FACTS AND CONDITIONS

OF

PROGRESS IN THE NORTH-WEST.

BEING THE

ANNUAL DISCOURSE FOR 1850,

BEFORE

THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO; DELIVERED APRIL 8, THE SIXTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE STATE.

BY WILLIAM D. GALLAGHER.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY, AND OTHER MATTER.

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DISCOURSE.

By the constitution of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, it is made the duty of the President of this association, at the anniversary each year, to deliver a public discourse on some subject lying within the appropriate fields of its investigation. Occupying, at the present time, the position referred to, I appear before you, Gentlemen of the Society, for the purpose of discharging the duty thus imposed. And the theme to which I have thought proper to invite your attention, is—THE FACTS AND CONDITIONS OF PROGRESS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN SECTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

That part of American Literature, which is made up of the different descriptions of the Public Discourse, delivered on occasions of anniversary and other periodical celebrations, though characterized by a brilliant diction and a philosophic spirit, and informed with the learning of by-gone ages, has been too often deficient in the great events bearing upon our own immediate times, and, consequently, lacking in that prophetic spirit, whose broad and intelligent survey extends at once over the past and the future, and founds upon the present an encouraging hope for man.

The great majority of these discourses, which do not perish in the day that gives them birth, are evidently the work of abilities far beyond my own, and filled with a wisdom to which I make no pretensions. It would ill be-

come me, especially on an occasion like this, to usurp the seat of literary justice, and pronounce judgment upon them, even if satisfied, as I am not, that their defects were many. All I mean to say is, that it seems to me they too often, though filled with the wisdom of Egypt, the art of Greece, and the grandeur of Rome, though charged with the learning of the European Continent and instinct with the spirit of liberty that has moved with a mighty presence from the Isle of Britain, yet fail to produce and array, as they might, the facts that have borne upon our own past, and shape our immediate present, and will enter into our near and far future. Many of them have also been deficient, I think, in making that clear and distinctive presentation of the conditions of our progress as a people, which would be useful to us, both as warning voices and as guiding hands.

In attempting to do for our own section of the Union, what so many have failed to do for other sections and for the whole, I may be undertaking that which is beyond the capabilities of a single discourse, and fail also. But feeling, in the broad and beautiful region of country to which I belong, an interest surpassed by that of no other man; having watched its progress for a quarter of a century, with a closeness that has permitted little to pass unobserved; and possessing some views as to its future advancement, which are the result of my best reflections, I feel impelled, be the hazard what it may, to make the attempt.

My subject divides itself naturally into two parts: the first, treating of the facts of our past progress; the second, of the conditions of our future advancement.

I. The Facts of Past Progress in the North-Western States.

The facts of our past progress, I do not propose to show in anything like detail. This would be an encyclopedic task — even were it desirable — for which I should not have time, nor you patience. Beside, our history is so recent, that its details are familiar to the minds of all of adult age. The general features of that progress, with the grand outline of the domain upon which it has been made, are all that I shall attempt to present.

PROGRESS being one of those indefinite terms, which are made, in the using, to mean, at times, almost anything, and at other times almost nothing, it may be proper to determine its signification as employed in this discourse. Ordinarily, it is made to stand for almost anything in the nature of *movement*, physical, moral, or spiritual — forward, sidewise, or backward. Here, it is used in its most comprehensive sense, as the equivalent of the term Human Civilization. But even this explanation may be unsatisfactory; for CIVILIZATION itself is a word more easily understood through its popular signification, than defined from its classical origin. Symbolically, it may be described as a plant of everlasting growth, whose roots are in the nature of man, which germinates in his savage state, which sends up its stately trunk and develops its beautiful foliage in his political or social condition, which unfolds its flowers only in a state of human excellence that has not *yet* been reached by any nation of the earth, and which finally matures its fruits among the angels of heaven, in the Great Hereafter. Or it may be presented

as an unbroken chain of events and consequences, whose beginning is in the soul of man as he exists upon earth, whose links are perfect to the Eternal Eye, though to the human vision their connection is often lost, whose different sections stretch from historic epoch to epoch, under the Supreme design and guidance binding together the whole, and whose end is in the bosom of God.

But in less abstract terms, Civilization may be described as that part of human progress which takes man in his savage or his nomadic state,— that state which had its type in the Gothic hordes before the Conquest of Rome, or that which is represented now by the wild Indian tribes of the North-American Continent, — and instructs his understanding, cultivates the affections of his heart, elevates his tastes and desires, improves his physical condition, till he is endowed with the arts generally of peaceful and associated life: agriculture, commerce, trade, manufactures, science, painting, sculpture, music, literature, and others of the more elegant and refining accomplishments of Society.

The art and the weapons of war belong to the nomadic and the savage state, as do also religions, and, to some extent, the marriage relation, with more or less skill in rude fabrics. These, therefore, are not *peculiar* to civilization, though existing with it, and carried by it to a condition of refinement of which their original state gives but the feeblest promise.

Neither Christianity, nor a knowledge of God, is necessarily a part of human civilization, in all its first developments, even to a state of very great perfection. The Apostle Paul found a high civilization at Athens,

where temples the most beautiful the world has seen were dedicated, in express terms, "To THE UNKNOWN GOD." Robespierre lived amid the highest civilization known in the eighteenth century, and in it the names of God and Christ were both mocked, and Human Reason was enthroned as the Supreme Intelligence.

Modern civilization, however—which is but another term for *Christian* civilization—has a more comprehensive signification than the word Civilization simply. The ancient civilizations were essentially selfish. Kings, priests, and nobles, were the almost exclusive recipients of their bounties, while the masses of people remained ignorant, oppressed, superstitious, and were of little weight in either the church or the state.* Amid the splendors of those old civilizations, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, flourished; the art of war was carefully cultivated; and, among the opulent and selfish few, the elegant arts, literature, science, and the refinements of life generally, were carried to a high state of perfection. But all this was for the *castes* and *orders*, and not for the masses of men. The results were, the elevation of the few, and the degradation of the many.

From those ancient civilizations, the modern civilization differs essentially. *It* is emphatically the civilization of MAN: not that of kings, priests, and nobles. It is pervaded by the spirit of Love—the spirit of Jesus—which is a spirit of good to man. It is full-charged with

* From this general characterizing, the Hebrew civilization, which *had* the knowledge of God, and was in some peculiar manner under his immediate direction, is, of course, excepted.

the promises of the Gospel, which promises come to all who shall hear and heed them. It speaks to the poor and lowly, as nothing else has spoken, but the voice of the Son of God. It says to the proud noble, whose brows are decked with a dazzling coronet, to the priest at the altar, dressed in his shining vestments, to the monarch on his imperial throne, whose word is fate to the millions over whom his dominion extends, and whose blazonry of diamonds, and stars of gold, and robes of purple, rival the luster of the glittering heavens: "*Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return!*" while to the humblest human being, who looks up from his low estate and his hard toil, and blesses God, it shouts: "Be of good cheer! Thou art a man! The Son knoweth thee, and the Father forgetteth thee never! The day of deliverance draweth nigh!"

The ancient civilizations were sensuous: the modern civilization is spiritual. The ancient civilizations encouraged distinctions: the modern civilization proclaims, in tones that thrill and echo through the universe, "God is no respecter of persons!" The ancient civilizations made of woman a slave to man's caprices, appetites, and power, and denied her anything approaching to equality of state with him: the modern civilization declares her equality, praises and protects her virtues, seeks to educate her intellect and develop her deepest affections, and proclaims her "a ministering angel" amid the doubt, and suffering, and nefarious wrongs of life. The ancient civilizations built the pyramids and the palaces of Egypt, founded the magnificent empires and the rich cities of Asia, erected the temples of Greece, and constructed the Appian Way and the

Roman Aqueducts: the modern civilization builds the common school, the christian church, the lunatic asylum, the institution for the blind, the school for the deaf and dumb, the hospital, and the almshouse. The ancient civilizations inclosed their cities, and even their countries, within high and strong walls, to protect them alike from the rapacity and the weapons of neighboring peoples: the modern civilization connects its cities by good roads and canals, to invite visits from one another, and constructs railways from state to state, and across continents from ocean to ocean, to facilitate intercommunication, and thus brings and binds peoples together, instead of walling them apart. The ancient civilizations decorated the walls and columns of their temples and dwellings with paintings and sculptures, representing personal conflicts, conquerors returning from battle bearing the dismembered heads of the slain, and other evidences of the bloody exertion of brute strength: the modern civilization fills its private residences and public halls with paintings and statues that awaken the purer associations, call into activity the higher sentiments, and fill the mind and heart with images of beauty, truth, holiness, and love. The ancient civilizations sent armies abroad, to conquer and subdue with the sword and with fire: the modern civilization sends the schoolmaster and the missionary abroad, to conquer and subdue with intellectual light, with gospel truth, with human and divine love.

Such in itself, and such by contrast, is Modern Civilization: the *Progress* of which I speak. Eighteen hundred years ago its seeds were sown in Palestine and the Holy Land, and since then they have been silently

but ceaselessly germinating, and springing up, and spreading over the world, which is sooner or later to feel their presence in its whole extent. Just at this time, from the wickedness and folly of other nations and the favors shown our own, the elements of a civilization still higher than even this, seem to be gathering on the wide territories of the United States. The physical and moral grounds upon which this is basing itself, and the social and spiritual conditions of its advancement, are topics which would seem to be worthy the consideration of all classes, but especially of the Historical Student and the Christian Philosopher.

On the North-American Continent, scooped out by the hand of Omnipotence with wonderful adaptation to the wants of man, and the purposes of his existence, lies the most stupendous and favored Inland Valley upon which the sun shines. Having for its eastern edge the Allegheny and the Cumberland Mountains, and for its western the Rocky Mountains and the Black Hills, for its northern rim the summitlands between Lake Winnipeg and the headwaters of the Mississippi River, and for its southern the Guadalupe Mountains and the Gulf of Mexico, it extends in one direction over twenty-four parallels of longitude, and in the other embraces eighteen degrees of latitude. Within it are all the varieties of temperate climate, and all the geological and topographical features that are essential to fit it for the residence of man. It produces in perfection all the fruits and vegetables that are most valued by civilized communities for wholesome and nutritive properties, and all the grains

that are so associated with the history of mankind, as to have received the name of "the staff of life." Its rivers are the most wonderful known to Christendom, and its lakes are so large, and commercially so important, as to have been designated "inland seas." Its mineral wealth is beyond computation; the richness of its soil is inexhaustible; and its general adaptation to the purposes of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, is unsurpassed, perhaps unequaled, by that of any other part of the earth.

Geographically, it is difficult to conceive of anything better than the position of this great valley, whose plains stretch west from the base of the Allegheny Mountains to the Mississippi River, with an almost uniform pitch in that direction, and east from the base of the Rocky Mountains to the same water, with an almost uniform pitch in this direction, the two natural divisions meeting in that great trough, and finding on its edges their lowest common level. Into the immense channel on this level, pour, generally in an east and southeast direction, the waters from the hither slopes of the Rocky Mountains, and the drainage from the western half of the great valley: into it also pour, generally in a west and southwest direction, the waters from the hither slopes of the Alleghenies, and the drainage of the eastern half of the valley: showing that not only have the two natural divisions of this Great Basin Plain an eastern and a western declivity, but that both divisions have also a common pitch to the south, which at the same time carries their surplus waters into the Gulf of Mexico, exposes their fertile bosoms to the warm and generating

beams of the sun, and secures to them an unfailing prevalence of gentle and salubrious winds.

The western of these two natural divisions of the great valley under view, is for the most part a desert land, and much of it must for a long course of years remain so. Some of it, also, is totally unfitted for the abode of man, and will forever continue an uninhabited waste. But the uniformly cultivable character of the eastern division, is one of the most remarkable features of this region. This division is watered as is no other known country, and divided into uplands and lowlands, hillranges and intervening valleys, heavily-timbered tracts and naked prairies, which alternate over much of its surface in a manner the most favorable to the productive interests of life. Upland and lowland, prairie and forest, alike have a soil of great fertility, the capacity of which to produce, under good tillage, is inexhaustible.

