initial expenditure of \$650,000, erected a building for her Historical Society and Library. Minnesota appropriated \$500,000 for a similar purpose and in May, 1918, opened her splendid new building to the public. Illinois has taken steps to expend an even larger sum for a building, while a wealthy citizen of the little state of New Hampshire, with patriotic vision and state pride, has given \$650,000 for a state Historical Building. Ohio has made a creditable start with an appropriation of \$100,000, wisely and economically expended in the erection of this building—the vestibule of the larger structure yet to be. If we have faith in our proclaimed eminence among the sisterhood of states and appreciation of the lessons that our history should teach, here at the gateway to our great university will rise a living monument that shall eloquently speak of the prestige and power and glory of the Buckeye state."

Mr. Wood moved that the report be received, and not only made a part of the proceedings, but also be published. Seconded. Carried.

Dr. W. O. Thompson stated he thought the assistants mentioned in the report should be named, and Mr. Galbreath stated that the assistants mentioned are Miss Helen Mills and Miss Margaret Fry.

MR. FRANK TALLMADGE: I am here to make two presentations. I desire to say that Mr. Booth, of the Logan Elm Committee, is not present, being out of the city. He was to have been here. He is responsible for a little enterprise in the way of preparing souvenirs from two dead limbs cut from the Logan Elm last September. Mr. Booth is under the impression, I guess, that we have a very disorderly meeting here, and that it is necessary that order be preserved. In the name of the Logan Elm Committee I am presenting to Governor Campbell, our President, to be his personal property, a gavel made from a limb of the Logan Elm. To The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society I present another gavel, a larger one, for sometimes it is necessary to preserve order in the absence of our President. (Applause.)

MR. BAREIS: Your Committee on Nominations beg leave to report the following: To fill the vacancies caused by the expiration of the terms of three of our trustees we nominate Dr. G. Frederick Wright, Dr. W. O. Thompson and Colonel Webb C. Hayes; to fill the vacancy caused by the death of L. P. Schaus we present the name of Arthur C. Johnson, editor of the *Columbus Dispatch*. I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of this Society for these nominees. The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Galbreath thereupon cast the ballot of the Society for Messrs. G. Frederick Wright, W. O. Thompson and Webb C. Hayes for membership on the Board of Trustees, full terms, and for Mr. Arthur C. Johnson to fill the unexpired term of L. P. Schaus. Messrs. Wright, Thompson, Hayes and Johnson were duly declared elected.

President Campbell stated that the Finance Committee will make no report, since the reports of the Treasurer and Auditor will thoroughly cover the work of that Committee.

Mr. E. F. Wood read the

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR
ENDING JUNE 30, 1920.

RECEIPTS.

Cash on Hand July 1, 1919.....	\$4,914 02
Life Membership Dues.....	2,910 00

Active Membership Dues.....	100 00
Interest on Permanent Fund	793 03
Books sold	166 23
Subscriptions	18 50
Interest	200 00
Refund by C. B. Galbreath.....	208 32
Refund of Insurance	32 36
From State Treasurer on Sundry Appropriations.....	21,327 29

Total Receipts \$30,699 75

DISBURSEMENTS.

Wages	\$100 00
Salaries	15,485 29
Publications	1,792 28
Museum Equipment	127 77
Light, Heat & Power	842 20
Express, Freight and Drayage.....	70 62
Expense of Trustees	331 31
Telephones	104 25
Sundry Expenses	62 03
Field Work	500 00
Logan Elm Park.....	65 46
Serpent Mound Park	55 67
Fort Ancient Park	129 92
Hayes Memorial Library Bldg.	889 20
Office Supplies	267 20
Library Equipment	544 74
Water	93 60
Repairs	28 95
General Plant Supplies	256 82
Exhibition Cases	57 35
Transferred to Permanent Fund.....	3,735 00
Cash on Hand July 1, 1920.....	5,157 09

Total \$30,699 75

The Permanent Fund of the Society on July 1, 1920,
amounted to the sum of..... 18,510 00

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) E. F. Wood,
Treasurer.

Mr. Wood then read the Report of the Auditors, as follows:

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, August 16, 1920.

MR. C. B. GALBREATH, *Secretary,*
The Ohio State Archaeological
and Historical Society,
Columbus, Ohio.

DEAR SIR:—

Pursuant to the request of Mr. E. F. Wood, Treasurer of your Society, we have completed our annual audit of the books of account for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1920, and herewith present our report with schedules supporting same.

The Balance of the current fund at July 1, 1919 was.....	\$4,914 02
The cash receipts for the year were.....	\$4,458 44
And the appropriations paid by the Treasurer of State amounted to.....	21,327 29

Total	\$25,785 73
-------------	-------------

The disbursements for the year including amount transferred to permanent fund and payments by State Treasurer aggregated.....	25,542 66
An excess of Receipts over Disbursements of.....	243 07

Leaving a Balance in Current Fund at June 30, 1920 of.....	\$5,157 09
--	------------

The above balance of current fund is composed of the following:—

Capital City Bank — Checking Account.....	\$1,057 09
Certificates of Deposits:	
Ohio State Savings Association No. 74627.....	2,000 00
Ohio State Savings Association No. 81056.....	2,000 00
Savings Account No. 81700 Ohio State Savings Association	100 00
Total as above.....	\$5,157 09

Your Permanent Fund is composed of Certificate of Deposit No. 83652 for	\$18,510 00
Balance July 1, 1919 was.....	14,775 00
Increase for year of.....	\$3,735 00

The above increase was made up of receipts during the year as follows:-

Life Membership Dues.....	\$2,940 00	
Interest Permanent Funds.....	793 03	
Transfer from Current Funds.....	1 97	
		<hr/>
Total as above.....		\$3,735 00
The Society's Property Investment shows a balance of.....	\$568,450 02	
Balance June 30, 1919 was.....	567,701 61	
		<hr/>
Increase of		\$748 41
The above increase represents purchases during the year of:		
Buildings (Improvements)	\$18 55	
Library and Museum Equipment.....	458 26	
Books	271 60	
		<hr/>
		\$748 41

The vouchers covering the disbursements were examined and found to be correct. Checks drawn against current funds were examined and the cash balance has been reconciled with the bank balance as shown on page (4).

Journal entries covering increase to Society's property investment are found on page (6) and we would suggest that proper ledger accounts be opened and posted with entries submitted with this and our reports of 1918 and 1919.

The books of account were found to be in their usual neat and accurate condition.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) W. D. WALL,
Certified Public Accountant.

BALANCE SHEET AS AT JUNE 30, 1920.

ASSETS.

Cash:

Checking Account	\$1,057 00	
Savings Account	100 00	
		<hr/>
		\$1,157 00

Certificate of Deposit:

Current Fund	4,000 00	
Permanent Fund	18,510 00	
		<hr/>
		22,510 00.

Real Estate:			
Land		197,619 92	
Buildings and Structures:			
Balance June 30, 1919.....	\$186,366 00		
Additions during Year.....	18 55	186,378 55	
			294,019 47
Equipment and Exhibits:			
House Furniture and Fixtures.....		32,347 00	
Library and Museum Equipment:			
Balance June 30, 1919.....	\$30,425 11		
Additions During Year.....	458 26		
		30,883 37	
Archæological and Historical Exhibits.....		180,050 00	
Books:			
Balance June 30, 1919.....	28,528 58		
Additions During Year.....	271 60		
		28,800 18	
Paintings		2,000 00	
Automobile		350 00	
			274,130 55
			<hr/>
			\$592,117 11

CONTRA.

Current Fund—E. F. Wood, Treasurer.....		\$3,157 09
Advance by Minna Tupper Nye for Retaining Wall.....		2,000 00
Permanent Fund Invested.....		18,510 00
Society's Property Investment.....		568,450 02
		<hr/>
		\$592,117 11

POST CLOSING TRIAL BALANCE AS AT JUNE 30, 1920.

State Treasurer		\$16,416 30
E. F. Wood, Treasurer.....		5,157 09
Cash		\$5,157 09
Superintendent of Buildings.....A-1		208 33
Investments	18,510 00	
Permanent Fund		18,510 00
Office Supplies	C-4	28 80
General Plant Supplies.....C-11		17
Library Equipment	G-31	1 21
Museum Equipment	G-31	475 00
Capital Equipment	G-31	112 65
Miscellaneous	G-32	224 44

Light, Heat and Power.....	F-4	62 30
Publications	F-9	1,207 72
Freight, Express and Drayage.....	F-5	80 87
Contingencies	F-8	20 47
Field Work	F-9	45
Repairs	F-1	56
Watchman	F-1	813 88
Reprinting and Publications.....	F-9	13,000 00
Additions and Betterments.....	G-2	143 45
		<hr/>
		\$40,077 39 \$40,077 39

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR
YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1930.

Balance July 1, 1919..... \$4,914 02

RECEIPTS.

Life Membership Dues.....	\$2,940 00
Active Membership Dues.....	100 00
Books sold	166 23
Subscriptions	18 50
Interest Permanent Fund.....	793 03
Interest Current Fund.....	200 00
	<hr/>
	993 03
Refund on Insurance.....	32 36
Refund on Salaries.....	208 32
	<hr/>
	\$4,458 44

From State Treasurer on Appropriations..... 21,327 29

25,785 73

\$30,699 75

DISBURSEMENTS.

Transferred to Permanent Fund..... \$3,735 00

Care and Improvements:

Logan Elm Park.....	\$65 46
Serpent Mound Park.....	55 67
Fort Ancient Park.....	120 92
	<hr/>
	251 05

Salaries

15,485 29

Supplies:

Office	\$267 20
General Plant	256 82
	<hr/>
	524 02

524 02

Publications	1,792 28	
Library Equipment	544 74	
Museum Equipment	127 77	
Repairs and Upkeep of Buildings.....	28 95	
Water Rentals	93 00	
Light, Heat and Power.....	842 20	
Express, Freight and Drayage.....	70 62	
Expenses of Trustees and Committees.....	334 41	
Telephone Rentals	104 25	
Sundry Expense:		
Auditing	\$35 00	
Bond Premium	15 00	
Telegrams	3 78	
Miscellaneous	8 25	
	<hr/>	62 03
Field Work	500 00	
Hayes Memorial Building:		
Repairs	889 20	
Exhibition Cases	57 35	
Wages	100 00	
	<hr/>	25,542 66
Balance on Hand June 30, 1920.....		\$5,157 09

BANK RECONCILIATION AS AT JUNE 30, 1920.

Balance as per Pass Book Capital City Bank Dated July 7, 1920		\$1,129 56
Less Outstanding Checks:		
Check No. 2282.....	\$8 00	
Check No. 2309.....	25 00	
Check No. 2313.....	12 50	
Check No. 2314.....	25 00	
Check No. 2315.....	1 97	
	<hr/>	72 47
Total in Checking Account.....		\$1,057 09
Certificates of Deposit:—		
No. 74627—January 1, 1918.....	\$2,000 00	
No. 81056—April 14, 1919.....	2,000 00	
	<hr/>	4,000 00
Savings Account No. 81700.....		100 00
	<hr/>	
Balance as per Ledger.....		\$5,157 09

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR YEAR ENDED JUNE
30, 1920.

<i>New</i> <i>Code.</i>	<i>Old</i> <i>Code.</i>	<i>July 1,</i> <i>1919.</i>	<i>Amount Ap- propriated During Year.</i>
Personal Service:			
A-1	Salaries		\$16,395 00
Personal Service:			
A-2	Wages		100 00
C—Supplies:			
C-4	Office Supplies	\$0 11	300 00
C—Supplies:			
C-II	General Plant Supplies.....	1 92	175 00
F-1	Repairs		900 00
F-3	Water	106 76	90 00
F-4	Light, Heat and Power.....	1,243 94	900 00
F-5	Express, Freight and Drayage..		150 00
F-6	Traveling Expense	96 78	250 00
F-7	Communication	32 60	93 00
F-8	Contingencies		50 00
F-9	General Plant Service:		
	Publications	4 00	3,000 00
	Explorations and Field Work	73	500 00
	Republishing Reports		13,000 00
G—Additions and Betterments:			
G-2	Buildings:		
	Shelter House (Serpent		
	Mound)		200 00
G-31	E-8 Museum Collections	97	500 00
G-31	E-9 Capital Equipment	6 12	500 00
G-31	Exhibition Cases		200 00
G-32	Other Capital Outlay.....		300 00
E-2	Household	4 00	
G-3	Gateway	40	
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		\$1,498 33	\$37,603 00

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR YEAR ENDED JUNE
30, 1920.

<i>New</i> <i>Code.</i>	<i>Old</i> <i>Code.</i>	<i>Transfer of Funds.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Personal Service:			
A-1	Salaries		\$16,395 00
Personal Service:			
A-2	Wages		100 00

C—Supplies:			
C-4	Office Supplies	\$20 99	321 10
C—Supplies:			
C-11	General Plant Supplies.....		176 92
F-1	Repairs		900 00
F-3	Water		196 76
F-4	Light, Heat and Power.....	123 50	2,020 44
F-5	Freight, Express and Drayage...		150 00
F-6	Traveling Expense		316 78
F-7	Communication		125 60
F-8	Contingencies		50 00
F-9	General Plant Service:		
	Publications		3,004 00
	Exploration and Field Work,		500 73
	Republishing Reports		13,000 00
G—Additions and Betterments:			
G-2	Buildings:		
	Shelter House (Serpent		
	Mound)		200 00
G-31 E-8	Museum Collections	78 50	579 47
G-31 E-9	Capital Equipment.....	24 01	530 13
G-31	Exhibition Cases		200 00
G-32	Other Capital Outlay.....		300 00
E-2	Household		4 00
G-3	Gateway		40
			\$39,101 33

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR YEAR ENDED
JUNE 30, 1920.