In this division of the great valley, natural and artificial causes have induced a subdivision, the more important part of which is called the North-West. The region thus known has an almost uniform south-western exposure, and embraces nearly the whole of the valley north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, stretching from the western slopes of the Alleghenies to the Mississippi River, and beyond that great natural line ascending the western division first to the eighteenth parallel of longitude west from Washington, then to the nineteenth parallel, and finally (in Minnesota) to the twentieth. This region, as now organized and civilly divided, embraces the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin, with Minnesota Territory,

the aggregate superficial area of which is 478,349 square miles — to which I add a small strip of Western Virginia and Western Pennsylvania lying immediately upon the Ohio River, and on its two forming tributaries chiefly near their point of confluence, and obtain, in round numbers, the grand territoral extent of 500,000 square miles, or three hundred and twenty millions of acres: * a territorial superficies greater than the entire extent of the Original Thirteen States of the Union.

This is the great field of observation, that is now spread before me. And ere surveying it, with a view to my ultimate purpose, it is necessary to go back to some specific period, as a starting point from which to trace its progress. We are now just at the middle of a hundred years. The meridian line of the nineteenth century is over our heads. Fifty years is but a short time in the history of great nations: and fifty years ago the oldest State † of this region, was admitted into the Union. To the beginning of this century, then, let us turn, for a moment, and see what there was in the region under view, at that time, to invite the presence of civilized man. At Pittsburgh, at Marietta, at Cincinnati, at the Falls of the Ohio, on the Muskingum, the Kentucky, the Wabash, the Upper Mississippi, and the Illinois Rivers, and scattered about at a few other points, were small villages, composed in part of hardy adventurers, soldiers, and traders, in a small degree of men of education and ambition, who had sought

* See note A.

† Kentucky, it is true, was admitted in 1792, but did not fairly get "under way" as a State till 1799, when she amended her Constitution.

the region that they might grow up with it to wealth and distinction, and to some extent of religious missionaries and their converts from among the aboriginal tribes. There were none of the refinements of life here, and but few of its comforts. The whole population of the State of Kentucky was then 220,955 persons, that of what is now the State of Ohio was 45,365, and that of Indiana 4,875. And this was about all: 271,195 persons, scattered over an area of 500,000 square miles — making an average of one person to a fraction less than two square miles. On the Ohio River were a few barges and keelboats, and now and then one or two of this description of craft would ascend the Upper Mississippi to St. Louis; but the waters of the Illinois, the Wabash, and other streams, and those also of the Lakes, were still swept by the birchen bark of the Indian. Ten years later, Kentucky had a population of 406,511 persons, Ohio of 230,760, Indiana of 24,520, Missouri of 20,845, Illinois of 12,282, and Michigan of 4,762: making an agregate of 699,680, or one person on the average to about every three quarters of a mile square.

The tide of emigration had now fairly *set* in this direction. Little communities were pitching their tents and building their cabins on most of the better streams. The settler's ax resounded through the depths of the wilderness in all directions, and the blue smoke curled above the tops of the tall trees, at once advising newcomers of the presence of a habitation, and giving the watchful savage note of a place where he might strike at those who were encroaching on his old heritage. The Indians were now receding fast before the whites—going reluctantly, but

every year further and further — their dark forms disappearing in the recesses of the wilderness, as the dusky shadows of a dark and unblest age, recede and disappear before the light of a high, christian civilization. And all this continued — and in another period of ten years, the population of the region had swelled to 1,423,622.

A new agent of civilization and settlement was now introduced. The keel of the steamboat had been plowing the waters of the West for three or four years. This description of navigation was no longer a mere experiment. Speaking relatively to what was then attempted, it had succeeded; and every time the escape of steam or the splash of the paddles woke the echoes of the still solitary shores, a requiem sounded for the departing Indian, and a song of gladness went up for the arrival of his adventurous successor. The genius of Fulton was, in the hands of these adventurers, the Lamp of Aladin: it opened to them freely the doors of the Great West, frightened away their enemies, and displayed to their enraptured gaze, the many and glittering charms of this beautiful land. And still the paddles dashed the waters — and still the piercing shriek of the escapepipe woke the deep echoes — and still the child of the forest receded further and further —and still rolled on the stream of emigration, through the gaps of the Cumberland, over the hights of the Alleghenies, down into the rich valley through which coursed the calm waters of the Ohio. And another period of ten years passed — the third decade in the half century — and the population was become 2,298,390.

By this time, over nearly the whole broad bosom of the region which I have mapped out, were scattered the habi-

tations of men, and introduced the institutions of christian, civilized life. In the interiors of its different sections, the wigwams of the savage had given place to the cabins of the newcomers, and the farmhouses of the first settlers. On the small streams, which everywhere sent up their glad voices, giving to the deep solitude a tongue that was eloquent, the hand of enterprise had taken the willing waters, and borne them to the clattering wheels of the manufactory, where they labored and yet sported, and, like virtue, were overruled and yet free. On the broad lakes, on the mighty rivers, the arm of Steam —

> "That fleshless arm, whose pulses leap
> With floods of living fire," —

was propelling the gigantic hull, freighted with hundreds of human beings, coming from afar to cultivate the land, to fabricate its crude products, to engage in trade and commerce, to "multiply and replenish the earth." On the great natural highways, populous cities had taken the place of the primeval groves, and the schoolhouse, the church, the depots of commerce, and the elegant mansion, invited the on-coming multitudes to seek in and around them new and better homes. And the years of the fourth decade were told, and the population had swelled to 4,131,370 souls.

Still went on the work. The seat of a commerce of hundreds of millions per year, was this now populous region.* The marts of its trade were filled with the surplus products of its soil, which were borne away in thousands of vessels, to feed the hungry in less-favored lands.

* See note B.

Its flocks were feeding on unnumbered hills, and in countless fields its crops sprang up, and ripened, and bowed before the sickle. That subtle Power, which by water had brought its myriads of people to its generous bosom, and borne its rich products away in exchange for what its own soil did not yield, scorned longer to be confined to the rivers and the lakes, and their comparatively slow-moving keels. Springing upon the dry land, and seeking the iron tracks which science and labor had laid on the leveled earth, he clutched the loaded car with his invisible fingers, and bore it from point to point, for hundreds of miles, with an ease and a velocity before unknown —

"The beatings of his mighty heart"

still sounding through the storm or the calm, and giving the only note of his approach, as he rushed through forest and field, over streams and marshes, and around the bases of many hills, with his gigantic burden. Nor was this enough. For commerce it might have been, and for bodily transit from place to place, but not for thought. And next flashed upon human genius the still more subtle essence of the electric spark; and hither came its whispering wires, stretching from hill to hill and from state to state, crossing mountains, leaping ravines, spanning rivers, and bearing to the depths of this far Interior, in the twinkling of an eye, the message spoken a thousand miles away, on the outer rim of the vast Continent. And the human tide has still rolled on and on — and the remoter forests of this region have been pierced and subdued, till the solitudes that, at the period from which this retrospect started, heard only the eternal chime of the

Falls of St. Anthony, and the wild voices of the dark Chippeways, are filling with the homes of civilized man, and becoming vocal with prayers and hymns of thanksgiving to God. And the fifth decade has gone by, and *seven millions* now number the population of this region, which a half century ago, as was shown, contained less than 300,000 souls!*

Only two prominent facts remain to be mentioned, as entering into and assisting this wonderful progress. One of them is that blessed boon, the Ordinance of 1787, which sprang from the profound regard of the Fathers of the Republic for the Rights of Man, and forever closed the doors of all that part of the region under view, which lies north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi rivers, against the entrance of human slavery; the other is the evidence which the settlement of this region has afforded, that it lies in just that geographical belt of the globe, to which the natural sagacity of man leads him, when he is departing from an old and seeking a new home. These two facts, I shall consider together. The circumstances that connected them, indeed, render them almost inseparable.

A year ago, in preparing for publication some historical and statistical matter about the North-West, I had occasion to construct a series of tables, for the purpose of exhibiting the influence of lines of latitude on increase of population. Though I shall not burden your minds with a repetition of these tables here, yet some of the results thus obtained I shall use, as fully answering my present purpose. And, with a view to what *is to be* done here as

* See note C.

well as to what *has been* done, I start out with the distinct proposition, already intimated, that the region of country of which I am treating — the North-West — lies in the geographical belt the most favorable of any, to the growth and support of a numerous, athletic, free, and enterprising people.

There is an accepted theory among political economists, I know, that, as the productiveness of land depends principally on heat and moisture, and these increase as the equator is approached, the nearer you go to that line the more luxuriant and uninterrupted becomes the vegetation; and hence the completer the abundance of food, and the greater the capacity of supporting a numerous population. And to sustain this theory elaborate tables have been constructed, setting forth, among other things, that maize, which produces forty or fifty for one in France, will produce one hundred and fifty on the average in Mexico; that an arpent of land, which will scarcely support two men when sown in wheat, will support fifty when planted in bananas; that the same extent of ground which supports four persons at the latitude of sixty degrees north, will support fifteen at the latitude of forty-five, and one hundred at (0) the equator; and that as eighty-five is to thirty-five, so is the productiveness of the useful soil within thirty degrees of the equator, as compared with that of the useful soil beyond thirty degrees and within sixty—the latter being capable of supporting two hundred persons to each square mile, and the former four hundred and ninety persons.

Though *mean temperature*, which is influenced by *altitude*, as well as *latitude*, is an important element in

calculations of this kind, and may very materially modify the preceding theory, yet, that this theory is true in respect to *that sort of persons* whom bananas and other tropical fruits will produce and satisfy, I do not care to dispute. Indeed, so far as the theory applies to *mere numbers*, I am willing to admit its correctness. But mere numbers do not make great nations. The men of bananas are not the men of muscle or mind—not the men among whom free, Christian institutions can be successfully introduced, and the arts of production, fabrication, and exchange be made to flourish. The latitude of the banana may present fascinations to an effeminate emigration, as that in which Nature produces food without the necessity of physical or intellectual exertion on the part of those who are to consume it, and in which clothes are not among the necessaries of life. So, too, a barbarian emigration, driven by wars or oppressions from the frozen North, may seek again the latitude of the polar bear, whose flesh will satisfy the cravings of hunger, and whose skin protect from the severity of cold—the natural enemy to be encountered being thus converted, as it were, into the friend that feeds and clothes. But the latitude of the cereal grains, of the wholesome and various fruits of the northern temperate zone, of wool, and flax, and hemp, is that which a *civilized* emigration will seek. And this is the latitude of THE NORTH-WEST—the region which I have designated "the most favorable of any, to the growth and support of a numerous, athletic, *free, and enterprising* population."

Let us see, now, what the history of the last half century will say to *this* theory. By the year 1800,

the American people had achieved their political Independence, and fairly started in their career of national greatness. The principal states then south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, were North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia—contiguous territory, and all lying on the Atlantic seaboard. The aggregate superficial area of these states is 131,500 square miles. Their total population in the year 1800 was 985,795, and in 1840, 2,039,209. This shows an increase, in forty years, of 1,053,414, or nearly 107 per cent. for that period.

The nearest equivalent, in states, which can be found to the preceding area, on the seaboard *north* of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, is composed of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland—all, likewise, contiguous territory. The aggregate superficial area of these states is 130,853 square miles. Their total population in the year 1800 was 2,571,330, and in 1840, 6,335,904. This shows an increase, in forty years, of 3,764,574, or 146 per cent.*

By these figures it is shown, that the natural sagacity which, previous to the year 1800, had planted a population of 2,571,330 persons on an area of about 131,000 square miles of territory north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, and a population of only 985,795 persons on an equal area south of that parallel, manifested itself thereafter in even a more striking degree, for the period of forty years—increasing the population of the former territory during that time 146 per cent., and that of the latter not quite 107 per cent. Or, varying the

* See note D.

form of the statement a little, and extending the length of the period by taking an official estimate of population from 1840 to 1850, we have these comparative results, as to the two areas: Population to the square mile of the area north in 1800, 19½; of the area south, 7½. Population to the square mile of the area north in 1850, 54½; of the area south, 14½. Showing that, in the space of half a century, a particular area on the Atlantic slope, north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, increased its population thirty-five to the square mile, while an equivalent area on the same slope, south of that parallel, increased its population only seven to the square mile.

And now, in order to take a more comprehensive view, and for the sake of entire fairness, let us leave the seaboard, and pass over the Allegheny and the Cumberland Mountains, down into the great Inland Valley described at the opening of this discourse. According to the elaborate Report published from the General Land Office in Washington City, in 1849, the entire extent of organized territory in the United States is 1,419,405 square miles.* Pursuing the parallel thirty-six degrees thirty minutes through this, from the Atlantic coast to the western line, we have 701,057 square miles as the proportion of the southern division, and 718,348 square miles as the proportion of the northern division. These two divisions of the organized territory of the United States, by an east and west line, are so nearly equal in extent, as to make the presentation of their

* See note E.

aggregate and separate populations, past and present, a matter of deep interest.

THREE PERIODS.	1830.	1840.	1850.
Aggregate population,	12,866,920	17,063,353	21,412,230
Northern division,	9,622,016	12,724,065	16,009,290
Southern division,	3,244,904	4,339,288	5,402,940

By this statement it appears, that while the southern division has in twenty years increased its aggregate numbers 66½ per cent. on a population of 3,244,904, the northern division has in the same period increased 66⅔ per cent., on three times that population! Or, in other words, while the southern division, which twenty years ago had an average population of 4 6-10 persons to the square mile of her territory, has now an average of 7 7-10, the northern division, which twenty years ago had an average of 13 4-10 persons to the square mile, has now an average of 22 3-10: the latter having increased her numbers nearly *nine* to the square mile since the year 1830, and the former having increased hers but a fraction over *three* to the square mile! Another thing appears from this statement, which is not be overlooked, viz., that while within a very small fraction of a full half of the entire organized territory of the United States lies south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, yet *north* of that parallel is almost full three-fourths of our entire population!

Why, now, is this so? Why, even supposing original settlement to have been somewhat in favor of the north side of the line — why is it that the disparity existing between the two divisions a half century ago, has been growing greater and greater ever since, and always in

favor of the region north of the dividing line? Can any other answer be given than this? That, after proper allowance for the influence of freedom in the one, and slavery in the other, it is because the natural sagacity of which we have spoken instinctively seeks the temperate regions of the North-West, with their cereal grains, their superior meats, their abundant fruits, their wholesome vegetables, their wool, flax, and hemp, rather than the hotter clime of the South-West in the same longitude, with its cotton, sugar, rice, maize, and its yams, oranges, and "*bananas.*"

And this brings us directly to another point in this part of the argument. Official documents show, that of the public lands of the United States subject to location on military warrants, under the act of February, 1847, nearly a full half (47½ per cent.) was, at the time of the passage of that act, in the States of the South-West. Intelligent persons will not have forgotten, that in the somewhat celebrated "Address of Southern Delegates in Congress to their Constituents," agreed upon in Washington City on the 22d of January, 1849, it was claimed that *the South* had furnished for the Mexican War about two thirds of the entire number of volunteers, leaving one third for *the North.* But we will carry a part of this claim to the credit of that harmless gasconade in which Southern Members of Congress are somewhat prone to indulge, and suppose that the two divisions of the Union, cut by the parallel thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, furnished about equal portions of the volunteers for the War. Well, then — official documents, again, show that to the 1st of January, 1849, a total of 2,533,429 acres of land had been located on warrants under the law of February, 1847 —

2,358,229 acres of which was located in the North-West, and only 175,200 acres in the South-West.*

Allow me to repeat: — The lands subject to entry as aforesaid lay about half and half in each of the two sections, North-West and South-West; the volunteers to whom the warrants were issued, belonged in nearly equal numbers to the two great divisions of the country, the North and the South; yet 93 per cent. of the locations the first two years are made in the North-West, and but 7 per cent. in the South-West! A very large proportion of the warrants, it is true, had passed out of the hands of the original holders, the volunteers, into those of speculators, and emigrants seeking settlement; but that does not in the least change the nature of the argument, or affect its strength. The demonstration seems to me to be one of singular clearness and force. Natural Sagacity was free to act as it pleased. With its warrant in its hand, it could look to the South-West and to the North-West, and make choice as it listed. And it *did* so look and make choice. Leaving the rice-swamps to the left, with their "ardent sun," and their "peculiar" culture, it sought the wheatfields on the right, with their invigorating breezes, and their exulting freedom; and driving its stake in the latter, it looked proudly and manfully around, and exclaimed, "THIS IS MINE!"

Such, without descending to the details of religious, humane, and educational institutions, of rail-road structures and canals, of river navigation, commerce, and manufactures, are the great facts of Progress in the North-West. And what do they indicate? Clearly, to my mind, that

* See Note F.

here, in this region of vast capabilities, whose physical features I have hastily delineated, and whose material and moral progress I have portrayed in general terms, is to be tried an Experiment in Humanity, higher in its character, and sublimer in its results, than any yet known. Hitherward come not alone the Christian institutions of eighteen centuries, and the art, literature, philosophy, and science of six thousand years, but *the men of all nations*, distrusting the teachings of the past, unsatisfied with the courses of the present, and hopeful only of the future. My own idea is that here, on this magnificent domain — this undulating plain, that extends from the beautiful bases of the Allegheny Mountains to the broad, fertile shores of the Mississippi River, and stretches its arms from near the thirty-sixth quite to the forty-second degree of north latitude — are in time to be witnessed the freest forms of social development, and the highest order of human civilization.

The immediate present is manifestly an era of *transition*, in all this region. That State which was the first here erected, has just laid aside the organic law which she adopted a half century ago, and entered on a new career under a Constitution more popular in its forms. The example of Kentucky, Ohio is now about to follow; and the General Assembly of this State will doubtless hold its next sittings, under an organic law altogether more popular in its provisions, and more suitable for the constitution of a free, numerous, and progressive people, than that with which we commenced our career, forty-seven years ago.

The same forward impulse, is influencing the whole of this North-West region. Illinois adopted a new Constitu-

tion two years ago. Indiana will meet in Convention in October next, and frame an organic law more promotive than the present one, of the great interests of her people. Michigan, erected into a State only fifteen years ago, has already outgrown her constitutional garments, and determined to try the virtues of new ones, in her future strides to greatness. Principles, of popular right and social necessity, not recognized when these several States were organized, lie at the bottom of all these changes.

But it is not in reference to political constitutions alone, that this era of transition is manifested. A humaner spirit of legislation is seeking to secure to every family its Homestead, beyond the contingencies of trade, misfortune, or chicanery. Attention is also turning every day, more and more, to the inequalities of woman in the marital state; and it is not extravagant to hope that ere long, to wed will not be to dispossess her of the ownership and control of property with which she enters into the marriage relation.

But it would be tedious, and is unnecessary, to specify all the various indications given, that a Day is dawning upon this North-Western region, which will come with a light that shall penetrate many a poor home that is now dark, and a warmth that shall reach and bless its now shivering inmates, and a voice that shall sound cheeringly in their dull and listless ears, awaking them to a just sense of their real dignity and importance in the social scale, by proclaiming to them that they are neither slaves nor nonentities, but true men and women.

What, till within a very few years past, the onward-coming multitudes have found on arriving here, has been,

chiefly, physical sufficiency, great intellectual expertness, a degree of moral independence wholly new to them, and *capacity for almost indefinite extension*, either morally, intellectually, or physically. Coming in among us by hundreds and thousands, as they now are and for years have been, their gentler and fiercer passions, like meadow rivulets and mountain torrents, mixing in with and modifying our own, and their art, science and literature, their hardhandedness and willingheartedness, and their experiences of life generally, giving to and receiving from ours new impulses and new directions, the whole soon flow together in one common stream of Humanity, which will be found irresistible by any barriers that may oppose its course, and inevitably give new and peculiar aspects to the region and the era wherein it holds its way.

With a land like that upon which our attention has been turned, and a people like those whose elements I have hastily and partially presented, and a time like the present in the history of Human Progress, to suppose that we are here to see but a segment of the old circle traveled over again, is to give mankind a place in the scale of being lower than that which I have heretofore assigned them, and to have an opinion of the designs, wisdom, and power of Providence, which I hope never to possess. It is my firm belief, that out of the crude materials now collected and collecting in this mighty North-West—materials that are just now taking forms of symmetry, and exhibiting a homogeneousness that has not heretofore belonged to them—are to come arts and institutions and educations, better fitted for the uses and

enjoyments of man, and more promotive of those high developments that are within the capacities of his nature, than anything which the world has yet seen.

To you, my friends, and to me, in our brief day, will be permitted but feeble glimpses of the dawning of the "great glory" that is yet to rest upon this region, and radiate to the uttermost ends of the earth. As it was with the Hebrew of old, who toiled on through many years and many sorrows, and reached at last the point from which the beauty of the Land of Promise burst upon his rapt vision only to close his eyes forever, so will it be with us: we shall see "the morning star" of a great day for man—we may even behold in the eastern sky the red streakings of the gray dawn—but ere the rising of the sun himself, which is to usher in the Day of Truth, Justice, Mercy, and Love, our eyes will have been closed in death.

It is something, however, to have the FAITH that this day is to come; and in holding it firm against all discouragements, and cherishing it in the midst of the infidelity that surrounds us, we shall find our sufficient reward.

II. The Conditions of Future Advancement in the North-Western States.

In passing to the second division of my subject, and entering upon the consideration of the Conditions of our Future Advancement, I must ask you to let your minds revert, for an instant, to the picture which, at the outset, I drew of this region. Remember its longitudinal extent,

and the degrees of latitude that it embraces. Cast your mental vision over the whole broad domain, as if you were looking upon the map that portrays it. See how abundantly it is supplied with lakes and rivers; observe how compact it is, and of what goodly shape; recollect what you know of the fertility of its soil, and the salubrity of its climate; bethink you of the wonderful extent of its mineral treasures; call to mind what you have seen and felt of the strong common sense, the courage, and the energies of its people; and, surveying its trade, its commerce, its manufactures, its cities, its internal improvements, its astonishing physical progress generally, contrast what it was fifty years ago, with what it is now. And that done, permit me to remind you that its superficial area is five hundred thousand square miles in extent, and that its present population is not less than seven millions of souls. And, further, allow me to call your attention to the fact, that these seven millions of people are the makers of the constitutions under which their several state governments are organized, the framers of the laws that control them in their relations one to another and each to all, and the appointers of their own executive officers, their own custodians of the public treasures, and their own legislators and judges. And when this is through, you have before your minds a country, a people, and a social condition, to which, especially in the remarkable combination presented, no parallel can be shown you, in any country of the earth, or any age of the world.

But, while the extent, beauty, and fertility of the country is admitted, and the numbers and virtues of the

people are not denied, I may anticipate some objection on one point. I may be told that the political institutions are not so *popular* as I have represented them to be—that the people, to some considerable extent, do the things which I have attributed to their direct action, through *intermediates*, who may, and often do, abuse and betray the confidence reposed in them. To this I reply, that that objection has force only as to practice and *the past:* theory and *the future* strip it of any further pertinence.

That which the institutions of this region lack, of the popular elements, they are fast receiving. *Inter*-mediates are rapidly passing away, and *im*-mediates taking their places. That reverence for constitutions and laws, which has existed among the people from the time when king-craft and priestcraft first bound them in statutory chains, till the nineteenth century, notwithstanding that in their name the most flagrant of wrongs have been perpetrated against those for whose good they ought to have been designed, is now fast disappearing. And as this vanishes, the Chinese walls that have hedged in ambitious and unprincipled rulers, and protected them from popular indignation, are tumbling about their heads, and proclaiming that henceforth there is no safety for them but in Right and and Justice. And all this is well.

No one, I trust, will suppose that I stand here to excuse the disregard of laws, or justify infractions of constitutions. Happily, in this land, there are orderly remedies for all grievances under either the fundamental or the statute law. If the latter do not attain the just ends of legislation, *repeal*, or amend till it shall. If the

former, which answered its purpose in an earlier state of society, and when extended over smaller numbers of people, is insufficient for present wants, *remodel*, or substitute it wholly by another. What meets my approbation, and what I rejoice at, is, that "the *sanctity* of the law" is a departing sentiment: for this sentiment has hedged in abuses, of the grossest character, from time immemorial; and the wonder now should be, not that it has had its day, but that that day has endured so long. The form of the law is but ink and parchment: why reverence *it?* The *spirit* of the law is all that is worthy of regard: and if this be evil, exorcise it at once; if it be good, it has a self-sustaining power that will preserve it, and secure its ultimate triumph, though erring reason may at times place it under ban.