		<i>Cash Drawn</i>	
<i>New</i>	<i>Old</i>	<i>From State</i>	<i>Balance</i>
<i>Code.</i>	<i>Code.</i>	<i>Treasury.</i>	<i>Lapsed.</i>
Personal Service:			
A-1	Salaries	\$15,372 79	.....
Personal Service:			
A-2	Wages	100 00	.....
C—Supplies:			
C-4	Office Supplies	292 19	\$0 11
C-11	General Plant Supplies.....	174 83	1 92
F-1	Repairs	899 41	.....
F-3	Water	93 60	103 16
F-4	Light, Heat and Power.....	837 70	1,120 44
F-5	Freight, Express and Drayage..	69 13	.....
F-6	Traveling Expense	251 99	94 79

F-7	Communication	93 00	32 60
F-8	Contingencies	29 53	.....
F-9	General Plant Service:		
	Publications	1,792 28	4 00
	Exploration and Field Work....	499 55	73
	Republishing Reports .....	.....	.....
G—Additions and Betterments:			
G-2	Buildings:		
	Shelter House (Serpent		
	Mound)	56 55	.....
G-31 E-8	Museum Collections	103 50	97
G-31 E-9	Capital Equipment	528 30	62
G-31	Exhibition Cases	57 35	.....
G-32	Other Capital Outlay.....	75 56	.....
E-2	Household .....	.....	4 00
G-3	Gateway .....	.....	40
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		\$21,327 29	\$1,363 74

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR YEAR ENDED JUNE
30, 1920.

	<i>New</i>	<i>Old</i>	<i>Total De-</i>	<i>Balance</i>
	<i>Code.</i>	<i>Code.</i>	<i>ductions.</i>	<i>June 30,</i>
				<i>1920.</i>
Personal Service:				
A-1	Salaries		\$15,372 79	\$1,022 21
Personal Service:				
A-2	Wages		100 00	.....
C—Supplies:				
C-4	Office Supplies		292 30	28 80
C—Supplies:				
C-11	General Plant Supplies.....		176 75	17
F-1	Repairs		899 44	56
F-3	Water		196 76	.....
F-4	Light, Heat and Power.....		1,958 14	62 30
F-5	Freight, Express and Drayage..		69 13	80 87
F-6	Traveling Expense		346 78	.....
F-7	Communication		125 60	.....
F-8	Contingencies		29 53	20 47
F-9	General Plant Service:			
	Publications		1,796 28	1,207 72
	Exploration and Field Work.		500 28	45
	Republishing Reports .....		.....	13,000 00

G—Additions and Betterments:

G-2	Buildings:		
	Shelter House (Serpent		
	Mound)	56 55	143 45
G-31	E-8 Museum Collections	104 47	475 00
G-31	E-9 Capital Equipment	528 92	1 21
G-31	Exhibition Cases	57 35	142 65
G-32	Other Capital Outlay.....	75 56	224 44
E-2	Household	4 00	.....
G-3	Gateway	40	.....
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		\$22,691 03	\$16,410 30

JOURNAL ENTRIES NECESSARY TO RECORD INCREASE IN SOCIETY'S PERMANENT INVESTMENT FOR YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1920.

Buildings	\$18 55	
To Society's Permanent Investment.....		\$18 55

For Expenditures made during year as per vouchers as follows:

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Voucher.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>
May 26, 1920.....	1563	\$1 65
June 21, 1920.....	1587	13 90
		<hr/>
		\$18 55

Library and Museum Equipment.....	\$458 26	
Books	271 60	
To Society's Permanent Investment.....		\$729 86

For expenditures made during year and charges as follows:

<i>Ledger Page.</i>	<i>Account.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>
172	Library Equipment....	\$511 74
80	Museum Equipment....	127 77
230	Exhibition Cases.....	57 35
		<hr/>
		\$729 86

On motion of Mr. Ryan, duly seconded, the Reports of the Treasurer and Auditors were ordered received and place on file.

Mr. Ryan then read the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS,
as follows:

"No publications were issued by the Society during the past year except the annual volume and the quarterlies. The editing of the diaries and letters of Hayes, covering a period of about sixty years, has been practically completed by Mr. Charles Richard Williams, the author of the biography of Rutherford B. Hayes, and I think the coming year will see them published."

The report of the committee was ordered received and placed on file.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR.

"I have the honor to submit the customary annual report of the Curator on the present condition of the museum as well as the operations and activities during the past year.

"The Committee on Museum has not been able to hold a meeting on account of the lack of funds to bring this committee together. The Chairman has endeavored to keep the members posted concerning the activities of the Museum. We hope next year to have sufficient funds to bring together the Museum Committee at least three or four times for consultation.

"The visitors to the museum have greatly increased, many come during the morning hours of week days, but Sunday afternoon seems to be a popular time for Sunday School Teachers to bring their classes for a visit to the museum. We have been doing much to help visitors by supplying the necessary descriptive labels. We feel if an object is valuable it should be well displayed with an appropriate label. The public schools of the city and surrounding country are using the museum for class study. The interest of children in the museum is of great educational value. We have encouraged them to come, and many times I have been gratified to see children acting as guides and showing their parents through the halls.

"PRESENT CONDITION OF THE MUSEUM.

"During the year we have been compelled to store in part several excellent collections. Our exhibition rooms are now becoming overcrowded with cases and the cases themselves overcrowded with specimens. In the Historical Hall on the first floor was installed a display case purchased from the Board of Administration. This case is very large, being 17 feet long, 4 feet wide and 7 feet high. We have installed in this case the Martha

L. Taylor collection of Navajo blankets. This collection of blankets was collected by Miss Taylor during many years of travel in the Navajo country and represents the highest art in Navajo weaving. The John Brown relics are also installed in this case as well as the Galbreath world war collection. However, this is not a commendable installation, ethnological specimens and war relics in the same case.

"In the south Archæological Hall, second floor, have been installed two new cases each 12 feet long, 4 feet wide and 5 feet high. In one has been placed the Kettering collection from Montgomery county and in the other the William B. Mills collection and the William E. Evans collection both for the most part from Ross county.

"EXPLORATION WORK OF THE SOCIETY.

"Permission to explore the old Mound City Group was secured by the Society from the War Department through General Sturges, Commanding Officer at Camp Sherman. This matter was presented to the Finance Committee of the Legislature and funds were requested to make the explorations. For some reason the amount asked was cut to \$500 per year. This appropriation was inadequate for the undertaking of such important work and two of our life members, Mr. Robert F. Wolfe and Mr. H. E. Wolfe, through Mr. Arthur C. Johnson, Editor of the *Columbus Dispatch*, authorized the Society to draw upon him to the amount of \$2000 if necessary to carry forward this work. The Society drew upon him to the extent of \$1614.73.

"For many years the Society has been trying to secure permission to examine this group of Mounds. Recently archaeologists have manifested much interest concerning the statements of Squier and Davis in their interpretation of the use of these mounds. The work of examination is perhaps a little more than half complete and the facts revealed by the exploration thus far do not justify many statements made by Squier and Davis. When the exploration is complete the facts obtained concerning the mortuary customs of this culture of the prehistory Indian will more than repay the expense, not taking into consideration the wonderful array of artifacts taken from the burials, especially those made of native copper and silver, such as the bear and antler head dress, flying eagles, double-headed eagles, plates with double-headed eagles in repousse work, effigy pipes of birds and animals, spears of obsidian and nyaline quartz. For the most part the artifacts have been placed on exhibition in the north Archæological Hall, second floor. Another valuable and interesting feature found in the Mound City Group is the

intrusive burials representing an entirely different culture. The artifacts found with this culture have been placed on exhibition in a case adjoining the Mound City Group proper.

"I believe the exploration of the Mound City Group the most important undertaking in the history of the Society's scientific explorations. We have many such sites in Ohio and it becomes the duty of the Society to explore these and publish the results. The Society's work in the field and the building up of an archaeological museum from the results of exploration have attracted the attention of the outside world to what the Society is doing in the way of exploring and developing its antiquities.

"The National Research Council, through its division of Anthropology and Psychology, has taken steps to establish state archaeological surveys in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa and Missouri by inviting the several states through their Historical and Scientific Societies to take the matter before the legislature of their respective states and ask for funds necessary for the survey and for the issuing of an archaeological atlas 'comparable with that issued by the State of Ohio.' The research council also recommends that many of the sites may be made into state parks and again refers to what Ohio has done to preserve their antiquities and what a splendid asset the parks are to the state.

"Within the year the ground occupied by the large mound at Miamisburg, Montgomery County, Ohio, has been purchased by Mr. C. F. Kettering of Dayton and presented to the Society. Mr. Kettering anticipates parking the grounds surrounding the mound at his expense. This mound and its surroundings will be one of the most interesting of the parks or outdoor museums in possession of the Society. Mr. Kettering also acquired and presented to the Society the archaeological specimens collected by Mr. H. J. Thompson, of Dayton, Ohio—the largest representative collection of such specimens representing Montgomery county and southwestern Ohio. I consider the Thompson collection one of the best private collections in the state and we are happy to add it to our museum. The collection is now on exhibition in the south Archaeological Hall.

"The transfer of the John Brown relics to the custody of the Society is of special interest to the Historical Museum. These priceless heirlooms were presented by the granddaughter of John Brown and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Alexander.

"Mrs. Almer Hegler, of Washington C. H., presented the library of Mr. Hegler as well as many historical and archaeological specimens to augment the Hegler collection. Mr. Hegler died April, 1920. He had always taken a deep interest in the

Society. Many years ago he presented a small archaeological collection to the Society and added to this from time to time until he had build up for us a very fine and representative collection from Fayette and surrounding counties.

"Mrs. W. E. Evans and family presented the archaeological specimens, collected by the late W. E. Evans in Ross and adjoining counties.

"Other collections were secured for the museum as follows:

ACCESSIONS SINCE LAST ANNUAL MEETING:

ARCHAEOLOGICAL:

J. E. Duncan and Gilbert C. Adams, Washington C. H., each presented collections of Fayette county archaeological specimens.

J. R. Gragg, Bainbridge, presented a collection from Paint Creek Valley.

A collection of Madisonville village site material was obtained through exchange with Harvard University museum.

From Prof. Robert F. Griggs was received a collection of ethnological specimens from Katmai and other Alaskan districts.

The archaeological collection of the late W. E. Evans Chillicothe, was presented to the Museum by his widow.

A collection of Ross county specimens was secured from Henry McNeill, Frankfort, Ohio.

Mrs. Laura A. Hegler turned over to the Museum specimens to be added to the collection of her late husband, Almer Hegler.

"Others who presented archaeological specimens are: Dr. O. M. Wiseman, Zanesville; Mr. King G. Thompson, Columbus; Mr. John Seip, Chillicothe; Mr. Robert Kaiser, Columbus; Prof. A. C. Osborn, Columbus; Mr. Henry Kercher, Cleveland; Lydia Moats, Columbus; George C. Bixler, Beaver, Pa.; and Miss Clara Marks, Columbus.

HISTORICAL:

Prof. Edward Orton presented autographed photo of Wm. McKinley.

Mr. George J. Schwartz, Wooster, early bank notes.

Dr. J. M. Henderson and Dr. E. C. Mills, a collection of early dental tools.

Mrs. M. E. Rath-Merrill, Columbus, presented a rare collection of rubbings of English Memorial Brasses.

Mrs. Sarah E. Fletcher, Columbus, presented plans of Sebastopol fortification and siege.

Col. Worthington Kautzman, Columbus, collection of Filipino relics.

American Red Cross presented a Red Cross rug with U. S. Coat-of-Arms.

Mrs. W. E. Evans, Chillicothe, historical specimens.

Mr. Homer Zimmerman, Sugar Creek, pioneer relics.

Mrs. Ella May Smith, Columbus, collection of rare corals.

Mrs. Ida E. Carner, Columbus, specimens from the Barbados.

Mrs. C. H. Lindenberg, Columbus, shells and fossils.

The American Can Company, a 75-mill. shell.

Mrs. James Judge, Columbus, Alaskan specimens.

Mr. J. A. Burke, Columbus, German flag, captured at Moselle.

Mr. Charles E. Jarvis, Columbus, relics from war zone.

Dr. Albert Cooper, Columbus, pioneer relics.