The history of mankind does not show that governments have been too little respected by the people. On the contrary, it shows that they have been too much respected; that the people have been patient, when patience was no longer a virtue — that they have submitted, when they ought to have resisted — that they have upheld, when they should have overthrown. And all this, through a feeling of *reverence*, carefully inculcated at all times, for what has so often been without anything reverential in its character. Why this deep regard for that which, in its very nature, is always of today and yesterday, and *never*, if man be progressive, *of tomorrow?* May I ask, What *is* Government? and detain you a moment, while I seek for the reply?

The first definition that occurs to me, which is at once simple and comprehensive, is, that Government is Rule —

a rule — a set of rules, under which men agree to exist — to live together in communities, states, nations. As thus defined, Government has three distinct elements: *form*, which is its ink and parchment; *principles*, which are its vital spirit, and the parent of parties, into which they project themselves; and *men*, who are at the same time its object and its motive powers: its object, because it was instituted for them; its motive powers, because it was instituted *by* them, and can be traced back only *to* them, and has no other permanent stimulant or sustainer of its vital spirit, which but for them would depart from it.

If this analysis be correct, as I think it is, man must necessarily be stationary, or Government must necessarily be progressive. But that man is *not* stationary, the instincts of his nature, the aspirations of his soul, the history of his life upon earth, all abundantly show. Neither, then, is Government, in its nature, stationary: because it is *of* man and *for* man, and before him or after him is not. In some form, and for a purpose definite and clear, it *was* yesterday, and answered its end. Today the vital spirit, its principles, and the motive powers, its men, having outgrown and advanced beyond the necessities of yesterday, need, demand, and will have, a correspondent growth and advance in their institutions. Tomorrow, *the old* has departed—*the new* is here—the need has been supplied—and all is well. Man and Government again go on together—both harmonious, both progressive.

Why, all this being so, do we find progressive movements exciting alarm in so many breasts? Why is it that change is so resolutely opposed? Why, I again ask,

is a respect, amounting almost to sanctity, so studiously inculcated, for that which in its very nature, as I think I have shown, is always of today and yesterday, and never of tomorrow? It can only be, because the origin and nature of Government are not understood. Among the problems to be worked out, during the next half century, on the ground which the last half century has opened and prepared for the occupancy and advancement of man, this is one.

With this opposition to change, too — this resistance of progressive tendencies — are often heard the most earnest and even mournful deprecations of Party. For one, I have no fears of parties, if the school be but kept open, and the pulpit perform honestly and zealously its appropriate office. Let them organize — one, two, three — as many as have a good and living principle to cluster around. If I am true to myself, they will not harm me: if I am false to any man, and suffer thence, I can have no just cause of complaint. And what is true of me, is true of all. I regard PARTY, indeed, as of the very essence of FREEDOM, and acknowledge no incompatibility whatever between the loftiest patriotism and the firmest partizanship. Let us look into this thought a little deeper.

Society exists, and is under certain laws established for its welfare. These laws are its rules of action, and make themselves felt through what is called *Government*. In operation, this government, which in itself is nothing but an abstraction — the parchment and ink of which I have spoken — assumes a distinctive, concrete, individual form. In the hands of bad administrators, it overlooks some

laws, and transcends the power conferred upon it by others. A portion of the people — a part of this society — declare, for certain specified reasons, that the administrators are dishonest, that they do not exercise their authority so as to secure the general welfare, that the Government is made to oppress instead of bless them. They league together, and thus become a Party. They embody and unite their reasons, and these reasons become their Principles. Now, without the Party, where is the vitality of the Principles? What can they do in their original character of simple reasons? They are mere abstractions — almost without form — equally without power. Still, they are Principles; but Principles without Parties, having no active strength with which to effect change, are matters of contempt, or, if not so, can be crushed under the heel of Government in a moment. But, give them the embodiment and strength of party adoption and enforcement, and Government at once feels their power, denies their correctness, and organizes its forces to dispute their establishment and prevent the changes at which they aim. Here, then, is another Party, with reasons for its organization, which are *its* principles. Now, notwithstanding that these latter reasons have already an embodiment and power, springing as they do from the Government, and supported as they are by the authority and patronage of its administrators, still, what would they be, wherein would consist their strength to resist the calm, deliberate, unfaltering assaults of the principles that have declared against them, without taking the form, and receiving the life and vigor, of Party?

They would be swept before the contending force, as stubble before the flame.

It is one of the glories of the Christian dispensation, that it quickened the seeds of Party, and brought with it the elements of civil and religious liberty. Out of these, chiefly, has grown an instrumentality of human freedom, second only to Christianity itself, in its power to promote the full development of man. This instrumentality is the REPRESENTATIVE PRINCIPLE: a principle not first perceived under Christianity, nor first applied on the American Continent; but one to which Christianity alone has given full scope, and of which the American Continent only has witnessed the free and enlarged application.

This principle is so important, that without hyperbole it may be called the lever of civilization. By it man can upturn *the old* at will, and make way for *the new.* Through its operation, every new truth that he may evolve, every new virtue that he may practice, every new sentiment of humanity that may spring up in his breast, every new feature of progress that may be discerned in the great profound of Thought, can be as instantaneously reflected from his political institutions, as the stars that come out upon the sky, one by one, yet a multitudinous host, beautiful and holy in their light, are reflected from the dewdrop, the lake, the ocean beneath. With this great principle, applied in its fullness and upheld in its purity, institutions are but the periodical embodiments of the spirit of progress—the *seen* forms of *felt* convictions—the minutes made, as it were, in the proceedings of the Great Convention of Mankind upon Earth.

As profounder truths are perceived, and a higher sentiment of reverence for God and his works animates the soul and directs the life of man, the Representative Principle gives to his institutions a new form and a new expression. Thus the people are seen in their institutions, as they ought to be; and thus, as the aspects of the people vary, the reflection changes in the institutions, and both move forward together, forever harmonious.

But from all this, let it not for a moment be supposed that I look upon the great Experiment in Humanity of which I have spoken, as something that is to be made, most especially as something that is to succeed, in the midst of party turbulence and dishonesty, in the face of ever-fluctuating policies, and in the presence of capricious changes of institutions, that leave nothing certain, nothing quiet, nothing secure.

With or without parties, there can be no real development or progress, while turbulence and dishonesty inflame men's minds and destroy their confidence. Lines of policy, be they good or bad, must necessarily have their day, in which to show their full bearings, and what there is in them, or they will be recurred to again and again, by those who had faith in them, and who will never be satisfied or quieted till they shall have had reasonable trial.* Institutions of government, above all, must have time to perform the work for which they are established. Capricious changes, for insufficient causes, are not to be permitted. When the people advance beyond, or fall behind, the point in human or national

* See note F.

progress occupied when certain institutions first go into operation among them, change is legitimate, is necessary, and should be sought and made. There are, then, absolute things, representing positive facts: changes in institutions, because there have been changes in the people out of whom those institutions grew, and over whom they were extended: new rules, adapted to and reflecting new conditions.

All this is reasonable, philosophical, and in strict accordance with the laws which I have endeavored to develop. The institutions of government, and the principles of parties, are necessarily, from the very nature of things, not of a day, but of an epoch. The changes that occur in the progress of nations, rendering things applicable and indispensable at one time, inapplicable and dispensable at another, are results wrought out with the gradual march of civilization, or the rapider movement of decadence, and do not belong to the "conclusions" that are sometimes "jumped at" in worldly affairs.

While, therefore, we are compelled to deny to human governments, and the principles that arise under them, everything in the nature of *perpetuality*, we are equally compelled to insist on reasonable *stability*, or all is confusion: such stability, however, as promotes, instead of retarding, spiritual development and social progress.

The new and glorious Experiment in Humanity, then, commences here, on the broad fields of the North West, which I have depicted — under Christianity, with that great agent, the Representative Principle, in the abiding faith that Progress is the order of man through the design of God.

The faith I have that the Progress of which I speak is here to be made, not in a day, or a generation, but in a period of time commensurate with a mighty work, if men be but true to the requirements of their nature, and to their convictions of right, and fail not in their allegiance to the Supreme Disposer of all events, is not a heart-sick fancy or a blind belief. It does not lean for support upon the crutch of "Manifest Destiny," nor yet trust to a light in the hands of that great but unsafe guide about which the world has recently heard so much, the "Anglo-Saxon." It depends upon conditions clear, sufficient, and absolute, the observance or disregard of which will just as surely bring about its success or failure, as the observance or disregard of the laws of mechanism will eventuate in the success or the failure of any great piece of machinery — the clock, or the printing press, or the steam engine. We have all been cognizant of those terrible scenes of havoc which occur on the western rivers, and in an instant of time spread death and desolation all around. They are called variously "collapsing of flues," "bursting of boilers," "breaking of steampipes," etc.; but no matter by what name they are known, they are just as clearly traceable to some neglect, in either the manufacturer, the inspector, or the engineer, of the laws of heat, expansion, resistance, as the rays of light that fill our streets when the night closes dark around us, are traceable to the iron posts that stand by the kerbstones here and there, or as the aeriform fluid that becomes light at the points of the burners upon the top of those posts, is traceable to the gas manufactory that stands on the bank of the river.

So we have all been witnesses of the building of that massive structure in the central part of this city, which is known as The Cathedral. We saw the earth excavated to make place for its foundations. We saw the rocks quarried from the hillsides, and hauled down upon the plain, of which those foundations consist. Then we saw the large blocks of limestone, which were brought from the distance of sixty miles in the interior, put down upon the site of the building. And since then we have seen them laid, block by block, tier above tier, till the building has become the most striking piece of masonry in our city. Within the past season it sent up the lower part of its massive shaft; within the next we may hope to see the columns arise that are to give it comeliness and finish. But incomplete as it is, it has been a work of long toil. And there it stands, whether it shall finally be admired for its beauty, or condemned for its architecture, a plain, sufficient, absolute evidence of one thing: a strict observance of the square, the circle, the parallelogram, the octagon, of all the laws of Geometry, and, with them, of the laws of the mechanical powers. Had there been no such observance of those laws, the heavy oblong blocks of stone that now form its sides, and the symmetrical pillars that in part constitute its tower, instead of being where they are, would still lie in the quarry from which they were taken. And had there been no such observance of the laws of geometry, the earth might have been excavated, and the stone placed upon the ground, and the long and hard toil that has been performed gone through with, and yet *that* building would not have gone up. A pile of stone and mortar

might have been erected, in which a Pagan would be willing to sacrifice to his visible idol, or his imaginary God; but not a structure that either Christian or Jew would dignify with the name of Temple, or consent to enter for the purpose of worship.

So with the great experiment of Christian Man, which I believe is to be made here, chiefly, in the north-easternmost part of this Inland Valley. It is an experiment, controlled by laws as clear and absolute as those which govern the movements of the steam engine, or the erection of the Christian temple. And the condition of its success or failure, is the observance or the disregard of those laws. *Chance* will never operate the engine, though human ingenuity construct and adjust its different parts ever so nicely. Chance will never erect the temple, though the materials for it be brought upon the ground, and human sinews be tasked to their utmost for countless years. So neither will chance conduct to great and glorious issues, the experiment here to be made—here now commenced. "Anglo-Saxonism," I admit, is the greatest of all the *isms*—and many of them I believe to be great, sneered at though they may be, and are: but "Anglo-Saxonism" is only an element of success—an agent in the great work here to be achieved—and an element and agent, too, terrible under wrong direction, and almost as much to be dreaded as prized. Under control, it may become to this great experiment in Manhood, what the well-regulated steam engine is to the steamboat: but left to itself, trusted in too much, it will as certainly lay the whole in ruins, as will the engine when the intelligence of man is withdrawn from its care.

"Manifest Destiny," also, is a great thing; the greatest of all the destinies, in that it *shows* itself, is "*manifest*," while other destinies are hidden: but there are eternal truths that lie beyond it, to which it must be made subordinate—which are its light, its guiding-stars, its conditions of success. Controlled by these, it inspires the soul of man, fortifies his heart, strengthens his arm—invigorates, exalts, fires his whole nature. But relied upon implicitly, as *in itself* conducting to mighty ends, it is a blind guide to the blind. Unchain it, and it will start off with a movement of unequaled majesty and strength. But soon the shadows gather upon its way, and close around it dark and dread. Still it moves on—but where?—where?

Start the majestic locomotive on one of the great railways of the age—let it be perfect in all its parts, and endow it with the greatest motive power that is possible—withdraw the engineer when the sun goes down, that he may take his rest. With what majesty it moves! "Manifest Destiny" has not superior grandeur. How mighty is its strength! "Anglo-Saxonism" even might cower at its approach. And see! what momentum it gathers, as it passes away—away, beyond the sight! But the dusk is coming down—the black night now gathers over it—still on and on it moves, swifter and swifter, further and further, and all is well. But here is uneven land—the track diverges—a sudden curve presents itself, and the brakes are not manned! Majestically, mightily, wonderfully, it winds around the base of that hill. There is no eye to see it, save its own; but thus it is done: done in that deep darkness, with none to direct—none to

control! And all is safe. What a triumph of human genius and skill! Surely man is a god, thus to create and endow! But yonder, accident or design has placed an obstruction, and there is no one to sound the alarm. In an instant it is reached—and hark! There is a crash—a terrible leap of the huge monster—an explosion that shakes the earth, and wakes the echoes of the lone forest and the deep midnight! And now the hard hoofs of the mighty animal paw the startled ground—its iron horns gore the opposing bank—it rears, pitches, foams with rage—it heaves a last groan, falls over on its side, shivers, and is silent—a dread wreck, amid the darkness into which it had hastened alone, without guidance, without control.

And this types, better than anything else of which I can conceive, that "Manifest Destiny" about which so much is heard, and in which so many profess faith, if it be not subjected to the moral laws that may govern it—if it be not steadily and carefully watched—if those whose business it is to use it for wise ends, to direct it to great issues, retire from their vigils, either when the sun is low or when it is high, that they may take their rest.

And now—What, specifically, are the conditions of success with the great experiment in Humanity that is here to be made? To an intelligent view, they must be of a twofold nature—material, and moral. One of the first and most important of them, is entirely physical. It presupposes the existence of a territory of sufficient extent for so grand an experiment, having in and upon and under its soil, all that the physical wants of man

shall require, and being amply supplied with natural outlets, with avenues of interior commerce, and with all facilities for production, manufacture, and trade. Then the proper climatic influences must exist—and then a population must be present commensurate with the magnitude of an experiment so stupendous and so beautiful. After this, the condition is very simple. It is only that, to the great field of labor thus provided by the bounty of Providence, human intelligence, industry, and skill, shall be perseveringly, wisely, and faithfully applied.

As to the first point, the territory which I have marked out as the North-West, contains an area greater in extent, by nearly one hundred thousand square miles, than the combined area of the territories of all Italy, France, England, Belgium, and Holland. With an outlet to the Gulf of Mexico like the lower Mississippi—with a river like the upper Mississippi coursing through its western margin, entirely across from its north to its south line—with a river like the Ohio winding along its southern margin from near its eastern to near its western boundary—with sheets of water on its northern border like Lake Michigan and Lake Erie—and with an outlet to the Atlantic Ocean like the river and gulf of the St. Lawrence, it is unnecessary to expatiate about channels of commerce. They are here, and their superiors are not to be found in any similar extent of country in the world. And to any one who knows, as all of you do, how numerous are the smaller streams that course this territory in all directions, how rich the soil is through which they run, how exhaustless is the wood that clothes the land everywhere, and how far beyond computation are

the mineral treasures that lie just beneath the surface, equally unnecessary is it to undertake to show, that here are all the facilities for production, manufacture, and trade—all that the physical wants of man can require, though the hills and valleys of the North-West should become as thickly peopled as were those of Judea when the Saviour walked with his Disciples, and though it should take eighteen and a half centuries more to complete the grand cycle from the birth of Christ to the full and final establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven upon Earth.

That the climatic influences of this region are such as favor production, invite emigration and settlement, and promise a dense population, I think I showed so satisfactorily in the early part of this discourse, as to render unnecessary any further argument upon that point. If the past be any criterion at all by which to judge of the future, or if climatic influences be only half that I claim for them, there can be no doubt whatever that this region is to possess *the numbers*, to try that great experiment in Humanity which I think is here to be made.

In Europe, Belgium has a population of three hundred and twenty-three persons to the square mile. Take this ratio, and apply it to the five hundred thousand square miles of which the North-West consists: and what population will that give for this region? One hundred and sixty-one millions five hundred thousand, precisely! Or take the much lower ratio of France, which is one hundred and sixty-seven persons to the square mile, and what does that give as a future population for this region? Even that gives eighty-three millions five hundred thousand. But a fairer measure than either, of the capacity of the

North-West to sustain numbers, will be found by taking the mean of Belgium, France, England, Holland, and Italy.* These several countries have an aggregate territorial superficies more than four fifths as large as that of the North-West, and present various points to justify the taking of the measure of their present population as that of our prospective population. The mean average number of inhabitants to the square mile, in those five countries, is two hundred and fifty-two. Taking them thus together, no one will pretend that they have any natural qualities, by which they can sustain more persons to the square mile than can be sustained in the several states of our North-West, taking these all together. Measuring the future population of this region, then, by the present population of those countries, what is it to be? One hundred and twenty-six millions! Nothing less.

The great physical condition, then, upon which I have risked the success of the experiment, seems perfect. We have found the extent and character of territory required; we have found the food and clothing; we have found the materials and the means of manufacture, the channels of trade, the climatic influences; we have found all that the physical wants of man can require; and, finally, *we have found the men.* That they will neglect to apply, to this magnificent heritage, perseveringly, wisely, and faithfully, their best intelligence, industry, and skill, there is no reason to suppose. On the contrary, the physiological influences of the different currents of blood that run mingling in their veins, the incentives to exertion, the high rewards of toil, all the facts of their history, and all

* See note G.

the circumstances that will surround them, go so directly to strengthen the probabilities that they will give the best energies of their nature to this great field of labor, as to carry those probabilities so near to a clear certainty, that no argument upon the point is needed.

The moral conditions of success in the battle which man is here to wage against Selfishness, and Hate, and Passion—against all forms of arbitrary Power and all shapes of ingulphing Sin—are many. The chief of them, however, are so simple, so clear, so easily comprehended, that he who runs may read and understand them. They are—Fidelity to convictions of Right; a faithful discharge of Duty in all the relations of life; Truth, Justice, Mercy, and Love. To observe these conditions, man has much, not to learn, but to *unlearn*.

Ere he can act with fidelity to his convictions of right, he must forget the art of *compromising*, either with his conscience, his party, or his creed. That which, after he has used in its examination all the powers of his reason and all the feelings of his heart, stands up before him as the right, to *him is* right, no matter what it may be to another. If he suffers himself to be driven from it by his party, or his church, he is a coward; if he seeks to please another, and to satisfy his own conscience, at the same time, by surrendering half and retaining half, he is untrue to all whom it may affect, and untrue to principle; if he carelessly abandon it, he is worse still, for then he is false to himself, and false to his Maker who gave him instincts, and reason, and a free will, *for use*. He who is untrue to others, may be pitied for his

weakness or his sin; but for him who is untrue to himself, who suffers his convictions to sleep, who abandons the right to its fate, there is no measure of contempt too great.

The faithful discharge of Duty in the different relations of life, viewed simply as a philosophical problem, would seem to be one of easy solution. Looked at in this way, Duty is merely the observance of certain obligations, some of which are assumed voluntarily by the individual, others of which are imposed by society for the general good, and acquiesced in by the individual because he finds it more convenient to discharge them than to disregard them. Those obligations which he assumes voluntarily, it is supposed, of course, he is prepared to discharge willingly: those that are imposed by society, and only acquiesced in by him, he is bound to discharge so long as he acquiesces, and no longer. In repudiating them, however, unless with the consent of the imposing power, it is incumbent upon him either to remove himself, voluntarily, beyond the society in which they are discharged by others, or quietly to submit to the penalties declared for their nonobservance. Without this, there can be no peaceful and prosperous organization of society; and with this, society must concede to the individual the privilege of seeking redress, for the things which he esteems a grievance, in all lawful ways, even to the entire abrogation of the usages in which he has acquiesced.

This view of Duty is simple, comprehensive, and clear. The discharge of the obligations of life, under it, is plain and easy, but attainable only by unlearning the

lessons of the nursery, the head-strong practices of youth, and the settled habits that now so commonly characterize mature years. What man voluntarily undertakes to do, he must be supposed to understand: what society requires him to do, it is bound to make plain. Here the excuse that springs from *doubt* is taken away, and the obligations of life must either be promptly discharged, or openly disregarded. For anything like a contra-distinguishing description of the two classes of obligations, the voluntary and the imposed, I have not now time; nor have I, to present practical examples of the faithful discharge of the one, or of obedience or resistance to the other.

Before the inculcations of Truth, the sense of Justice, the quality of Mercy, and the beauty of Love, can exert upon human character and social institutions their legitimate influences, man has also much to unlearn. It is not from ignorance of the obligations which these impose, that falsehood, and oppression, and cruelty, and hate, blacken and embitter life—making solitary the ways that should be lighted by beaming eyes and lined with happy faces—bringing the discords of hell where should be heard only the angelic music of heaven echoing from human hearts; but from a too affluent knowledge—a knowledge of evil that has become a habit, a habit that has grown to be an overshadowing presence, a presence that chills, darkens, and excludes Truth, Justice, Mercy, and Love.

It is not now, as it was in earlier and darker ages, when the knowledge of good came to men tardily, and in uncertain gleams. Truth then had to struggle through the mists of error and superstition, and came in momen-

tary flashes, now from this direction and anon from that, as the light of stars struggles down to earth when the sky is over-clouded, through the openings that are made for a moment, now in one part of the heavens and now in another. In the day in which the lot of the living is cast, there is poured upon the minds and hearts of men, from the sacred pages of the Book of God, one perpetual stream of Truth, as bright and constant as the flood of light which the sun pours upon the earth. And while, of old, the scattered rays of Light from the Eternal Source, were reflected dimly from a few objects, now the Encompassing Glory is flashed every moment from millions of glittering points: for the printing press has taken the place of the priest, and the steamboat and the locomotive perform the old offices of the "beast of burden." It is not so much, then, the knowledge of *good* that is to be learned now, as it is the knowledge of *evil* that is to be *unlearned.*

We, who contrast the steamship or the packet of our day with the "ship of Alexandria," in which the Apostle Paul "sailed slowly many days;" we, who compare the means of transportation now possessed with anything known to a previous age; we, who look in vain, in the past of all time, for that which may be presented as an equivalent for the locomotive, or the electric telegraph; we, who have the printing press, and contend that the ancient world, before the flood or after the flood, had no agent of civilization at all comparable to this; we, who deny the sufficiency of the evidence which is often presented, in support of the claim that the lost arts of

past centuries at all equal in number or importance the arts now known and practiced; have an abiding faith, that all progress is not material progress. We see in the constant struggles of man for a truer freedom and a higher life, evidence of an indwelling power to achieve and enjoy them. We see in the gradual but certain spread of Gospel Truth, and the paling of the sacrificial fires of Paganism before its light, indications too strong to be resisted, that through the mission of Christ the nations of all the earth are yet to come to a knowledge of the True God. We see in the weak governments of Asia and the tottering thrones of Europe, "the beginning of the end" of countless ages of oppression. We see in the mighty stream of humanity that pours unceasing from the shores of the Old World to the shores of the New, evidences that here is to be made the next great advance in the political and spiritual freedom of man. And on this continent we behold such a continuous march toward the immediate region of country which we have had under view, as to indicate this as the chosen land of the new experiment—the brilliant center from which are to radiate the glorious beams of a truer civilization than has yet blessed the hopes of man.