Others: F. A. Stahl, New Philadelphia; S. C. Gray, Deavertown; J. M. Fulkerson, Columbus; W. H. Hickson, Marengo; Leonard Dellinger, Bloomingburg; Dr. H. Bartilson, Columbus; Mrs. William Loudslager, Columbus; Miss A. D. McKee, Columbus; J. J. Sutton, Greenwich; J. E. Harvey, Stewartsville; A. Sparhawk, Akron; Alpha Tau Omega Fraternity, Columbus; J. A. Beverage, Middleport; Western Reserve Historical Society; B. T. Brooks, Columbus; Sheldon Marks, Columbus; A. S. Good, Columbus; J. C. Cramer, Marietta; R. A. Magley, Columbus; F. N. Funston, Missouri; Dudley T. Fisher, Columbus; F. S. Turner, Columbus; Prof. Foster, Iowa City, Ia.; Capt. J. T. Morgan, Trenton, N. J.; C. A. Carr, Columbus; L. H. Barth, Poland, Ohio, and Mrs. Lelia Hudson, Columbus.

"During the second semester of the college year the Curator gave a course of lectures on Ohio Archaeology to a class of fifteen, also to an unusual number of classes in various departments of the University.

"The Curator was requested to represent the Society at the American Association of Museums at Washington City. The meetings of this association are of great importance and value to those having public museums under their charge. The papers are along the lines of museum management, in fact, everything pertaining to a museum is presented and discussed.

"Early in April our museum was entered by thieves. They entered by breaking a window in the basement and finding their way to the rotunda on the first floor, where they broke the door to the north Historical Exhibition Room. Here nine show cases

were broken into and hundreds of specimens were taken. The police department acted promptly and made photos of the finger prints left by the thieves. Long before they were apprehended their identity was established. They were apprehended at Cincinnati and the specimens returned. I feel deeply indebted to the Columbus Police Department for their prompt service.

"The matter of a night watchman for our building was presented to the Emergency Board and an appropriation of \$1000 per year was granted. We now have a watchman in the building during the entire night, reporting each hour upon our register clock.

"The past year in the museum has been a very enjoyable one even with our cramped condition. We certainly must have a wing to our building or quit accepting historical and archaeological material that comes to us unsolicited. We hope sufficient funds will be provided to care for the archaeological and historical material available for our use and that the Ohio State Museum may be made one of the best in the country."

(Signed) W. C. MILLS,
Curator.

On motion of Mr. Ryan the Report of the Curator was accepted and ordered placed on file.

MR. RYAN: "This report discloses the fact that through the generous assistance of Messrs. Wolfe and Johnson our Society was enabled to make some very important investigations. We do not often receive these marks of appreciation of our work, and I believe that we owe it to these gentlemen to indicate our formal appreciation of their interest in the Society, and to publicly express the same and record it upon our records. I therefore move that the following resolution be adopted:

"*Resolved*, by The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, That the appreciation and thanks of the Society are hereby expressed to Robert F. Wolfe and Harry P. Wolfe for their interest in its archaeological researches, and for their financial assistance in conducting the investigations at Camp Sherman, and to Arthur C. Johnson, editor of the *Columbus Dispatch*, for his enthusiastic support to this Society.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the gentlemen named."

The motion was seconded by Messrs. Heer and Galbreath, and unanimously carried.

The Committee on Library made no report, Mr. Ryan stating that the work of the committee would be practically covered during the afternoon session.

Dr. G. Frederick Wright read the reports of the Committees on Warren County Serpent Mound and on Historical Sites, as follows:

WARREN COUNTY SERPENT MOUND.

"There is little to say concerning the prospect of obtaining the Warren County Serpent Mound except to report that we are pursuing the policy of watchful waiting. The farm is now in the name of Presocia Spence and very likely will come into the market for sale soon. The land is very valuable but only a few acres would be necessary to preserve the mound. We will keep the matter in mind and ascertain later if these few acres can be obtained on favorable terms. I should hope that the owner might contribute them as a public park bearing her name.

"Some remarkable light has been shed upon the significance of our serpent mounds which increases their importance and will call attention to them from anthropologists the world over.

"On seeing a copy of the illustration of the Adams County Serpent Mound published by our Society, Dr. E. M. Wilson, who has been for twenty-five years a medical missionary among the Tamils of southern India, came up a few weeks ago to tell me of the remarkable resemblance between the Adams County Serpent Mound and the images which the Tamils worship in southern India. These tribes worship the cobra, which is a hooded snake, and the lingham supposed to be the source of life and corresponding to the egg. The engravings of these objects of worship upon their temples correspond almost exactly with our Adams County Serpent Mound, and with what remains of the Warren County Serpent Mound. The cobra is a hooded serpent and there is no hooded serpent in America from which the Mound Builders could have obtained the idea represented in our mounds. The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable that in ancient times the Mound Builders of North America migrated from the same center on the eastern continent as that which is occupied by the Tamils.

"This evidence is a striking confirmation of that presented sixty years ago by Lewis Morgan in the volume of Smithsonian contributions in which are collected from all over the world the variety of methods by which family relationships are reckoned.

Among the Aryan races they are reckoned according to descent from the father. We have children, grandchildren, great grandchildren, etc., but among the Turanian races they are reckoned according to tribal relationships. All a man's nephews are reckoned as his sons, and what we should reckon as cousins are reckoned as brothers. Amidst the various complications of this method of relationships it was found that the American Indians and the Tamils agreed so exactly in their methods that it seemed to prove identity of origin. The similarity of our serpent mound to the inscriptions among the Tamils presents such a remarkable confirmation of this inference that its truth seems to be established as a practical certainty. All this increases the importance of the work we are doing to preserve these mounds. Dr. Wilson promises an article for our QUARTERLY detailing all these facts.

“(Signed) G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.”

HISTORICAL SITES.

“The Battle of Fallen Timbers, one of the most important in the history of Ohio, occurred in the valley of the Maumee, a few miles above Toledo. It is very desirable that a monument should mark the site. Already measures are being taken to secure from the owners of the property in which the site occurs the gift of a conspicuous location for such a monument. We hope something tangible will result.

“The Warren County Serpent Mound, on the Little Miami River, south of Lebanon, should be preserved, especially in view of the recent light shed upon the relations of that and the Adams County mound to similar objects of worship in southern India. But we have no progress to report. Your committee has simply pursued the course of watchful waiting. We understand that the farm on which the mound stands has recently changed hands. Whether anything can be done with the hopeful prospect of obtaining the situation we cannot say. As the mound is near a public highway a few acres of land would be all that is necessary to obtain for a public park which would preserve the mound. The committee should be continued for another year.

“(Signed) G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.”

On motion of Mr. Bareis the report was received and placed on file.

Prof. B. F. Prince read the report of the Committee on

FORT ANCIENT,

as follows:

"Your committee on Fort Ancient has no changes or unusual improvements to report this year. A few minor repairs have been made at various places.

"The general appearance of the Fort is fine. The weeds have been cut and the walls trimmed. The unusual growth of grass during the past year has added much to the beauty of the place.

"Since the disappearance of most of the houses in the town of Fort Ancient it is difficult to secure at the Fort such help that is needed, for no place can be found near by as a tenement for a laborer.

"Your committee believe that soon there should be a small house erected at some suitable place in the Fort. It would help to solve many difficulties in keeping good order on the grounds.

"The number of visitors that come to the grounds during the season for autoing runs into tens of thousands, and these all add to the care of the custodian. A helper located near by would be of material assistance to the efficiency required.

"Your committee believes that the finance committee should take this matter under serious consideration.

"The following expenses have been incurred:

Repairing roof on house.....	\$27 50
Plastering material	9 00
One new pump and repair of an old one.....	21 35
Total	<u>\$57 85</u>

"Some improvements highly necessary were made and the money to pay for them was advanced by Mr. Cowan. He asks the Society if it thinks proper to pay the bills.

"They were:

1. Papering the house at a cost of.....	\$30 35
2. White lime	3 52
3. Hauling and sawing logs.....	6 50
Total	<u>\$40 37</u>

"Your committee recommends that these bills be paid by the Society.

(Signed) "B. F. PRINCE
WALDO C. MOORE."

On motion of Mr. Mills the report was received and placed on file.

Mr. Bareis moved, and it was carried, that the recommendations contained in the report be referred to the Finance Committee.

SPIEGEL GROVE PARK.

In the absence of Colonel Webb C. Hayes, Chairman of the Committee on Spiegel Grove, Mr. Wood read a statement from him setting forth what the state has done toward the erection and support of the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum and the need of adequate provision for future maintenance.

Mr. Wood was followed by Mr. Ryan who paid tribute to Colonel Webb C. Hayes and concluded with the following statement of his gifts to the state:

"In this connection, and in the absence of Colonel Hayes, I desire to call the attention of the Society to his unusual and generous contributions in connection with Spiegel Grove. In memory of his father and mother he has practically donated this vast property with all its contents to the State of Ohio. It is a great monument of filial devotion to his parents, and at the same time he has created a patriotic shrine that will reflect glory upon the State and Nation. He is a modest man and it is with difficulty that we have been able to get the facts from him as to what he has really done at Spiegel Grove for the Society. He has created a great trust fund, the proceeds of which go to the maintenance and operation of this property. From memory I think I can give substantially what Colonel Hayes has given to the State of Ohio, reserving the control of this vast fund to himself and the Society, jointly.

"Spiegel Grove his first donation, at the time he deeded it to the State was conservatively valued at \$50,000 but it and the real estate adjoining, men who live there tell me, is easily worth four times that amount. When we constructed the museum the State of Ohio appropriated about \$40,000 for that purpose, but Colonel Hayes added \$50,000 to the state appropriation. Then he made an additional donation to the Society of \$25,000, the proceeds to be used in keeping up Spiegel Grove, and in addition an endowment of \$50,000, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to the equipment and keeping up of the museum and library which contains his father's books, relics and papers. Then he deeded to the State of Ohio, the proceeds

to go to this Society, property adjoining Spiegel Grove of which he has sold up to date the sum of \$30,000 worth, and this amount has gone into a trust fund which is for conducting and maintaining Spiegel Grove. The balance of that real estate, unsold, is valued at \$100,000. July 1st last he created another trust fund of \$100,000, for the use of this Society in maintaining the library and building. Since then he has created another fund of \$25,000, for the purpose of making additions to the Memorial Building in which he had already invested \$50,000. So up to date Colonel Hayes has put in money and securities now on deposit with the Trust Company at Cleveland, for the use and benefit of that American shrine, over four hundred thousand dollars, counting Spiegel Grove at fifty thousand dollars. It really amounts to over \$500,000."

Mr. Wood moved that Mr. Ryan be requested to prepare resolutions expressing the appreciation of the Society for the donations made by Colonel Hayes, and that a copy of the resolutions be forwarded to Colonel Hayes. Carried.

GENERAL J. WARREN KEIFER

being present, and called upon by the Chairman to come forward, responded, and he was then informally introduced and spoke as follows:

"I am proud to be before these distinguished gentlemen, and to hear read these splendid reports showing the success of this great Society; I am glad to be one of you, and I hope to be with you during my life.

"I am older in years than any of you, I guess.

GOVERNOR CAMPBELL: "Except myself."

MR. KEIFER: "Well, you may be *older* than I am, but you haven't as many *years*; I will be eighty-five years of age on the 29th of January next; most people would say the 30th of January next, but that will be my eighty-sixth birthday; I will be eighty-five years old the day before my next birthday; that is the law and the fact; when a birthday comes we enter upon a new year.

"I came here today to be with you, and to listen.

MR. RYAN: "You served with Hayes?"

MR. KEIFER: "I served with General Rutherford B. Hayes in the Civil War, though not generally in the same army or command. I know his military history however. He went early in the volunteer service in the Civil War (23 O. V. I.), and

served conspicuously throughout that war, fighting in many of its battles, and he was twice severely wounded.

"I participated with him in Virginia (now West Virginia) in campaigns and in battles (Cheat Mountain and Tygart's Valley, September 12-15, 1861) and again in September and October 1864, in the Shenandoah Valley, in all General Sheridan's famous battles.



GENERAL J. WARREN KEIFER.

"General Hayes served (1864) in the Army of West Virginia, commanded by Major General George Crook (also an Ohio General, born in Montgomery county) and at the opening of the battle of Opequan (Sept. 19, 1864) Hayes, then Colonel, commanded a brigade in the Second Division until its commander, Colonel Isaac H. Duval, was disabled by a severe wound,

when he succeeded to the command of the Division and thereafter continuously commanded it.

"In the succeeding battles under Sheridan, Fisher's Hill (Sept. 22, 1864), and Cedar Creek (Oct. 19, 1864)—commonly known as the 'Sheridan's Ride battle,' through T. Buchanan Read's poem—General Hayes displayed great gallantry; inspired his men to heroic deeds and won just fame. He served in the field with great distinction until mustered out at the end of the Civil War.

"Subsequently he served a term in Congress, House of Representatives; three terms as Governor of Ohio, and was President of the United States, 1877-1881. In all public relations he proved himself an exemplary citizen of our great Republic.

"A few words relating to General Philip H. Sheridan, another distinguished Ohio General of the Civil War, whose fame will live in history, with that of Generals Grant, Sherman, Rosecrans, Thomas, Meade, Wright, and other distinguished officers of that war, through time.

"Sheridan, pursuant to a summons to Washington for a conference at the War Department, was absent from his Army when the Battle of Cedar Creek opened at about 4 A. M. October 19, 1864.

"General Horatio G. Wright commanded his army in his absence, and General James B. Ricketts, my division commander, commanded the Sixth Army Corps and I succeeded to the command of the Third Division, Sixth Army Corps.