All this, my friends, may be called a delusion—beautiful and dazzling, but unsubstantial as a dream. Contemplating, with the full strength of my mind, the purposes of God in the creation of man—recollecting, as they have fallen upon my heart from the inspired volume, the promises of the Saviour—looking back along the course of authentic history, and scanning well its admitted truths, I see everything to strengthen my hope, and but

little to shake my faith. To realize this great hope, however, those who possess it must trust to no vaunted *destiny*—must lean on no pretensive *ism*. On the bright pages of revealed truth, in the thick tomes of written philosophy, beside the long, broad track of the world's history, nothing is more plainly written, than that man must depend upon himself. His days are few, it is true, and his arm is feeble; but the Voice that spake to Moses from the burning bush, still echoes from the hills of Judea, where it spake again from a human form; and the Light that came out of Nazareth, and shone to all the world, is still with the sons of man—a greater guide than the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire. Men may turn from that Voice, to the flattering voice of *destiny*, and rush madly to ruin, even while they listen; or they may avert their eyes from that calm, steady Light, and fix them upon the flaming *ism* that blazes for its day, and perish with it in the darkness that succeeds. Not so with those who listen to that Voice, and walk in the radiance of that Eternal Light—trusting, after this, each to the freedom of his own soul, the might of his own arm, and the power of his own will.

Human ingenuity is fruitful in expedients to reform the world. One scheme seeks to do it by a sort of politico-physiological sliding scale, which shall prevent people from coming into the world faster than there is just so much food ready for them to eat, just so much clothing ready for them to wear, and just so much work ready for them to do — while another scheme expects to attain the same end, in part at least, by preventing people from

going out of the world, when they have forfeited the right to curse society longer with their presence and their crimes, through an abolition of the death penalty. A third scheme seeks to cure the evils of the world, by a new order of society, laid off with the precision of a geometrical showplate, by the aid of the mental rule and compass, into orders, spheres, harmonies, sections, and other divisions and subdivisions almost numberless — while a fourth would destroy all society, by an abrogation of all government. A fifth scheme looks to an "organization of labor," in opposition to combinations of capital, as the grand moral and social panacea — while a sixth would cure all ills by a general division of property, brought about through the enactment into law of "a new and polite method of robbing one's neighbors."

In most of these schemes, now, as well as in others which modern philanthropy has suggested, I recognize a humane spirit, and a sincere desire to do good. There are few of them, indeed, which do not possess curative qualities. The leading difficulty with them is, it seems to me, first that they do not carefully enough calculate how much man has to unlearn of the past, before they can be adapted to his present condition; and, second, that they attempt too much, and failing to accomplish what they have led the world to look for, bring themselves into irretrievable discredit. And then, as they are successively abandoned, for the time, or lingeringly die out, a universal *hiss* bursts from the livid and quivering lips of fast-anchored Conservatism, in the pauses of which can be distinguished the words "enthusiasts," "infidels," "dupes," "madmen," and the like.

But a true Progressive Spirit never quails before this uproar, as it never shrinks from the duty of *trying again*. It sees ignorance, and poverty, and suffering all around — it sees the able body and the willing soul struggling in a darkness and a sorrow that overwhelm both — it sees man a hard taskmaster, and his brother an unwilling servant; and these things it seeks to change. And change them it will, in the fullness of its time, and under the guidance of God, if man will only dare to be himself,—if he will only act truly from his own impulses — if he will only obey the dictates of his own heart and the suggestions of his own reason—if he will only have the firmness to stand alone, and the boldness to proclaim the right and the duty of isolation—if he will only assert and maintain that the Individual man, as such, is something more and something better than the absorbed member of a clique, a party, or a church.

He must guard, however, against what is manifestly one of the weaknesses, and I fear one of the sins, of our day: the pride of being ranked as a *Reformer*. Names make not things, though things will make themselves names. He must guard, also, against the weakness of favoring every scheme of reform as a scheme of good. And, above all, he must close the avenues to his ears and his heart, against that puling cry of philanthropy, which now spreads upon every breeze. Many a good word reaches us all, from the pulpit and the press, from the forum and the legislative hall — many a good word for the masses of mankind. But with them all comes many "a poisonous distillment" — many an utterance which is but the breath of ambition, the coinage of selfishness. We must none of us forget that once "there was a day when

the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them." Nor must we cease for one moment to remember, that at another time, of the Twelve who sat at meat with the Saviour, one was Judas, "who also betrayed him."

Of the want of that bold, distinct, *individual* character, which I insist man must attain before he can be true either to others or to himself, examples are afforded us every day, in the servility with which men suffer their minds to be shackled by their church, and their minds and bodies both to be yoked and driven about by their parties. Of the absence of a strong, controlling, practical character, in most of the schemes of reform brought before the world, examples abundant have been furnished, in the signal failures of those that have been tried in our own country, as well as in Europe. Of the want of adaptation in these schemes, to the condition of things now existing, or the want of preparation of men for the application of the schemes, examples are afforded almost every day. Two presented themselves within the past winter here in our own North-West: one of them at St. Louis, where the ironmolders struck for higher wages, and stood out; the other at Pittsburgh, where the puddlers quit work because their employers, under what they thought a condition of absolute necessity, *reduced* their wages. In both cities, there were loud complaints about the tyranny of combined capital — the oppressions of the poor by the rich, etc., in all which there was doubtless much truth; but what good did their everlasting talk about it do? and their processions, resolutions, and disturbances? The *strikers*, especially in Pittsburgh, were long idle — their

families suffering, their blood getting up to fever heat, and they themselves becoming tyrannical, by interfering with those who were willing to work at the old wages until better could be obtained: yet they did not take the first step toward bettering their condition — toward escaping permanently from the "tyranny of combined capital" of which they complained, or bracing themselves up manfully to resist the "oppression" from which they suffered. All was talk, parade, threat, and idleness, until, in Pittsburgh, other puddlers were brought from abroad, and employed, when the city became for several days the scene of most disgraceful riots, — women, the wives and mothers of the *strikers*, being more conspicuous in them than men, — for the suppression of which its whole police force was found to be necessary.*

Both of these cases, now, it seems to me, are provided for, had the men been prepared for its reception and application, by one of the schemes of reform to which I have referred: that which seeks to counterpoise the influence of combined capital in the social scale, by the power of combined intelligence and muscle. This scheme is called "The Organization of Labor;" and a test of its practical value is now making at the little town of Industry, on the northern bank of the Ohio river, twelve miles below Cincinnati, which I hope, and believe, is to meet with entire success. Another test of its value, as applicable to a different branch of labor, is making in Boston; while in New York the journeymen of several of the mechanical branches have recently combined their skill

* See note H.

and industry against the capital and machinery of their late employers, and are now their own employers: purchasing the raw material, working it up, and selling the manufactured articles for their own profit, instead of selling their labor for the profit of others. This scheme of reform commends itself to all friends of the laboring masses, by its strong common sense, its practical method, and its easy applicability to a numerous class of industrial occupations. It has the vigor of a manly thought at its foundation, and must stand, if those who seek to avail themselves of its advantages continue true, each to himself and to his associates.

This scheme for the "Organization of Labor," so far as I am informed, is the first practical Idea, among all the panaceas of modern prescription, that has yet clothed itself in the muscles and sinews of a healthy action. I bid it Godspeed!—for I have faith in its virtue. It is Saul among the embattling hosts of the Israel of Reform—head and shoulders above any other scheme that has yet come to my knowledge, for promoting the independence and lessening the evils of the laboring masses. It gives a broad and solid basis for one substantial hope of a better day for the millions.

But there are many such hopes. The most stubborn moral or political wheelhorse to be found in any church or any party in the land, will not abuse the evidence of his senses so much, as to deny the material progress of the world. And Material Progress can be nothing but the outward manifestation of an inward truth—the visible correspondence of Spiritual Progress. This it is, and nothing else: Just as Christ, in his beautiful nature

and his holy life, was the material correspondence of the spiritual Word: Just as the Universe, with all its magnificence, and might, and glory, is the visible correspondence of the invisible God. And material progress being thus spiritual progress, who can compare the Past and the Present, and be without a high and confident hope of the Future?

On the Literature of this age alone, may such a hope be built. Never before was there a literature like this—so pervaded by the beautiful and the true—so informed of the inner life of man—so responsive to the harmonious chords of the eternal spirit. It is pre-eminently the Literature of Humanity—speaking to and from the common heart, as never spake the literature of a past age. Leaving fabled gods and goddesses to wage, as they list, their wars of lust, and rapine, and revenge; leaving scarcely less fabled heroes to dare the strife of ocean and escape from the seductive wiles of imaginary Calypsos as they may; leaving adventurous bards and lecherous princes to shift for themselves, as best they can, among the awful shades and the circling fires of the Inferno; it seeks its themes in the world about us, and carries to the doubting mind, the agonized heart, and the crushed spirit, the words of truth, and consolation, and hope. No home of man is so high or so low, but it will pass the threshold and deliver its message of good. It carries a light where before was darkness; and where was the barrenness of desolation, there it plants the flowers of peace and joy. The true man is assured by its lessons, and the false man is goaded by its rebuking spirit until he purges himself of his sin. The strong man is

taught by it to extend his hand to his fallen brother, and the weak man rises nerved by its cheering tones, and goes forth with an assured heart and a firm step.

But the whole earth is sick of the wrongs of the Past; and from every heart that sits in the shadow of a deep sorrow, from every soul that is denied the light and the liberty that belong to it, from every nature that has in it one spark of the celestial fire of an angelic spirit, goes out a cry for *change:* and with this, from every battlefield where man pours out his blood for freedom, from every assemblage in the broad world that is animated by a feeling of simple justice, from every spot of earth where one individual being, be he a child of God or a child of the devil, turns his back upon old delusions, rends the shackles of hoar Authority, and proclaims himself A MAN, rises up a hope for the Future. In our own land only, however, is that mightier influence than the sword, that more potent agent even than the press, the *Representative Principle,* at work in its full proportions and its undisguised strength, for the good of mankind. And here only, where political institutions are a reflex of the people, and where, as the people become more and more enlightened, and more and more influential, that reflex character must become more and more perfect, can an intelligent and a reasonable hope be now indulged, of the Progress of Man.

Changes in institutions are demanded; and changes must be had. But here, where constitutions and laws are but the spoken and recorded will of the people, such changes are not to be dreaded, as they may be in coun-

tries where the wreck of "the divine right of kings" has still left the people with masters, and where the overthrow of one of these only makes room for another, and perhaps worse. The Christian dispensation brought to man, anew, the elements of spiritual and political freedom, and promised him deliverance. Eighteen centuries rolled away, and in spite of long ages of superstition, and abused power, and galling wrong, those elements formed themselves into that great instrumentality of freedom of which I have spoken, the Representative Principle; and on a new continent, afar from the seats of old error, this great and only guaranty of Civil Liberty was given to man in its perfection. *Here* it is to perform *its* mission, and prepare the way for something higher and better still. Man may abuse it, as he has abused every "good and perfect gift," but God will preserve it nevertheless, till it work out the great problems for which it was given.

But let us hope that he will not abuse it, and bring himself to shame. And here, in this beautiful land of the North-West, which has been given him for his inheritance while that great principle was establishing itself in our political institutions and making itself plain to his moral perceptions, let us *work* that he may not abuse it. Let us labor to lay the foundations of institutions for the future, under which no man, of all over whom they may extend, shall suffer wrong at the hand of his brother. But to do this, we must lean our ears to the "still small voice" of God, and incline our hearts to the principles and practices of his Son. We must see and recognize clearly, the conditions upon which our work will prosper—the laws of its success—and observe them at all times,

and in all places. Neither "Anglo-Saxonism," nor any other *ism*, will secure success without; neither "Manifest Destiny," nor any other *destiny*, will excuse or atone for disobedience.

Why can the astronomer, surveying his field in the heavens, compute correctly the times and courses of the stars, and with unerring certainty, at any moment, point his instrument to the places of the constellations? Because they are governed by laws, which are Truth. In the same manner, if the high moral and physical laws which are Truth to the conscience and the intellect of man, at all times influence and govern his movements, can the political economist — the moral astronomer — compute the times and courses of his progress, and with unerring certainty point to the bright constellations in his social heaven — Faith, Justice, Mercy, and Love.

This is an age which, in an eminent degree, inculcates the Humanities of Life, and prosecutes inquiries touching the condition and prospects of man. Here and there, over the whole of christendom, a clear voice ascends, filled with interest and hope for the masses of mankind, which at once makes sorrowful and glad the hearts of those who hear: sorrowful that there should be on earth, where there is so much that is good and beautiful, such chilling selfishness as is witnessed, such cruel neglect, such bitter wrong; glad, that amid the degradation and suffering in which so many are overwhelmed, there are those, and not a few, who seek out the needy to help them, the weak to make them strong, the fallen to lift them up, and the sick, in body or in spirit, to administer healing and consolation: — sorrowful, again, that man has so parted from the

glory of his morning, as to find bewildering shadows and disheartening obstructions in his way; glad, again, that notwithstanding all doubts and discouragements, all dread realities and all prophetic horrors, there are still hearts, and not a few, which hold firmly the faith that all this is not as the good God intended — that it will not thus remain forever — but that the day is coming, and now dawns, in which fallen Humanity shall rise, and break through the shadows that now encompass it, and clothe itself again in the brightness of its morning glory.

But here and there, with this, goes up a voice filled with discouragement. It can recall nothing of the past but what is dark, nor foretell anything of the future that is not dreary and hopeless. Visiting upon man the doom that was denounced against the Serpent, it exclaims, "Upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life!" It would take from the masses of mankind the hope which that better voice rekindled, and doom them to a night that has no star, and a sorrow that can see no end but in the grave. This voice, I seek not to follow into the "thick darkness and palpable inane" through which it sounds. Over the cold and barren deserts of life across which it sweeps, I trace it not. In the narrow and chill recesses of the hearts into which it sinks and wakes an echo, I leave it to die If it speak truly of what is to be, in the near and the far future, dear as is Truth to my soul, I do not hesitate to say, Let my eyes be sealed to its light, and my ears be barred against its entrance, till hope shall be no more.

Remembering the benign character of the Father of All—calling up, in imagination, the pillar of a cloud by

day and of a fire by night, with which he led his chosen people out of physical bondage and conducted them to the Land of Promise—bearing in mind that greater Messenger than the cloud by day and the fire by night, which He sent to lead, not the Jew only but also the Gentile, out of a worse than Egyptian bondage, the bondage of the soul in the toils of sin and superstition—looking at the wonderful manner in which the light brought by that great Messenger was preserved through long and ingulphing ages of moral darkness, to be again a guide to the nations of the earth—seeing, since then, thickly scattered all along the path of man's history, manifold evidences of Providential care and guidance—feeling the undying hope, for a higher and a truer Life, that has always dwelt in the human soul—knowing that the Lord God is merciful, and liveth forever, I do not despair of a better day for man.

At all this, learned casuists may shake their heads, and cry "dupe;" cold Conservatism may hug to its bony breast the inanimate body of gone ages, and sneer at "progress;" skeptics as to good in man may trace with long and skinny fingers the dark and devious tracks of the Past, and proclaim that in them are to be the courses of the Future: it is all one. When hope dies out utterly, but not till then, will faith in the progressive capabilities of man, and the progressive tendencies of events, cease and disappear.

As comes the cloud over the parched land, and the rain from the cloud—as comes the green plant out of the earth, and the flower out of the plant—as comes

the bird with the springtime, and the song with the bird—so, it is my faith, will yet come to man the full love of the Creator, and with it the Kingdom of Heaven upon Earth.

NOTES.

A. PAGE 13.

The territorial extent of each of the eight states of the North-West, with that of Minnesota, as appears by the latest Report from the General Land Office at Washington, is as follows:

	Square miles.
Kentucky — admitted in 1792,	37,680
Ohio — admitted in 1802,	39,964
Indiana — admitted in 1816,	33,809
Illinois — admitted in 1818,	55,405
Missouri — admitted in 1820,	67,380
Michigan — admitted in 1837,	56 243
Iowa — admitted in 1846,	50,944
Wisconsin — admitted in 1848,	53 924
Minnesota Territory — erected in 1849,	83,000
Strip of Western Virginia and Western Pennsylvania, say	21,651
Total,	500,000

The strip of Western Virginia and Western Pennsylvania here referred to, comprises nine counties of the former state, and thirteen counties of the latter.—See "Letters about The West, from a Citizen of Ohio," in *National Era* of June 14 and July 16, 1849.

B. PAGE 16.

A few facts will exhibit, as well as a volume, the wonderful growth of Western Trade and Commerce. Previous to the year 1800, some eight or ten keelboats, of twenty to twenty-five tons each, performed all the carrying trade between Cincinnati and Pittsburg. In 1802, the first government vessel appeared on Lake Erie. In 1811, the first steamboat (the *Orleans*) was launched at Pittsburg. Previous to 1817, about twenty barges, averaging one hundred tons burden, comprised all the facilities for commercial transportation between New Orleans and the country on the Ohio river as high up as Louisville and Cincinnati. Each of these boats made one trip, down and back, between those two places and New Orleans, each year. On the upper Ohio, from the Falls to Pittsburg, some one hundred and fifty keelboats were employed about 1815—'17. The average size of these was thirty tons, and they occupied from six to seven weeks in making the voyage both ways. In the year 1818, the first steamboat (the *Walk-in-the-Water*) was built on Lake Erie. In 1819, this boat appeared in trips on Lake Huron. In 1826, the waters of Michigan were first plowed by the keel of a steamboat, a pleasure trip to Green Bay being planned and executed in the summer of this year. In 1832, a steamboat first appeared at Chicago. In 1833, nearly the entire trade of the Upper Lakes—Erie, Huron, and Michigan—was carried on by eleven small steamboats.—So much for the beginning.

In the year 1845, there were upon the Upper Lakes sixty vessels, including propellers, moved by steam, and three hundred and twenty sailing vessels—the former measuring twenty-three thousand tons in the aggregate, and some of the latter carrying one thousand to twelve hundred tons each. In 1846, according to official statements exhibiting "the consolidated returns of both exports and imports," the moneyed value of the commerce of the harbors of Erie was $94,358,350; on Michigan, that of Chicago was $3,927,150: total, $98,285,500. One half of this, it is supposed, would be a fair average of the *net* moneyed value of the commerce of these lakes for 1846, which gives $49,142,750. The average annual increase, for the five years previous, is shown by the same official documents to have been nearly eighteen per cent. Supposing it to have been but ten per cent. per annum for the four years since, will give $68,799,850 as the present net money value of the commerce of Erie and Michigan. In the year 1834, the number of steamboats on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, and their tributaries, was ascertained to be two hundred and thirty, with an aggregate carrying capacity equal to thirty-nine thousand tons. In 1842, the number of boats had increased to about four hundred and fifty, and their tonnage to upward of one hundred thousand tons. At the present time, the entire number of steamboats running on the Mississippi and Ohio, and their tributaries, is more probably over than under six hundred, the aggregate tonnage of which is not short of one hundred and forty thousand tons: a larger number of steamboats than England can claim, and a greater steam commercial marine than that employed by Great Britain and her dependencies. (See Congressional Reports, Hall's Statistics, McCullough's Gazetteer, etc.) In 1846, Colonel Abert, from reliable data, estimated the net value of the trade of the western rivers at $183,609,725 per year; in 1848, Judge Hall stated it at $220,000,000, in his Statistics; and while this pamphlet is passing through the press, the United States Senate have ordered a document to be printed, which estimates it at $256 233,820, for the year 1849! The same document puts the aggregate value of the vessels employed in this commerce, at $18,661,500.

C. PAGE 18.

The national census soon to be taken, will probably show that the aggregate number of inhabitants within the boundaries of the region denominated The North-West, is nearer eight than seven millions, at this time. The last two previous enumerations, with the well-known rate of increase of this region, warrant this conclusion. The following tabular statement, indeed, shows that any other conclusion is almost impossible:

Population of the five North-Western states and Michigan Territory, in 1830,	2,298,390
Of the fractions of Western Virginia and Western Pennsylvania referred to,	360,081
Total population of the North-West in 1830,	2,658,471

Population of the six North-Western states and two territories in 1840,	4 131,370
Increase for ten years, 80 per cent.	3,305,096
Population of the fractions of Western Virginia and Western Pennsylvania, in 1840,	484,113
Increase for ten years, 33⅓ per cent.	161,371
Total population of the North-West, in 1850,	8,081 950

D. PAGE 21.

The following statement shows the separate, as well as the aggregate, areas of the states of the two sections, with the population of each at the two periods named:

AREA SOUTH.

	Sq. miles.	*Pop.* 1800.	*Pop.* 1840.
North Carolina,	45,500	478.103	753.419
South Carolina,	28,000	345,591	594,398
Georgia,	58,000	162,101	691,392
Totals,	131,500	985,795	2,039,209

Aggregate population in the year 1800, 985,795; or nearly 7½ to the square mile. Increase in forty years, 1,053,414; or nearly 107 per cent.

AREA NORTH.

	Sq. miles.	*Pop.* 1800.	*Pop.* 1840.
Connecticut,	4,750	251 002	309,978
Massachusetts,	7.252	423,245	737,699
Vermont,	8,000	154 465	291.948
New York,	46.000	586.756	2,428.921
Pennsylvania,	47,000	602,365	1,724,033
New Jersey,	6,851	211,949	373,306
Maryland,	11,000	341,548	470,019
Totals,	130,853	2,571,330	6,335,904

Aggregate population in the year 1800, 2,571,330; or 19½ to the square mile. Increase in forty years, 3,764,574; or 146 per cent.

E. PAGE 22.

This quantity is obtained in the following manner: South of the parallel thirty-six degrees thirty minutes lie the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas—ten in all, embracing a superficial area of 755,310 square miles. North of it lie the remaining twenty states, containing a superficial area of 635,348 square miles. But since this report was published, has been erected the territory of Minnesota, with a superficial area of 83,000 square miles. This belongs to, and swells the extent of, the northern division. One sixth of the territory set down as belonging to Texas—say 54,253 square miles, lying between the Arkansas and the Canadian

rivers — may, without any violence, be wrested from that connection. This taken, diminishes the extent of the southern division. Now, by adding Minnesota to the aggregate as set forth in the Land Office Report, and deducting one sixth of Texas therefrom, we have, as the entire extent of organized territory in the United States, 1,419,405 square miles: of which 701,057 is the proportion of the southern division, and 718,348 that of the northern division. Arranged in tabular form, that they may strike the eye at a glance, these quantities present themselves as follows:

Aggregate territory, in square miles,	1,419,405
Northern division,	718,348
Southern division,	701,057
One half of the aggregate territory,	709,702
Northern division more than half,	8,646
Southern division less than half,	8,645

F. PAGE 25.

Of the immense public domain of the United States remaining unsold and unappropriated on the 1st of January, 1847, 245,913,343 acres lay within the limits of twelve of the organized states. These states are all west of the fourth parallel of longitude west from Washington City, seven of them being north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, and five south of that line. The following table shows in the first column of figures the complete areas of these states, in the second column the amount of the public lands unsold in each, and in the third the quantity located on bounty land warrants to the 1st of January, 1849, under the act of February 11, 1847:

	Complete area.	*Public lands.*	*Bounty locations.*
Ohio,	25,576 960	807,556	49,429
Indiana,	21,637,760	3 271,730	189 540
Illinois,	35,459.200	14 998.937	683,700
Missouri,	43,123.200	29 436 942	207.200
Michigan,	35 995 520	25,057,704	29 920
Wisconsin,	34 511,360	27,431,029	736 080
Iowa,	32,584 960	28,368,436	462 360
Northern division,	228 888 960	129.372,334	2 358 229
Alabama,	32 462,080	17,450 566	19 160
Mississippi,	30 174 080	14 326 430	16 840
Louisiana,	29,715,840	23,462.018	76,720
Arkansas,	33 406,720	27.464 603	62,400
Florida,	37,931,520	33 837,392	80
Southern division,	163,690,240	116,541,000	175.200
Totals,	392 579 200	245,913,343	2,533,429

From January 1 to October 1, 1849 — nine months — an aggregate of 2,491,971 additional acres was located; but I have not at hand the means of determining the

relative proportions in the two sectional divisions. This makes a total of locations, on military land warrants issued since the Mexican war, amounting to 5,025,400 acres—from eight to nine tenths of which, it is fair to assume from the foregoing data, has been selected in the North-West.