"General Ricketts was dangerously wounded before General Sheridan's return to the Army, and consequently, I remained throughout the battle in command of the Third Division, and for some time thereafter.

"General Frank Wheaton commanded the First and General George W. Getty commanded the Second Divisions of the Sixth Corps.

"The left wing of our army was, by a surprise attack led by General John B. Gordon, outflanked and driven back in some confusion. The Sixth Corps on the Union right maintained the battle successfully, and generally Wright had assumed the offensive before Sheridan's arrival about 10 A. M.

"Sheridan, though much disturbed by the reports of non-combatants through whom he passed in coming from Winchester where he had spent the night of the 18th of October, assumed full command, and though the battle did not end until after night-fall, the Confederate army was not only defeated but largely captured and destroyed; its artillery and trains were all

captured, and only disorganized detachments of General Early's Army escaped.

"Major William McKinley (later President of the United States), then on General Crook's Staff, was a prominent figure in the battle of Opequan* as he was in other campaigns and battles.

"The battle of Opequan commenced at 4 A. M. and ended about 8 P. M., without an interval for rationing the troops; one of my brigade commanders (Colonel Emery) closes his report of the battle by stating that he was ordered by me to take his command into camp at 8 o'clock P. M. and *cook breakfast*. (applause).

"This is not the time or occasion for giving, as requested, any comprehensive history of my own life, and it must suffice to say here, that I enlisted in the Civil War as a private soldier on President Lincoln's first call for troops (April 15, 1861) but was later (April 27, 1861) commissioned Major (3rd O. V. I.); Lieutenant Colonel February 12th, 1862 (same regiment); Colonel (110th O. V. I.) Sept. 30, 1862, and brevet Brigadier General by appointment of President Lincoln 'for gallant and meritorious services' (November 30, 1864) and assigned to duty by him with that rank (December 29, 1864); and I was appointed, on the recommendations of Generals Wright, Meade and Grant, brevet Major General, '*for gallant and distinguished services during the campaign ending with the surrender of the insurgent army under General R. E. Lee.*'

"I was mustered out of service, June 27, 1865, having served as an officer four years and two months, without an interval of a day, and I was wounded four times, twice severely.

"I served in now West Virginia in 1861 and in Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama in 1862 to September 29, 1862, and again in 1862 as Colonel 110th Ohio Volunteers, in West Virginia, reaching Winchester in the Shenandoah Valley, January 1, 1863, generally commanding a brigade after I was commissioned Colonel; joined the Third Army Corps, Army of the Potomac, July 6, 1863, and served in it until it was broken up (March 23, 1864) when, with my division, I was then transferred to the Sixth Army Corps, Army of the Potomac, in which corps, and the Third Division thereof, I served until the close of the Civil War.

"I was on detached service (August 1863) with three regiments in New York City and Brooklyn to put down riots and enforce the draft.

* Spelled also Opequan.

"I commanded the Third Division of the Sixth Corps in the battle of Cedar Creek, and, temporarily, in campaigns and other battles, notably the battle of Sailor's Creek, April 6, 1865. I fought in twenty-eight battles, large and small; and there were killed on the battle-fields under my direct command in what was called the 'Keifer Brigade' 54 officers and 812 enlisted men; wounded 101 officers and 2,410 enlisted men, in all 3,377, only six less than the like casualties under General Scott and General Taylor in their conquest of Mexico (1847-1848) and a larger number than was killed under the command of Washington in the War of the Revolution (1776-1783).

"I fought in the first field-battle, Rich Mountain (now West Virginia) July 11, 1861, and in the last one—Sailor's Creek, Va., April 6, 1865, and I was present at the surrender of the Confederate Army by General Lee to General Grant at Appomattox, April 9, 1865.

"I served throughout the Spanish-American War (1898-1899) as Major-General of Volunteers (7th Army Corps) in Florida and Cuba; and in Civil Life one term (1868-1869) in the Ohio Senate; also fourteen years in the Congress of the United States (1877-1885; 1905-1911); and as speaker of the House of Representatives (47th Congress) 1881-1883.

"I thank you for your indulgence and again for this kind reception." (applause).

Mr. Wood stated that when the Society had twenty-one Trustees, instead of the present number, fifteen, General Keifer served on the Board of Trustees, and moved that all present rise as a mark of respect to General Keifer. The motion was unanimously carried, and all present arose. General Keifer said, "I know the kind of men you are, earnest and honest. I am proud of you, and I thank you."

LOGAN ELM PARK.

Mr. Frank Tallmudge, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following report:

"The current year has broken all records as to number of visitors at the Park. The Elm has shown more vigor than at any season it has been under our control, for it has made growth in its foliage to an unexpected extent and the leaves have been of a better color, all no doubt due to the mulching treatment given the roots three years since. No branches have fallen as the heavy limbs have been cabled to the trunk. The barricade has effectually protected the tree from damage by the tops of autos running under it. No vandalism has been reported. All

visitors have respected the memorials to an unusual extent. Since our last report a new memorial has been completed and formally accepted by our Society in the shape of an imposing granite monument to the Indian Chief Logan, which occupies a most prominent spot, the first stone to be reached as one enters the Park. It contains on one side Logan's message to Lord Dunmore, read under the Elm at the treaty in 1774, together with a bas-relief in bronze of the tree, giving its dimensions. On the reverse, also in bronze, the strikingly handsome head of an Indian, reproduced from the recent nickel coin, under which there is cut in the stone about twenty lines, well chosen, explanatory as to the history connected with the site, and comments upon the incidents which inspired Logan to the eloquent and pitiful words of the message. This memorial is well constructed throughout, reflecting much credit upon the donors, citizens and former citizens of Pickaway and Ross counties. Messrs. J. T. Sharp and John A. Wilson, representatives of families living in the immediate neighborhood for over one hundred years, were instrumental in carrying the project to a most successful end. They deserve our thanks and congratulations. The unveiling occurred last September, with appropriate ceremonies, in the presence of about one thousand persons, including the scholars from a nearby township school, who, under the direction of their teacher, Miss Hanna McKenzie of Circleville, recited separately a playlet written by Miss McKenzie called "A Tribute to Logan," which embraced all the known history of Logan's life, each scholar having committed to memory one incident thereof. A copy of this 'Tribute' should be in our archives; it is worthy of publication in our *QUARTERLY*.

"We recommend the purchase by this Society of that portion of Congo Creek that lies just outside our east line and the removal of the fence to the opposite bank, throwing the creek within the Park, and thereafter terracing our bank to the water's edge, thus giving the visitors a view of the swift running and clear stream, which is now invisible.

"Some attention should also be given to the general beautification of the ground by planting hardy shrubs, together with each and every variety of native trees. This can be done without interfering with the parking space. Complaints have been made that there are no trees around the cabin, and that we have not started a grove in the southeastern part, now unused, which if done will make more room for picnics and parties.

"Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) "FRANK TALLMADGE,

"Chairman."

Mr. Tallmadge then read a letter, addressed to President Campbell, as follows:

"I regret that it will probably be impossible for me to attend the annual meeting of The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, on the 15th inst., of which I have just received my notice. Before I received the notice, I had made my arrangements for an important out-of-town business trip, and cannot break that engagement. It is possible, however, that I can return in time to attend the meeting.

"I congratulate the Society and yourself as its President, on the work done during the present calendar year. I hoped to attend the annual meeting, because I wished to present for the consideration of its members a tentative plan for improving and perpetuating the state's property in Pickaway county, and hope, in lieu of doing that, that I may have the opportunity, later on, to present that matter to the members of the proper committee.

"Very truly yours,

"H. J. BOOTH."

Mr. Tallmadge stated that he did not pretend to know what improvements Mr. Booth refers to. The road will be improved this winter, by widening it so that automobiles entering the Park will not all run in the same track. The Park, four and seven-tenths acres, is wedge shaped, the north line being only one hundred and fifty feet in length. The branches of the tree are now so long that they reach the fence, and if the adjoining field should be put into pasture live-stock could easily nibble one ends of the branches.

On motion of Mr. Mills the report was received and placed on file.

Mr. Bareis moved that the question of the purchase of additional land for the Park be referred to the Board of Trustees. Carried.

Dr. Cole read the report of the Committee on

SERPENT MOUND,

as follows:

"The Serpent Mound continues to attract an increasing number of visitors.

"The Custodian reports eight thousand registered during the past year, with probably as many more who did not register,

making sixteen thousand who enjoyed the pleasures of the Park during the year.

"While many of these, doubtless, belonged to the great company of sightseers, it is fair to assume that most of them carried away more or less impressions of the great Serpent effigy.

"It has been the policy of the administration to get into the possession of visitors some literature concerning this marvelous work of prehistoric man. To aid in this there has been prepared and placed on sale at the Park some inexpensive literature setting forth the main features of the Park, and the effigy. This embraces "Serpent Mound," by our former Secretary, Mr. E. O. Randall, "Map and Guide of Serpent Mound," compiled from the published report of Professor Putnam of the serpent effigy and his operations and work at the Park, and a large folding card, six by fourteen inches, on one side of which is a large cut of the effigy, and on the reverse side a map of the Park together with historical and descriptive notes of interest to the general reader.

"Of this literature twelve hundred and fifty pieces have been sold during the year, and it is a safe assumption that this literature will increase information and interest in the archaeological work of the Society. This literature has been circulated without expense to the Society, it being sold at a price to cover the printing and selling costs.

"We take the liberty of again calling the attention of the Society to the value of the Museum that has been installed in the Shelter House. While only a beginning has been made, the results in the way of interest of visitors fully justifies a larger collection as soon as the Society can provide funds for the necessary cases for the protection of specimens.

"Our Curator informs us that a large collection could be made from the numerous duplicates belonging to the Society without in any way impairing the parent Museum.

"During the year there has been erected at the entrance to the Park two modest but somewhat imposing pillars, two and a half by six feet. These pillars were constructed of concrete, the material for the same being hauled by the Custodian, who also assisted in the labor of construction. The cost of these, together with some work on the Shelter House, was \$94.18.

"The driveway up the hillside to the plateau, being somewhat steep and subject to frequent washings of the soft material used in its construction, should be replaced as soon as possible by some kind of firmer material that will make it more permanent.

"During the year our Custodian, Mr. Guy Wallace, has married a wife, left the Park and turned the care of it over to his brother, Denver, who has been associated with him in its care and who now seeks the appointment as Custodian.

"In view of the fact that in some of the properties owned by the Society there are cultivatable lands that yield income, and that the Society is paying stipulated sums for the care of these properties, would it not be well for Custodians to account more specifically for the labor performed in the upkeep, and for the receipts from lands under cultivation?

"Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) "W. H. COLE,

"WM. C. MILLS,

"Committee."

On motion of Mr. Heer the report was received and placed on file.

Mr. W. J. Sherman, Chairman of the Committee on

FORT MIAMI, FORT MEIGS AND FALLEN TIMBERS

being unavoidably absent, Secretary Galbreath read his report, as follows:

"Your Committee on Ft. Miami, Ft. Meigs and the Battlefield of Fallen Timbers respectfully submit the following report:

FORT MIAMI

"The full committee paid a visit to this historic site November 4, 1920, and made a very careful and thorough inspection of the present condition of the earthworks. It may not be generally known that these old works are still well and clearly defined and in an excellent state of preservation. They occupy one of the most commanding sites to be found on the West or left bank of the Maumee River. The state monument at Ft. Meigs, some two miles away, is plainly visible. It is the unanimous opinion of the committee that this beautiful and historic spot should belong to the Society. We regret to report the property is still in the hands of owners who state that they do not wish to sell the property, though their reason is not apparent, for Ft. Miami is not a source of revenue to its owners.

BATTLE FIELD OF FALLEN TIMBERS

"Your committee has been working for a long time past in an effort to secure from the owners with practically no cost to

the historical society a suitable site for the monument to commemorate the Battle of Fallen Timbers. We are pleased to report that a beautiful spot has been selected by your full committee and the representative of the owner, complete typographical surveys and maps have been prepared, as has also a description of the property for incorporation in the deed. The owner is an elderly lady whose brother, a local real estate agent, is representing her in the transaction. Though we are not able to report as yet that the deed to this beautiful property is resting in the vaults of your Society, nevertheless we have been repeatedly assured by the representative of the owner that we may expect to receive the deed to the property within a very short time. The owner asks no compensation whatever and promises to insert no conditions save such as any prudent business man would require.

FORT MEIGS

"The conditions at Ft. Meigs remain practically the same as they were one year ago. Some ten thousand dollars have been expended during the past season in improving the water supply for the Fort and the rest house. Your full committee had the pleasure of inspecting this property on the 4th of last month and unite in reporting it to be apparently in fine condition.

"Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) "W. J. SHERMAN."

The report was ordered received and placed on file, on motion of Mr. Cole.

The Committees on Fort Laurens and Campus Martius made no report, on account of the fact that the Chairman, Mr. E. O. Randall, is now deceased.

NECROLOGY.

Curator Mills reported that during the year the Society has lost, by death, the following members:

Mr. E. O. Randall, for many years Secretary of the Society.

Mr. Almer Hegler.

Dr. J. C. Reave, of Dayton.

Mr. Louis P. Schaus, for many years a member of the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Wood moved that the Secretary be requested, at his earliest convenience, to prepare an abstract of the recommenda-

tions made by the several committees in their reports, and submit them to the Board of Trustees for action. Carried.

On motion of Mr. Heer the meeting adjourned.

OPEN MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

SOCIETY BUILDING, COLUMBUS, O.,

2:00 P. M., December 15, 1920.

President Campbell called the meeting to order, stating that it was called for the purpose of receiving a number of interesting and valuable — almost priceless — donations.

The chairman then called upon

MR. JOHN G. DESHLER,

who read the following letter:

"COLUMBUS, OHIO, DEC. 10, 1920.

HON. JAMES E. CAMPBELL,

President, The Ohio State

Archæological and

Historical Society,

Columbus, Ohio.

DEAR SIR:—

"I take pleasure in presenting, through you, to The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, a cane that once belonged to my father. It bears the inscription:

'Salmon P. Chase	"Merrimac."
to	April 1864.
Wm. G. Deshler	'88/64.'

"The intrinsic, historic value of this cane rests upon the fact that the wood is a part of the celebrated Confederate converted ram, the *Merrimac*, which for a time struck terror to the North during the War. Its metal—the handle and the ferrule—is made from material taken from the guns of the *Merrimac*.

"The historical association of the cane, why it was made and the occasion of its presentation, is likewise of great interest. My father in his lifetime, when he was seventy-three years old, wrote out a full history of this cane, which I have in my possession, and from which I will summarize the events which led to the circumstances of its presentation.

"On the 14th of April, 1864, my father received the following telegram from Washington:

'Confidential.'

'Am going to New York tonight. If you can, meet me at Fifth Avenue Hotel on Friday night or earlier. Come at once.

'S. P. CHASE.'

"In his memoirs, from which I shall quote quite extensively, my father says:

"This call did not surprise me, as from the beginning of Secretary Chase's administration of the United States Treasury Department, I had frequent conferences with him, through correspondence and in person, so that I was familiar with the new condition of his Department required by the wide extension of its operation in consequence of the breaking out of the rebellion.'

"He was in New York the next day, and when he went to the hotel desk to register the clerk said: 'Mr. Deshler your room has been secured—thirty-six Parlor floor—you will find a gentleman awaiting for you in the next room, as they connect.' The gentleman was Secretary Chase, and apparently he was very much concerned about the financial situation of the government. In this conversation Mr. Chase said:

"We are confronted here in New York, on every side, by the rankest treason. Men professing loyalty—with our flag at their desk—are secretly engaged in trying to break down the credit of the government by speculation in stocks and gold. They have a chain of operations, reaching from here to Richmond, by way of Montreal and by way of Louisville. They have given the State Department great trouble in our strained foreign relations. The thing I am interested in directly, and which has worried me, is that they have thwarted my negotiations with a syndicate of German bankers for a loan of two hundred million dollars.'

"As he related the details of his negotiations his eyes snapped, his tone was bitter, his feelings intense to the point of vengeance. He said with emphasis 'That conspiracy must be crushed and the gang punished. I want you to take the matter in charge, make your own plans, which we will talk over this evening.'

"Handing my father a paper he said: 'Here is a list of that gang, and you will be surprised to see some of the names on it—honorable men, forsooth,' he said bitterly, 'yet that list is reliable, as I am assured by the Secret Service Department.'

"Mr. Chase left, saying he would return in an hour.

"Quoting my father's memoirs again, he said: 'As I looked over the list I was surprised, as I knew some personally, others by reputation, as among the best business men in New York. To myself I said, "Here is a job; he wants me to crush this gang; why don't he shoot them, as do our boys down South?"'



WILLIAM G. DESHLER.

I thought over the general situation, and the outlook was not pleasant; our army massed to protect Washington (the battles of the Wilderness were fought a few days later); copperheads rampant throughout the North; gold going up (which was greenbacks going down); speculation in stocks wild, so much so that every evening the lobbies of the Fifth Avenue Hotel were crowded with a mob of howling brokers plying their trade; the

issue of bonds and paper money to pay war expenses; many soldiers called out and in the field; the ultra democratic papers objecting to the draft; the taxes and the flood of bank circulation on top of the greenbacks. Indeed it was not a healthy condition.'

"After dinner Mr. Chase and my father met in the former's room, and to the Secretary of the Treasury he outlined a plan of operation which, in his mind, was sufficient to check the disastrous financial condition. He said to the Secretary: 'If I can sell a few millions of gold a little under the market rate, to be paid for in greenbacks, no checks on the banks or certificates of deposit to be taken, greenbacks will become scarce, the banks will be alarmed, they will call in loans or demand increased margins as the market for gold and stocks declines. Then I will find out the 'specialties' protected by the men in this list and look after them in the Stock Exchange; also I will offer a premium for greenbacks to be paid for with checks on the banks. In other words my gold business will be done on a money basis only. Of course I must employ brokers and pay their commissions, but I will get the right kind of brokers — and all of their operations in stocks will be by bank checks. Thus the government will be buying its debts in the shape of greenbacks and paying them in gold, which it has in the Subtreasury; the law certainly allows that, but it don't allow government funds to be used in stock operations. The gold and stock operations must not be mixed, but can be cooperative in producing the result desired. The stock part I must handle myself, and it must be left to me. The gold business will be done through the Subtreasury where secrecy must be maintained for a short time at least.'

"The Secretary approved this plan of operation, and it was agreed that they should meet at Mr. Cisco's office, who was the Subtreasurer of the United States.

"The rest of the evening was spent in gossip about home. Reference was made to the early associations in and around Columbus. My father says that he asked him if he remembered his first speech. The Secretary inquired 'Do you mean the slave girl case?' 'No,' said my father, 'long before that. It was at your uncle's, the Bishop's school near Worthington, upon the occasion of the examination just before vacation when you and Joseph Sullivant were school-boys together.' He remembered Sullivant's story and laughed heartily. After a few stories of Ohio times they parted with the understanding that they would meet at the Subtreasurer's office at 10 o'clock the next morning.

"When my father entered Mr. Cisco's private office he found Horace Greeley there, and upon being introduced as from Ohio Mr. Greeley said: 'Great state, but too many copperheads in it.'

"My father in his memoirs gives a passing description of the great editor. He speaks of him as 'standing there, a rare picture, his big loose coat, with its pockets stuffed with newspapers, his necktie shifted around with its knot under his ear, and the big-brimmed hat set back on his head, making him look like a belated cherub with a misfit glory on.'

"After a few remarks about Greeley, Secretary Chase said to Mr. Cisco: 'Mr. Deshler will want to use some money during the next few days, and you will let him have what he wants, taking his receipt, which will be your sufficient voucher.' Mr. Cisco said: 'Why, Mr. Secretary, we have a great deal of money here, and do I understand that your order is unlimited?' 'Yes,' replied the Secretary, looking at my father with a twinkle in his eye. Mr. Cisco, somewhat surprised, said: 'Will you kindly put your order in writing, Mr. Secretary?' Mr. Chase sat down at Cisco's desk and wrote the order, and handed it to him. He carefully read it, looked at Chase, then at my father, 'somewhat dazed.' I quote again from my father's memoirs: 'Mr. Chase then left. As the door closed Mr. Cisco said: "Is the Secretary a relative of yours?" "No," I replied. "How much gold have you on hand?" He looked over a little book and told me the millions, as he muttered to himself, "Remarkable." "Well," I said, "I don't think I will need it all; have you a considerable sum in bags, ready for delivery?" "Yes," he replied, and again muttered "Remarkable." I left, telling him I would call soon again.'

"My father then went to the American Exchange Bank, to Mr. George S. Coe, its President, at that time one of the most prominent and influential bankers in New York. They were business and personal friends of many years' standing, and he was known as one of the most conservative of bankers, actively and thoroughly loyal to the government, and one of the advisors of Secretary Chase when his advice was asked. From Mr. Coe my father received a general letter of endorsement, practically guaranteeing any contracts that he should make. Armed with this letter and the backing of the Treasury of the United States, and with his own individual means used in the purchase of stocks, he went upon the market to sell gold, which he did at a price below the market price, and bought greenbacks at a price above the market price. The result was that after expending several million dollars in gold in the purchase of greenbacks, and selling several million dollars of gold below the price of the

raiders, the projects of the gold conspirators were defeated. He kept feeding the market with gold and purchasing greenbacks at higher prices every day. The purpose desired by Mr. Chase was accomplished. Greenbacks rose and gold went back. The financial condition of the government was such that Mr. Chase readily disposed of his war bonds, but for four days there was a merry time on Wall Street. Its gamblers in gold discovered on the second day that it was government gold that was being thrown on the market, and of course that created a tremendous panic as they well knew that with the government as a competitor their end was in sight.

"My father was called to New York on April 14; the *Ohio State Journal* in its New York "Stock Report" of April 18th, says:

'Money market much disturbed by stock panic — no regular rate of interest — at public board the panic became intense, and blocks were thrown overboard at almost any price. One per cent a day interest is paid — the banks are not paying out greenbacks, and legal tenders are worth two per cent premium more than certified checks — a large number of bull operators have broken down.'

"The operators that broke down were members of the gang who has conspired to cripple the United States government at its most critical period. While all this was going on and the end of the gold orgy was approaching, my father went to Washington and reported to Secretary Chase what he had done. The Secretary was greatly pleased.

"He declined to receive any pay for his services, and received a draft on the Assistant Treasurer of the United States for his expenses, \$123.93. In sending this draft to my father, Mr. Chase's private secretary said, in a letter in my possession: 'I am directed by the Secretary to enclose draft on Assistant Treasurer, New York, for \$123.93. He would write himself but for pressure of public business. The fidelity and success with which you conducted the important duties imposed upon you in New York met his hearty approval, and he directs me to assure you of his thanks.

"Very truly yours,

"J. W. SCHUCKERS."

"After my father had completed his labors in New York he received the following letter from Mr. Chase:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

"April 26, 1864.

'MY DEAR SIR:—

I am sorry that you go home unwell, but hope that home and its affectionate cares for your well being will soon give you perfect health.

Accept my thanks for your services to the public and especially to this Department, in New York—you must allow me at least to repay the expense you incurred. Please state the amount.

I beg you to receive my thanks, and as a slight mark of my personal appreciation, a cane, all the materials of which are from the wreck of the *Merrimac*, blown up by the order of her rebel commander the morning after the capture of Norfolk. The cane was made for me by Norfolk mechanics, and may be received as genuine and authentic. I received it and another because having been a volunteer aid to General Wood on the Norfolk expedition, and pretty active in the whole affair, which was immediately followed by the suicide of the *Merrimac*, I was thought to take special interest in the wreck.

'Your friend,

'S. P. CHASE.'

'To W. G. DESHLER, ESQ.'

"I am presenting this cane with the original telegram and letters, for its historic value and as a memento of my father's patriotic service to his country. I have felt that I owe it to his memory to make this explanation of its history, and at the same time I have, out of a sense of filial duty, left this written report of his conduct in one of the most crucial periods of our nation's history.

"Very truly yours,

"JOHN G. DESHLER."

Mr. Deshler stated that the cannon on this cane is an exact duplicate, in miniature, of the cannons on the *Merrimac*, and that when a boy he frequently shot it. In reply to a question he said that the inscription "88/64." means that gold went to 88 in 1864; the plan of the conspirators was to send gold to 200, and greenbacks down to fifty cents.

President Campbell stated that four of the "Merrimac" canes were made, one of them was presented to Mr. Lincoln, one to the Smithsonian Institute, and two to Mr. Chase.

MR. COLE: As a fitting expression of our appreciation I want to make a motion that the thanks of this Society be tendered Mr. Deshler, not only for the cane, but also for the interesting letter and memoranda. Carried.

Chairman Campbell stated that two gifts are to be presented through Governor James M. Cox. The first a library, the second a trust fund of \$47,424.69. Governor Cox will tell you how this fund was raised, and why it is to be given to this Society to build an addition to the Museum and Library Building, the addition to be known as "The Memorial Building to the Soldiers, Sailors and Marines of the Great War."

GIFT BY MR. CLAUDE MEEKER.

Hon. Daniel J. Ryan explained that Mr. Meeker, the donor of the library, being unable to attend the meeting has requested him [Mr. Ryan] to represent him. Mr. Ryan then read a letter from Mr. Claude Meeker, as follows:

"COLUMBUS, OHIO, December 4th, 1920.

"GOV. JAMES M. COX,
"Executive Office,
"Columbus, Ohio.

"SIR:—

"It is my pleasure to present through you, to the State of Ohio, a collection of books and pamphlets relating to Ohio. I intend this as a heritage to the people of the State, upon the following conditions:

First:—They are to be held forever in the custody of and under the exclusive control of The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

Second:—They are to be preserved, maintained and indexed as a separate library unmixed with any other books or library except such of a kindred nature as may be added to it from time to time.

Third:—Said collection of books shall be known as "The Meeker Collection of Ohioana."

Fourth:—Said collection shall be used as a reference library, free to the use of all scholars and students.

"This library specialized on the State of Ohio, is the result of intelligent and discriminating collecting for a period of forty

years. It was selected with a view of preserving for the future the history of the people and manners, the evolution and accomplishments of our State as recorded in the literature covering a period of from 1750 to the present.

"Its card index shows that it contains two thousand one



CLAUDE MEEKER.

hundred and ten (2110) volumes, of which about three hundred (300) are in pamphlet form, bound separately.

"It can be said with certainty, and without qualification, that there is not in this country, under private ownership, a library as complete and comprehensive on its subject matter,

and as numerous in its titles. It is very largely composed of literature of the nineteenth century; the dates of publication throughout that period ranging from one hundred and fifteen years ago to the present time.

"The value of this library as a collection can only be appreciated by a personal examination and study, but its scope may be realized by the following summary of the character of its contents.

"1. Pertaining to the physiography of the State, being the literature relating to the fauna and flora; its geology and its rivers and water-sheds; the histories of its floods and flood prevention.

"2. The literature of the prehistoric or mound-builder period of Ohio, containing all that has been written upon that subject.

"3. The publications relating to the Indians of Ohio, and the period of their occupation, including those treating of the Indian wars in the settlement of the State.

"4. Numerous histories of the pioneer occupation and early settlement of Ohio. In this are also included the histories and lives of the pioneers, both autobiographical and biographical, as well as local histories of cities, towns and counties.

"5. Travels through, and tours into Ohio, commencing with Rev. David Jones' Journal of 1772-1773, and including Forman (1789), Walcott (1799), Michaux (1803), Ashe (1806), Cuming (1810), Melich (1812), and others of later dates. This literature, composed of original editions, narrating experiences of those early travelers and their comments upon the new country and its people, is extremely interesting and valuable, rare and out of print.

"6. The literature pertaining to the Ordinance of 1787, the Northwest Territory and Ohio when a part of such territory.

"7. A complete collection of all the histories of Ohio as a State, commencing with that of Thaddeus M. Harris, published in 1805, to Randall and Ryan's in 1912.

"8. Biographies, autobiographies, speeches, addresses and writings of distinguished Ohioans — statesmen, lawyers, ministers, physicians, soldiers, literary men, poets and politicians.

"9. The historical literature of Ohio relating to the War of 1812; with special reference to the battle of Lake Erie, the siege of Fort Stephenson, the battles in the Northwest and General Harrison's campaigns.

"10. Official documents, writings and histories relating to the construction, development, and operation of the Ohio Canal System.

"11. Proceedings of, and literature pertaining to the Constitutional Conventions of 1851, 1871 and 1912, including the current publications composed of pamphlets, brochures and magazines relating to the questions before the people at the time of their submission.

"12. The magazine literature published in Ohio including complete sets of the official publications of the Western Reserve Historical Society (1877-1917), the Firelands Historical Society (1858-1915), the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society (1887-1917) and the Old Northwest Genealogical Society (1898-1912). Among the magazines are complete sets of the *Hesperian* (3 Vols. 1838-1839), *The American Pioneer* (2 Vols. 1842-1843), and the *Cincinnati Miscellany* (2 Vols. 1845-1846); all of which are out of print and extremely rare.

"13. The educational literature of Ohio; being a collection of the histories of its colleges and universities; histories relating to the establishment and growth of the common school system and institutions of higher education; the official reports, presented to the Legislature, providing for the establishment of a common school system (1825), and general educational addresses of a historical nature.

"14. The ecclesiastical history of the state; being histories of the growth and religious progress of the leading denominations; numerous anniversary sermons relating to the foundation and development of individual churches, and the history of various religious movements, together with memoirs and reminiscences of pioneer preachers of Ohio.

"15. Official publications of the state, bearing upon, and recording historic events, and having a distinct value for that purpose. These are entirely out of print and are now only to be found in institutional libraries.

"16. The political literature of the state; embracing complete histories of the Democratic and Republican parties; political addresses, platforms and biographies of the prominent political leaders of Ohio.

"17. The Civil War literature of Ohio; composed of (a) the writings of Ohio authors upon the Civil War; (b) the writings of authors concerning Ohio in the Civil War; (c) the official records and literature of the state for that period, and (d) the histories of Ohio regiments and other army organizations. To those may be added (e) Publications of the Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion, (f) the Grand Army of the Republic of Ohio, (g) speeches, addresses and sermons on the war, and (h) miscellaneous military literature of that period. This collection of Ohio Civil War literature is the most complete

of its kind in this country, not excelled in number and completeness by the Congressional Library or the War Department Library. This division of the library alone contains seven hundred and twenty-eight (728) volumes.

It is well known among librarians and book collectors that the historical literature of Ohio is becoming scarcer year by year. The great public libraries of the state universities and colleges have been collecting so industriously that it is practically removed from the private collections. Indeed it has become impossible to secure the publications printed in the first half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, so far as duplicating by collection at this late date, such a library as this, neither money nor search can accomplish what years of patient work have done.

"Such a library should be within free and easy access of students and scholars, and to this end I have thought that its place is in the building of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and I have therefore made this donation so that that purpose may be accomplished.

"Very respectfully,

"CLAUDE MEEKER."

MR. RYAN: Governor, I am authorized by Mr. Meeker to say in addition that it is his purpose to create a foundation, or fund, the resources of which will be used to keep up this library and purchase hereafter any rare works pertaining to the history of this state, whenever the opportunity to do so may arise. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR JAMES M. COX

was presented and spoke as follows:

"Mr. President, Members and Guests of this Society:

"I am very happy that the last days of my incumbency of the executive office bring circumstances which enable me to come here, and in my official capacity make a presentation of two substantial things to this very historic historical society.

CHECK FOR MEMORIAL BUILDING.

"Acting on the suggestion of your distinguished president, I will give you, briefly, the history of this fund which was assigned to my care. Soon after the selective-service law became operative in this State — speaking now, when the hours of stress have passed with a confidence that wouldn't have been prudent at that time — I might say to you that we had some misgivings

in this state, as they had doubtless in some other states, as to just how this law would work out. When the first realization of the stern fact of war came, young men, of course, were leaving their homes and were taking trains for the training camps. General Glenn, then in command at Camp Sherman, very happily



GOVERNOR JAMES M. COX.

conceived the idea of making a moving picture out of the daily life of the boys in camp. I remember very well that the first part of the film was made up of the entrance into camp of sundry contingents in citizens clothes, carrying their traveling bags and belongings; every process of physical examination; the

drilling of the boys; the precautions taken as to health and sanitation, the provisions that were made for food, in fact everything that entered into the day of the young soldier was shown upon the canvas by means of this picture, and in consequence of it the law, as we continued to administer it, seemed to have very much less severity to it.

"When the picture was first exhibited, a small admission fee was charged to bear the cost, because there was no governmental fund available for that purpose, and its finally developed that there was such a demand for the picture that three or four distinct outfits were provided.

"When General Glenn went over seas, he advised me that he had the fund in his possession, and he was very much in the position of the man having hold of the cow's tail—he didn't quite know how to let go of it—He wanted to place it in charge of some state authority. I told him there would be a great impropriety in permitting it to pass into the general revenue fund of the state; that it ought to have a great historic value and application, and I agreed that if the whole enterprise from its outset were audited by acknowledged experts, I would become the custodian of the fund. After it was given to me, the money was turned over to the State Treasurer, and placed on interest. We disbursed a few thousand dollars in order to get under way the vocational training of soldiers. This left a sum aggregating \$47,424.69. Governor Campbell in some way discovered that we had the money, and in his enthusiasm in behalf of this organization, so well known to you that there is no need of mention of it by me, he requested the money and persisted in it until the hour came when I realized there was to be no peace of mind until I gave it to him. Then the task was in ascertaining just how the transfer might be made and the fund administered so that there would be no trespassing upon propriety, and we finally agreed that the money would be used and the donation made upon the definite specification that it would be employed in building, in whole or in part, an addition to this structure, into which would pass, exclusively, collections and data, historical and otherwise, bearing upon the Great War.

"Now I conclude my responsibility, and very happily, by presenting the check to this organization.

MEEKER LIBRARY OF OHIOANA.

"The collection of books presented by Mr. Meeker is, beyond any question, the most important one of its kind in existence. I will not permit the modesty of Mr. Ryan to be responsible for your leaving this room without knowing who it was

that made, in the first instance, this collection. It was Mr. Ryan — Daniel J. Ryan himself. The question of purchasing this collection and making it a part of some private library was under consideration by a number of individuals in this state, but those of us who gave it thought were all agreed in this, that no selfish ambition should be permitted to interfere with this unusual collection of books being made a part of the great historical property of the great commonwealth of ours.

“Now I take great pleasure in presenting this library as it comes from Mr. Claude Meeker, than whom there is no prouder citizen of this Commonwealth, no man, I mean, who is prouder to be an Ohioan and to have come from the flesh and bone of Ohio people. He is himself Ohio born. He had a long and distinguished career in journalism, and his golden hearted qualities and unselfish spirit generally are so well known to most people in this community that it would be almost inappropriate for me to elaborate upon them.

“I lay down the cares of office now in a little while, after having served longer than any man in the history of Ohio as Governor of the State, and somehow it seems to me that I would be a little ungracious if I did not leave some observations with reference to and in behalf of the departments of government with which I have come into more or less close contact. Acting upon that thought, I am going to make a suggestion in behalf of this association. It must be something more than a coincidence that in the main people don't give much attention to the history of their own state until they have at least entered or passed through middle life. There must be something which joins to our physical and mental transformation which does not make the history and traditions of a state or a nation of appealing interest to humanity until old age is in sight. It seems to me that we ought, in this state, because it is a commonwealth of a wonderful history both in men and in events — no state is her superior in war or in peace [applause] — encourage study along these lines. If you will consult the current text books in the schools, you will be very lucky, I believe, and I am speaking not critically of the school text books, but you will be very fortunate if you find three pages, or possibly two pages, devoted to the early history of Ohio. My suggestion is that three or four times a year, and perhaps once every month, the schools, public and private, in Ohio, be called upon in their history courses or in their general courses, to set aside a day for the study of the early history and the traditions of this state, and that some one connected with this organization prepare for the year a definite course of study to that end. I am quite sure, Mr. President, that

you will have the most enthusiastic co-operation of the University presided over by that great executive and educator, Dr. Thompson. I am happy to see with my retirement from office that his spirit is undiminished, that his strength goes on just as it did when I came eight years ago, and that his sympathetic interest continues in behalf of our ambitious boys and girls seeking higher education. I hope his shadow will never grow less.

"I now formally present you with this check, accept the gift tendered by Mr. Meeker's representative, and tender this collection to you also, at the same time take my official leave of this organization, and submit my recommendation for what it is worth." (Applause.)

GENERAL KEIFER: "I arise to move, on behalf of the Society, the tender of our warmest thanks to our distinguished Governor, James M. Cox, and also to Mr. Claude Meeker, for the services they have rendered to the people of Ohio, and particularly to this Society." The motion was carried.

PRESIDENT CAMPBELL: "I think the necessity for the addition to this building is not altogether understood. You see here six or eight tons of material. There are in this building fifty tons of material, relating to the State of Ohio in the World War, which we have no place to exhibit. It relates to every phase of activity—the soldier papers; thousands and thousands of their letters; every newspaper published in Ohio during the war; the activities of the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Jewish Relief, Knights of Columbus and every institution of every character that had to do, either at home or abroad, with the war. So that to erect a building to house this material, where it can be classified and placed together, not only appeals to the patriotism of the men who won the war, but equally to those of us at home who did everything in our power to make the war a success. I know of no possible way that this money could be better expended than in preserving the history of the soldiers and patriots of this state. I am a thousand times gladder than I was before that I pestered the Governor until we got it."

Dr. W. O. Thompson, President of Ohio State University, being called upon for remarks, spoke as follows:

DR. W. O. THOMPSON.

Mr. President:

I wish to say that so far as the University is concerned, and so far as I can help, we shall be most happy to inspire in the coming generations a love of our commonwealth, where your chairman was born, where we live, love and labor; and if the University can do anything more to make the history, the early history, of Ohio sacred and beloved by the coming generations I am quite sure we shall do our utmost to that end.

I am intensely interested this afternoon. I attended a while this morning, and returned this afternoon. These two exercises I have enjoyed.

The details concerning the cane displayed with filial devotion by Mr. John Deshler, the account of the great events in which his father participated, let us know what hundreds of thousands of people of Ohio have not known, and may never know, that in men like William G. Deshler and others of his kind the commonwealth has always had its most valuable asset in patriotism, in devotion and in love of country. This makes a country like ours imperishable. It has made me feel anew my interest in Ohio and her history.

I have been so long associated with the gentleman who made this collection of books presented this afternoon, and have respected him so sincerely, that it would be family history, almost, if I should tell you he spent forty years of his life in the making of this collection. Moreover his association with his colleague in the preparation of Randall and Ryan's "History of Ohio," and my own intimate relation with both men, have brought me into close association with this Society and have increased my interest. I realize the benevolence of Mr. Meeker, who made this presentation here today a possibility—I am grateful to him, and I am also grateful to Mr. Ryan for the services he has performed for so many years. I congratulate this Society on the acquisition of this wonderful collection.

Being the President of the University, which has a great library in the making, of over two hundred thousand volumes now, I feel that I can speak in defense of the Ryan collection being here, rather than in the library of the University. I want to say as President of the University, although I might not speak for a majority of the faculty, I am glad it is here and not there; it will give it a distinct place in the study of the history of Ohio that it might not have in the State House or any place else.

I may say that there is a long history concerning the bringing of this building to the campus. Twenty years ago I took

a great interest in bringing your collections here. We housed them in our buildings as best we could. However, the coming of this Society to the campus was a matter of serious distress to some people, but after long years of endeavor the state provided this building for our Society. It was located here, and, as I think the testimony now shows, it has been of great educational value. When Sir William Ramsey came from Scotland to study our archaeological exhibition, once and again he demonstrated what I think we did not always appreciate, that a man so interested in history or archaeology as to travel thousands of miles is not especially interested in what street corner it is located on; but I think he is interested in its location where are present the human interest and factors that make history. So while the word "archaeology" may remind us of human bones, I wish you to remember that this building houses a human society, and the most human thing about it is the devotion to our history and the history of what makes men.

We are located between the Ohio and the Lakes, with as great a variety of resources as any state in the Union, a great state in material wealth, a great variety of resources in what is under the ground, what is in the ground and what may be taken out of the ground. We have great assets in common business and transportation, and are so located that the world cannot get away from us, but must come to us and buy from us. President James said he regarded Ohio State University as the greatest competitor the West had in education. I want to say of our state, that in my opinion, as time goes on there will be an increasing population and wealth; that no less in fundamental educational than in other advantages will there be a great increase in the development of things worth while.

Speaking of Ohio citizens, climate or location is very unimportant. The quality of this state is determined by the character of her men and women. Here, from this day on, with thirty languages spoken in the city of Cleveland, will be one of the greatest melting pots in the greater melting pot of America. We hope there will be wrought out here the great problem of real Americanization. We must secure in some way the means by which the people who come into this commonwealth can grasp the spirit of Ohio, which I think is the spirit of the United States. We must do something that will make people when they come here become a part of us; we must have no traitors in Ohio. [Applause.] We welcome immigrants, but when they come they must begin at once to become Americans. We have seen the day when Ohio was laughed at for her forty-eight colleges. I have never laughed at it. I said a few days

ago there was more Americanization taking place on the football fields in Ohio every fall than in any other place in the country because we sing the same songs, experience the same emotions and suppress all differences. I think that in our Ohio colleges, in our Ohio homes, and in the hearts of our people there is something we cannot lose. That is what I want the man who comes into our midst to participate in. Our distinguished President said we did not ask anything for ourselves in this great war, that we did not ask for others; but I wish to say that we do not have anything in Ohio that we are happy about that we are not willing to share with any other man or woman in Ohio, and thus enable them to become what we ourselves ought to be. The spirit of Ohio is the desire for the development of that kind of character in men and women. I should like to see the Universities, Colleges and Schools become the agency for that work. Let me say that I believe the greatest characteristic of this state has been the dependability of her citizenship. No man has ever become a member of this society and lived in it a year and then felt that here is a place where any ulterior or selfish purpose could have a place. We ought to see that our colleges shall be as far from that selfishness as it is possible to be in this world of ours. It is with such men and women as I believe you to be that Ohio is putting forth her supreme effort in the making of men and women whose hearts are warm, whose conduct is above reproach, whose patriotism will stand the test, whose citizenship is a citizenship that will do honor to Ohio at home and abroad. There is nothing small, or narrow, or provincial in the Ohio people; albeit some people express it that way. They are mistaken. Ohio is a place of profound conviction, of calm consideration, of religious liberty, of sound personal judgment. It is a place worthy of our greatest endeavor in doing things that are right, so that our commonwealth may throughout the years be proud of its manhood and womanhood. I trust we shall hold these high ideals, so that, just as our grandfathers one hundred years ago helped to make Ohio what it is, we shall help to make it a better place — so that we shall be better Buckeyes and better Americans.

GIFTS OF CHARLES F. KETTERING.

PRESIDENT CAMPBELL: "Speaking of the University, I have a letter from an alumni, a resident of Dayton. In this letter he explains that he is unable to be here today, Had he been here he would have presented to our Society, first, an archaeological collection which he purchased at a great price; and, second, the

Miamisburg Mound. To obtain this mound he had to buy a farm of more than two hundred acres. He has set aside the mound, which has been deeded to this Society, and is spending



CHARLES F. KETTERING.

a large amount of money to make it a park. It will be a pleasure ground and park for the people of Ohio forever. I would suggest that some one offer a resolution thanking Mr. Charles F. Kettering, the donor of these gifts."

MR. WOOD: "I move that we express, by a rising vote, our appreciation and thanks to Mr. Kettering for his splendid gifts; and that we also empower the President and Secretary of this Society to prepare appropriate resolutions to Governor Cox, Mr. Meeker and Mr. Kettering for their great gifts." Carried.

JOHN BROWN RELICS.

In the absence of Mrs. T. B. Alexander, of Put-in-Bay, Ohio, granddaughter of John Brown, who had consented if possible to be present and personally transfer the John Brown relics to the custody of the Society, C. B. Galbreath, the Secretary of the Society, read the following telegram from Mr. T. B. Alexander and the greeting from Mrs. Alexander:

TELEGRAM.

"C. B. GALBREATH,
"Columbus, Ohio.

"Severe storm on lake since Monday. No small boats could live in it. Regret my inability to be present. Please present our regrets to Governor Cox and all and you act as our proxy delivering Mrs. Alexander's message to the distinguished guests.

"T. B. ALEXANDER."

GREETING OF MRS. T. B. ALEXANDER, GRANDDAUGHTER OF JOHN BROWN.

"My grandfather, John Brown, was concerned about the legacy of reputation he should leave to his children. On October 31, 1859, while in prison awaiting execution he wrote to his wife and family:

"I feel no consciousness of guilt in this matter, nor even mortification on account of my imprisonment and irons; and I feel perfectly sure that very soon no member of my family will feel any possible disposition to blush on my account."

"A few days later he wrote:

"I can trust God with both the time and the manner of my death, believing as I now do, that for me at this time to seal my testimony for God and humanity with my blood will do vastly more toward advancing the cause I have earnestly endeavored to promote, than all that I have done in my life before. I beg you all meekly and quietly to submit to this, not feeling yourselves in the least degraded on that account."

"On November 28, 1859, his son, John Brown, Jr., my father, in a farewell letter to his father, my grandfather, written from Ashtabula, Ohio, said among other things:

"We feel rich in the legacy of your life and your deeds * * * and now, dear father, be cheered by our conviction that your life furnishes the best vindication of your memory; that, even *now*, your motives are appreciated by those whose hearts are susceptible of generous and noble emotions.'

"With these legacies in mind, it seems to me that if the spirits of my grandfather and his children could return, they would be gratified to know with what marks of respect and honor these relics and mementoes of the days in which they lived have been received in the custody of Ohio—the state in which he lived and in which fourteen of his sons and daughters were born."

After reading the message from Mrs. Alexander Secretary Galbreath at the request of President Campbell gave a general description of the large collection of John Brown relics now on exhibition in the museum of the Society. He stated that "these include guns, swords, uniforms, surveying instruments, autograph letters, photographs, daguerreotypes and other items ranging from bullet molds to locks of the hair and beard of this sturdy old anti-slavery warrior and a bronze replica of the gold medal presented to John Brown's wife by Victor Hugo and his associates. Mr. Galbreath's remarks are omitted here because he expects to include a portion of what he said on this occasion in future articles in the *QUARTERLY*."

Mr. Ryan presented the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That in recognition of services and gifts to this Society, The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society create life memberships in said Society as follows: Hon. James M. Cox, Governor of Ohio; Mr. Charles F. Kettering, of Dayton, Ohio; Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Alexander, of Put-in-Bay, Ohio, and Mr. John G. Deshler, of Columbus, Ohio."

The resolution was adopted by a rising vote.

On motion of Mr. Wood the meeting adjourned.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDINGS.

COMPILED BY THE EDITOR.

On the following pages are presented brief statements of what Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota, all younger states than Ohio, have done for their historical societies. Half-tone cuts of the New Hampshire and Ohio buildings are also shown.

Other states and a number of cities have erected buildings not less notable.

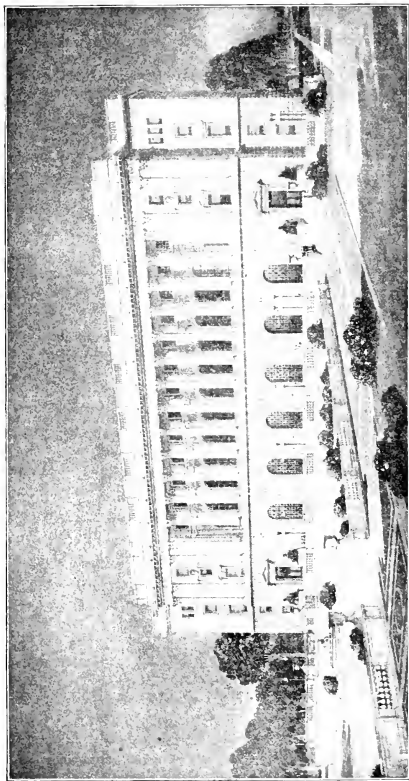
The Historical Society of Buffalo has a building of which any state might be proud. The work of this society ranks high and its publications are recognized as authoritative.

San Francisco, within the current year has received through the generosity and public spirit of M. H. de Young a memorial museum and buildings valued at over \$5,000,000. The magnificent group of buildings in which the museum is housed is located in the famous Golden Gate Park. Through years to come it will speak of the triumph of American civilization and the crowning glory that marks the westward course of empire on this continent. It is fitting that while Liberty Enlightening the World stands at the port of our eastern metropolis, the muse of history should look upon the ocean from her palace at the gateway of the Pacific Slope.

No state west of the Allegheny Mountains has contributed more to the service of American progress than has our own Ohio. We are justly proud of the record. Our orators eloquently admit this on the platform and the hustings. Assuredly Ohio will do her full share in providing for the preservation of the relics, sources and monuments of her remarkable history.

ILLINOIS

The State of Illinois is erecting a Centennial Memorial Building which will cost when completed and equipped over \$1,500,000. \$950,000 has already been appropriated. This will provide quarters for the Illinois Historical Society and its State Museum, including a Lincoln Room, the Illinois State Library.



CENTENNIAL MEMORIAL BUILDING,
Home of the Illinois State Historical Society.

an auditorium and a few minor offices. The cut herewith presented shows that the State of Illinois has entered the class of New York in liberal manifestation of interest in her history.

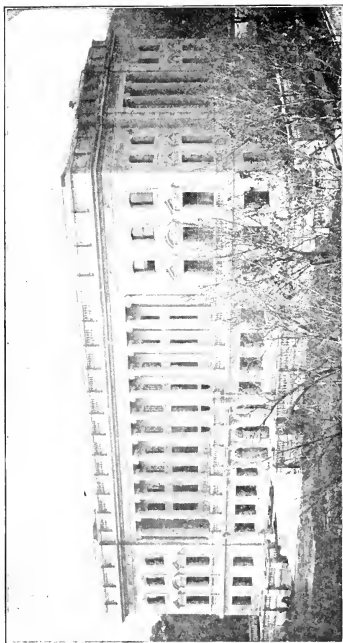
"Growth and development beyond the prophet's most sanguine expectations have thus far marked the progress of American life; who is brave enough to predict that the mighty current shows even the slightest signs of diminution? The problem therefore is, while planning wisely and sanely for today to let each step be a preparation for the marvelous unseen activities of tomorrow.

"The Centennial Building will thus be seen to have a dual importance — important not only as a monumental memorial marking in enduring stone the completion of the first hundred years of a great State's existence, but important also as a symbol of greater achievements by that State and its people in the years that lie before. A double vision has inspired and directed those who have had the work in charge — a vision of the past and a vision of the future.

"Not only with regard to the setting and surroundings of the Centennial Building, but in planning the building itself, has the idea of future development been kept firmly in mind, so that the oft-repeated error of building a structure which becomes outgrown and crowded after a decade or two might be avoided."
— *Edgar Martin, Supervising Architect.*

WISCONSIN

Wisconsin, although admitted into the Union forty-five years later than Ohio, has excelled all other states carved out of the Northwest Territory, in collecting, arranging and safeguarding the sources of local, state and national history. Ohio students and authors, after they have exhausted the scattered resources in their own state, must go to the Wisconsin Historical Society to consult books, maps and manuscripts that cannot be found elsewhere in the Mississippi Valley. So interested in the history of their state have the people of Wisconsin become that they do not wait for gifts and bequests. The state appropriated for the erection of a building for her historical society, \$650,000. Sub-



BUILDING OF THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

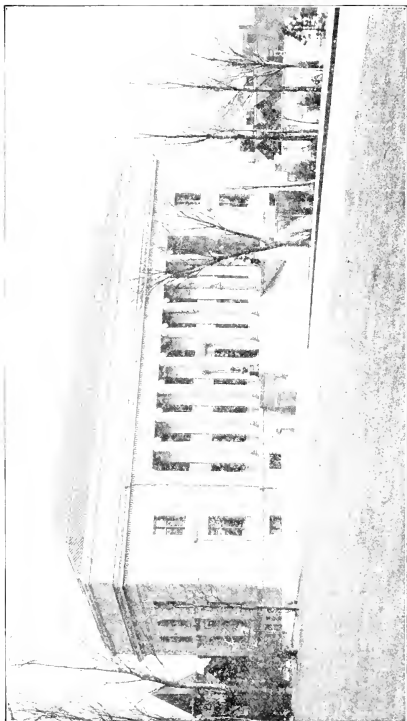
sequent appropriations have been made for equipment and the value of this noble structure, to which the citizens of the entire state contributed and in which they take an especial pride, is not less than \$1,000,000.

There is now in this building which is located near the state university perhaps the most valuable collection on American history to be found in any institution west of the Allegheny Mountains. Students of local history from other states of the Middle West must go to Wisconsin for their sources of information. This state through a number of years has built up a living monument in its library of books, documents and manuscripts. In this respect Wisconsin has set a notable and noble example for her sister states.

MINNESOTA

Minnesota, a comparatively young state, is following the example of her adjoining neighbor, Wisconsin. The stately building pictured above on May 11, 1918, was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. For it the state appropriated \$500,000.

"The Minnesota Historical Society was organized in 1849, under territorial charter, and for many years has looked forward to having a building of its own. A fund was gradually accumulated for the purchase of such a building, in the event of the society having to build for itself. This, however, was not a large sum, and it would have been many years before the society itself could have built a proper home. When the present Capitol was built, rooms were provided for the society in the basement and these served our purpose for some years. In 1913 the legislature, recognizing the need, made a very generous provision, an appropriation of five hundred thousand dollars, for the building, the society agreeing to pay seventy-five thousand dollars for the purchase of a site and for furnishing the building. The site first selected by the board of control, and approved by the society, was purchased from this fund at a cost of thirty-five thousand dollars. The title was acquired by the state, and the state still owns the property. Before plans for the building had been perfected, it was recognized by the board of control and the society that a mistake had been made



BUILDING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

in the selection of the first site, and the legislature was asked to, and did, amend the bill, so as to provide for the erection of a building upon a site to be selected by the society." — *Charles P. Noyes, at dedication of Minnesota Historical Building.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE

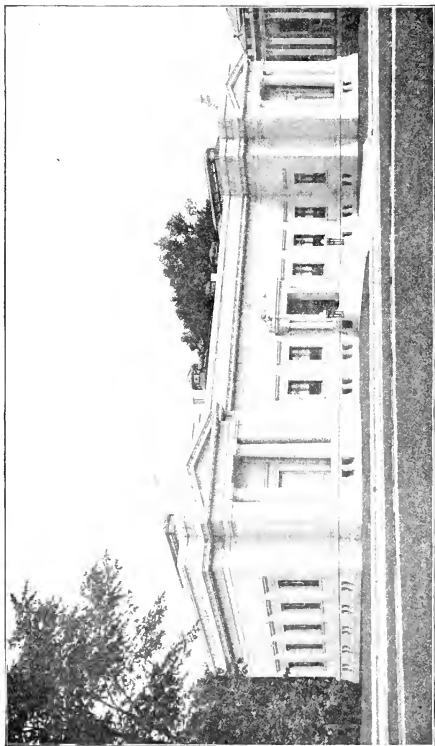
This beautiful and substantial structure was erected at a cost of over \$600,000. New Hampshire has many creditable library, educational and institutional buildings; New Hampshire has and will have only one historical society building. No other structure will rise to rival it or share in its distinctive purpose. By his generous gift Edward Tuck has erected an enduring monument to himself as well as to his native state.

In recent years public spirited, patriotic persons with ample fortunes have done much to encourage the preservation of local and state history. Such citizens have erected substantial buildings for their historical societies. In some instances they have been aided by the municipality or the state; in others they have provided without assistance for such buildings. A notable example is seen in the splendid building that has been erected for the New Hampshire Historical Society through the generosity and public spirit of Edward Tuck.

Opportunities to do much in this line are still open to wealthy, public spirited men of Ohio. Colonel Webb C. Hayes, as will be seen by reference to the concluding page of this circular, has presented to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society the homestead of his father, Rutherford B. Hayes, former President of the United States, and created trust funds for the maintenance of this splendid property including the Memorial Library Building at Spiegel Grove. The opportunity remains for patriotic citizens of the state to contribute to the collections of the Society, to provide funds for publications or an additional building and thus to link their names permanently with the incomparable history of the Buckeye State.

OHIO

Above is a small cut of the museum and library building of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. This



BUILDING OF NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(553)

is really the High Street front of a structure which when completed will extend 250 feet back on the grounds of the Ohio State University. The present building awaits funds for additions in accordance with the original plan. \$100,000 was appropriated for this building, and it has been so carefully expended that perhaps no state building in Columbus exhibits a more satisfactory return for the investment. It is well lighted and thoroughly fireproof. It stands at the main entrance to the Ohio State University grounds and continually invites students from every section of the state to its museum, illustrating the archæology and history of Ohio, and to its growing library which



MUSEUM AND LIBRARY BUILDING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

in time will take rank with the historical libraries that have been built up in other progressive states.

Within the past year the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society has been greatly encouraged by the manifestation of an awakened public interest in its important work. Within that period gifts in cash, real estate and relics valued at not less than \$70,000 have come to the Society through the agency of public spirited citizens of the state. This includes \$47,000 earned by motion picture films of Camp Sherman and transferred by Governor James M. Cox to the Society to be used in constructing wholly or in part an addition to the present building which shall be dedicated to the soldiers of the World

War. This sum is now available if adequately supplemented by appropriations from the Legislature and gifts from other sources.

The present building is already overcrowded. Ohio's share of the relics of the World War will soon be transferred from Washington to the custody of our state. Most of them will come to the Society. Provision must be made for their care and preservation.

In the October *QUARTERLY* is an address delivered by former Governor James E. Campbell, President of the Society. It sets forth what Colonel Webb C. Hayes has done by the transfer to the state in the custody of the Society property worth over half a million dollars. If the state will do its part other public spirited citizens will be encouraged to follow the generous and patriotic example of Colonel Hayes.



OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BY THE EDITOR.

"KENTUCKY — MOTHER OF UNITED STATES SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES."

This is the title of valuable compilation by A. C. Quisenberry published in *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* for January, 1920. It appears from this that Kentucky has given to other states sixty-one United States senators and one hundred fifty-one representatives in Congress, making a total of two hundred twelve. Deducting names duplicated, ninety-one in number, there remain one hundred twenty-one different persons from Kentucky who served other states in the United States Congress. Those who served Ohio in the Senate were Alexander Campbell, Thomas Corwin and William A. Trimble. Those who served our state in the House of Representatives were Moses B. Corwin, Thomas Corwin, Tom L. Johnson, John McLean, William McLean, Wilson Shannon, Joe B. Stevenson and James January Winans. All of the foregoing were born in Kentucky except Shannon who was born in Ohio and educated in Kentucky. It seems that that state claims to be mother to all the Congressmen that lived any considerable time within her borders and afterwards represented other states. This makes the figures quoted appear somewhat less impressive, but after a further deduction is made for those born in other states than Kentucky the list is a long one and entitles Kentucky to her claim of "Mother of United States Senators and Representatives." A like contribution for the QUARTERLY setting forth Ohio's claim to a similar distinction would be timely in view of our approach to the distinguished title of "Mother of Presidents."

"THE OHIO WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW."

Since the publication of the *QUARTERLY* for January, 1920, frequent complaints have been made by the representatives of one of the dominant political parties in regard to the article entitled "The Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law." It has been charged that the author of that article, Mr. Mengert, is a partisan; that he has not stated fairly the leading facts in regard to the attitude of prominent public men toward the law; that the views of former Governor Frank B. Willis, now United States Senator, and Governor James M. Cox are not fairly presented; that the article in fact is political propaganda in the interest of a party and its prominent leader; that due credit has not been given former Governor Harmon for his influence in the inauguration of workmen's compensation in Ohio; that Governor Cox was not originally in favor of the state monopoly feature of the present law; that workmen's compensation was not an important issue in the gubernatorial campaign in 1914; that both Cox and Willis and their respective parties favored workmen's compensation in that campaign; that the favorable attitude of Governor Willis toward the law through his administration has not been fairly shown in the article. The complaints have come from individual Republicans and those connected with the state organization of that party. They have said that while they have not brought political discussion into this publication and do not desire to do so, they are unwilling, without protest, to have the article on "The Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law" written down for the perusal of the present and future generations in a publication of the dignity and authority of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly.

The Editor wishes to state in this connection that the article in question was published in the interval between his appointment as Secretary and the death of his predecessor, Honorable E. O. Randall. The Society was without a Secretary and the *QUARTERLY* without an Editor when the article was published.

Workmen's compensation in Ohio has been a subject of partisan controversy since the year 1912. The literature issued by the campaign committees of both parties teems with charges

and counter-charges on issues growing out of this subject. Those interested are referred to this literature and the newspapers for the attitude of men and parties toward workmen's compensation. No good purpose can be subserved by the publication in the QUARTERLY of the views of representatives of political parties on this subject. It should be sufficient to record here the fact that a protest has been made. The Society desires the interest and support of prominent Ohioans of all parties. The QUARTERLY cannot afford to devote its space to matters of current political controversy. If a mistake has been made in this matter in the past it cannot be corrected now by repetition. We are sure that upon mature consideration this will be the view of members of our Society and of all persons interested in its work or in the controversy to which we have felt it necessary to make this reference.

JOSEPH S. BENHAM.

Joseph S. Benham was an eminent lawyer of Cincinnati at the time of Lafayette's visit to that city. His fame preceded that event by a number of years. It is celebrated in *Horace in Cincinnati* which was published in 1824. In this poem he is referred to as follows:

With person of gigantic size,
With thund'ring voice, and piercing eyes,
When great Stentorius deigns to rise,
 Adjacent crowds assemble,
To hear a sage the laws expound,
In language strong, by reasoning sound.
Till, though yet not guilty found,
 The culprits fear and tremble.

He was an orator of impressive power and personality. Levasseur paid fitting tribute to the address of Benham on the occasion of Lafayette's visit to Cincinnati. References to the eloquent advocate are found in *The Centennial History of Cincinnati*, page 629, in Carter's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of the Courts and the Bar* pages 38-41 and in Masfield's *Personal Memories* pages 164-165.

He was a Kentuckian by birth and his daughter became the wife of George D. Prentice, the gifted editor and writer of Louisville, Kentucky.

HONORS AWARDED TO OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY MEN.

The following announcement in a local paper is of general interest. We are pleased to note that our state archaeologist is included in the honor roll:

"Membership in the Ohio State University chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, honorary scholastic fraternity, has been conferred upon ten Ohio State alumni, distinguished for their literary, artistic or humanitarian work. They include, Charles Magee Adams, B. A. Milford, editor of *The Valley Enterprise* of Milford and contributor to national magazines although totally blind; Frank Bohn, Ph. D., New York, writer on socialism, member of the foreign branch of the United States committee on public information and representative of the Socialist party at the Berne conference; Thomas H. Dickinson, Pelham, N. Y., author and dramatist; Thomas E. French, M. E., Columbus, professor of engineering drawing at Ohio State and winner of prizes in exhibitions of American Bookplate society; Robert F. Griggs, Columbus, Ph. D., explorer of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes in Alaska, professor of botany at Ohio State and member of staff of National Geographic magazine; Dr. Roy D. McClure, surgeon-in-chief of Henry Ford hospital, Detroit, and author of articles on medical subjects; Charles F. Marvin, M. E., Washington, chief of the United States weather bureau, inventor of meteorological instruments and author of articles on weather topics; William C. Mills, M. S., Columbus, curator of Ohio Archaeological and Historical museum and author of works on archaeological subjects, and Dr. Harry H. Snively, M. A., Columbus, who served in Russia before the war, fought typhus for American Red Cross in central Europe and served as major in the United States Army."

The Southwestern Historical Quarterly for October, 1920, contains a carefully prepared article on "The Hayes Administration and Mexico." This is of Ohio interest because it sets forth the attitude of an Ohio President pending the firm establishment of Diaz at the outset of his long domination over the

affairs of our sister republic south of the Rio Grande. We are all more or less familiar with the Mexican troubles under the administration of President Wilson but the serious difficulties that confronted our government in dealing with a distressing and delicate situation in that quarter when Hayes was president have been in a measure forgotten. It is worth while that they be recalled at this time.

Mr. H. R. Mengert desires to have added to his article on "The Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law" the following note:

"The United States Supreme Court finally settled the case to which reference has been made when a decision was rendered in the Thornton litigation upholding the Ohio Supreme Court in a ruling that the initiated act of 1917 is constitutional and that it prohibits continuation of indemnity contracts for the repayment of awards paid by insuring employers who carry their own risks. The decision finally ended the business of a few liability insurance companies protecting some 675 employers. It was a final victory for the workmen's compensation law."

The Secretary of the Ohio Historical Commission, Mr. W. Farrand Felch, has prepared a very complete resume of his work for the past year. The Civil War Historian, Colonel W. L. Curry, has presented a brief report. In a future issue of the QUARTERLY we hope to give a summary of the work of each.



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