F. PAGE 37.

A forcible illustration of the truth of this remark, is afforded by the histories of administrative measures under our National Government, and many of our State Governments. I need do nothing more than refer to the questions of the Tariff, Internal Improvements, and a United States Bank, to give an idea of how much has been lost to national prosperity, dignity, and quiet, and gained to partisan bitterness and demagogical cant, by the changing predominance of parties, which for so long a period in our history prevented either of these great measures of policy from remaining *settled* long enough to vindicate its claims to general respect and confidence, or to show that it was neither promotive of the welfare of the people, nor necessary to our national development. A United States Bank has been declared by high authority, and, indeed, now is, "an obsolete idea;" but the question of extending governmental aid to objects of internal improvement, is yet an open one; and the policy of protecting against European competition, and thus promoting objects of domestic industry, after having been discussed every year for nearly a half century, in the national congress, in the state legislatures, in popular meetings, in books, addresses, reports, and newspapers, seems now further from being settled than it was twenty-five years ago. So of other great national measures, which it is not necessary to specify.

In Ohio, the policy of permitting local banks to issue a paper currency has agitated the entire people of the state for a quarter of a century, and is yet undetermined. Advocacy of chartered banks and a small note circulation, on one side, and opposition to one, or both, on the other, have for a period of ten or twelve years, at least, constituted the chief, and at periods the only, munitions of party warfare. At one election, one of the two great parties has succeeded in obtaining a majority in the legislature; at the next election, or the election following that, the other has secured a majority; so that the two party cries, "Down with the banks!" "Up with the banks!" have triumphed on nearly alternate years, keeping up an almost unceasing excitement and uncertainty, and producing continual changes in the legislation of the state upon this subject. It is assuming little to say, that had the policy of a small note currency been definitely *settled*, for any period of ten years, and the mouths of both "hard" and "soft" demagogues been thus closed for that length of time, banks of circulation would either have effectually "used themselves up" in public estimation, or the policy of a paper currency, and the insufficiency of a specie currency, have become so fully apparent to the people, as to make a final settlement of this question. As things have happened, however, one party has regularly succeeded to power, just in time to prevent the other from cutting its throat with this "bank question;" and at the present time the policy of the state, in this particular, is quite as

uncertain as it has been at almost any previous period. No scheme that has been established, has been permitted to remain undisturbed long enough either to show its worthlessness, or vindicate its claims to common regard.

G. PAGE 46.

The separate and united extent and populations of the several countries named, according to the latest statements at hand, are as follows:

	Square miles.	*Population.*
Belgium,	13,000	4 200.000
France,	205,000	34 200 000
England,	51 500	15.119.178
Holland,	11.000	3,000,000
Italy,	122,000	23,890,000
Totals,	402,500	80,409,178

H. PAGE 56.

While this discourse is running through the press, I learn that the Pittsburg "strikers" have gone resolutely and systematically to work, to do good for themselves, their families, and others. About one hundred of them have now combined against their former employers, in the only legitimate and manly way. These, it is stated, have organized themselves into a partnership, and commenced the erection of an extensive iron manufactory in Mercer county, Pennsylvania, on the Erie Extension Canal, about fifty miles from Beaver—an excellent location, where all raw materials are easily accessible.

APPENDIX.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be known as the "*Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio,*" and its primary object shall be, research in every department of local history; the collection, preservation, and diffusion of whatever may relate to the History, Biography, Literature, Philosophy, and Antiquities of America—more especially of the State of Ohio, of the West, and of the United States.

ART. 2. The Society shall consist of *corporate, corresponding,* and *honorary members.* Corporate members must be residents of the State of Ohio, and shall alone be eligible to vote, and act as officers of the Society: corresponding members may reside either in Ohio, or neighboring states; and, as representatives, shall be entitled to a seat in its meetings, and to participate in its deliberations, but not to vote, or hold office: honorary members—of whom not more than twelve shall be elected in any one year—may be persons eminent for historical, literary, or scientific attainments, in any part of the world, and shall, *ex officio,* be entitled to all the rights and privileges of corresponding members.

ART. 3. The officers of this Society shall be, a *President, two Vice Presidents, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian,* and *fifteen Curators,* all of whom shall be chosen annually by ballot, and shall hold office for the term of one year, or until their successors shall have been chosen. They shall severally perform the duties appertaining to their respective offices, and together, constitute an Executive Board, which shall meet at least once in each month for the transaction of business—shall have power to enact bylaws, appropriate

funds, receive donations, and shall be charged with the financial management and general conduct of the affairs of the Society.

ART. 4. *Candidates for membership,* either as corporate, corresponding, or honorary, must be proposed by a member of the Society, at a regular meeting; the name entered upon the Minutes, and referred for one month to the Executive Board, unless otherwise ordered by the unanimous consent of the members present. Election in all cases by ballot; three negatives excluding.

ART. 5. Each *corporate member,* on subscribing to the Constitution, shall pay an initiation fee of *one dollar;* and on or before the *first Monday* of *December* in each year, as annual dues, the sum of *two dollars,* invariably in advance, so long as he shall continue a member: provided that the payment of *twenty dollars,* at any one time after election, shall constitute a *member for life,* and that of *fifty dollars,* at any one time after election, a *perpetual membership,* transferrable on the books of the Society; such members retaining the right to vote and hold office, unless forfeited by removal from the State of Ohio, in which case they shall be enrolled and act as corresponding members.

ART. 6. There shall be an annual meeting of the Society on the *first Monday of December,* for the election of officers for the ensuing year, the reception of annual reports, and the transaction of such other business as may be duly presented; thereafter there shall be such meetings of the Society as the Executive Board may in each year establish. The annual meeting shall adjourn over to the call of the President, which adjourned meeting shall be held within a current month in the city of Columbus, the annual report of the Executive Board again read, and a copy of the same subsequently inclosed to the speakers, respectively, of the Senate and House of Representatives: at the same time and place, an annual address shall be delivered by the President, or such alternate as may have been appointed by the Executive Board, which address may be repeated, by appointment, in the city of Cincinnati.

ART. 7. The library, cabinet, and all other collections of the Society, shall be permanently located in the city of Cincinnati, subject to such regulations as the Executive Board may, from time to time, ordain and establish.

ART. 8. There shall be no alteration in this Constitution, unless the proposed amendments shall have been submitted in writing to the Executive Board, at least one month before an annual meeting, notice thereof given in one or more daily papers of Cincinnati and of the cities of Columbus and Cleveland, and then approved and ratified by the vote of three fourths of the members present at the next succeeding annual meeting of the Society.

REPORT

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO,

FOR 1849.

The Committee appointed by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, to report upon the action of the Society during the past year, its present condition, and prospects, beg leave to submit the following:

About the commencement of the year 1849, the Society, with its books and archives, was removed from Columbus to Cincinnati, in order to form a union with the Historical Society of Cincinnati, which would prove materially advantageous, and advance the design and objects of both. The two associations were united. An accession to the library of about four hundred volumes was thereby attained, about two hundred of which are rare works, and of considerable historic value. As the pecuniary resources of the Society are limited in extent, few additions to the stock of books can be made by purchase; the collection has, consequently, been made up principally by donations.

Nearly one hundred volumes have been received during the past year, among which we may mention: Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, Vol. 1, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, from the Smithsonian Institute; four volumes Antiquitates Americanæ, from the Society of Northern Antiquaries, Stockholm, and seven volumes of their Transactions; Bertramis's Pilgrimage in Europe and America, leading to the discovery of

the sources of the Mississippi and Bloody rivers; History of the Jesuit Missions in the Mississippi Valley; twenty-nine volumes Executive and Congressional Documents, from the State Department at Washington, transportation free; with numerous other valuable contributions. Your Committee regret to state, that, while they have these evidences of liberality from various sources, the objects and efforts of the Society are not so fully and thoroughly appreciated by the public at large as they certainly deserve to be. It is a matter of deep and lasting regret, that our early local history should be regarded with so great indifference by many of our citizens, while such a great degree of interest is taken by the people of other states with a far less eventful history, in similar institutions, for the support and advancement of which ample provision is also made, in many cases by the state government direct.

The history of our State, and of that hardy and adventurous band who first broke the stillness of her forests, and planted the standard of Freedom and Civilization on her soil, is full of romantic interest, without a parallel in the history of mankind. Much that is valuable of this character is fast passing away—becoming extinct and extinguished—much of it remaining in the form of oral tradition, and too often dying with the subject himself, who is ever as modest as he has been adventurous and brave. Even of that sagacious, trusty, and faithful assemblage of "good men and true" who formed the Constitution of the State, which has gone far beyond their most sanguine anticipations, and outgrown the original dress prescribed by rigid rule and cautious "metes and bounds," but few remain to rejoice in the increased strength of the young giant of the West whose infancy they nurtured. Although, fortunately for history, many have had justice done them by able pens, much of deep and lasting interest in relation to that body, as well as other pioneer bands, remains unwritten, and unpreserved in any tangible form.

A volume of "Pioneer History," embracing much interesting matter of the nature alluded to, has been published by the Society, and has had so wide-spread a circulation that the large edition has been already exhausted. A liberal proportion has been distributed

to the societies of other states, and to various libraries and public institutions at home and abroad, and has attracted much attention, both from the interesting incident with which it abounds, and the able manner in which the work is gotten up. We are gratified to state, that the manuscript of a similar volume, by the same able and industrious pen, embodying the interesting and eventful biographical history of the principal settlers and founders of the colony at Marietta, illustrated with the portraits of many of the subjects, and views of works and places of renown of early times, is already in the publisher's hands, and will at no very distant day be issued from the press. If sufficient encouragement is offered to justify the measure, this will doubtless be followed by a regular series of similar publications by the Society.

At the annual election, held in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution in December last, the following named gentlemen were chosen officers of the Society for the ensuing year:

President, WILLIAM D. GALLAGHER.
Vice Presidents, THOMAS M. KEY,
EDWARD D. MANSFIELD.
Recording Secretary, EDWIN R. CAMPBELL.
Corresponding Secretary, A. RANDALL.
Treasurer, ROBERT BUCHANAN.
Librarian, G. WILLIAMS KENDALL.

With a Board of Curators, twenty in number, chosen from the State at large.

At the annual meeting aforesaid, the President of the Society was requested to deliver the annual address in the city of Columbus, before the adjournment of the Legislature, as prescribed by the Constitution of the association.

Your Committee would also state, that the books, archives, and cabinet of the Society have been recently removed to a suite of rooms in the new building lately erected on the corner of Third and Race streets, in Cincinnati, where they are safely deposited and conveniently arranged—the rooms being commodious and well fitted for the Society's meetings. We are still

more gratified to state, that, through the liberality of a gentleman of known public spirit and liberal views, a member of the Society, there is a prospect that a hall and rooms, conveniently arranged and eligibly located, will be furnished the Society for a term of years, free of rent.

In conclusion, your Committee beg leave to congratulate their fellow members, and all interested in the Historical Society, upon its healthful and flourishing condition, notwithstanding the obstacles the institution has encountered. They beg leave also to impress upon the Society the propriety of memorializing the State Legislature upon the appropriateness of granting the same privileges and aid to our association, as is extended to the encouragement of agriculture, and other matters of the like import. We respectfully suggest that the President of the Society, on the occasion of the delivery of his annual address at the capital, during the session of the Legislature, urge the matter upon the serious consideration of the members of that body.

We trust that the members of the Society, both resident and throughout the State, will enter upon their duties with renewed zeal, in view of the facts we have taken some pains to collate and lay before them. As the work in which they are engaged should be to each and all of us "a labor of love," we should not be weary of well doing in such a cause.

EDWIN R. CAMPBELL,
G. WILLIAMS KENDALL,
OSGOOD MUSSEY, *Committee.*

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF OHIO.*

The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ashtabula County was organized in July, 1838, with the following officers: R. W. Griswold, President; Horace Wilder, H. S. Hitchcock, Levi Gaylord, and Hulsey Phillips, Vice Presidents; Platt R. Spencer, Recording Secretary; and Arramel H. Fitch, Corresponding Secretary.

It has diligently sought out everything in relation to the history of the county, together with much of the Reserve and northern Ohio, making about seven hundred pages of manuscript. Several valuable MSS. are in their possession, and a cabinet of natural history.

The Society holds its meetings at Jefferson.

The Logan Historical Society was organized July 28, 1841. Felix Renick, President; Jno. S. Williams, Secretary. Located at Chillicothe.

The American Pioneer, edited by Jno. S. Williams, was made the organ of the Society, and its pages enriched by many very valuable collections of historical interest. After a severe struggle for two years, the publication was suspended. An attempt is now being made to revive the Society, which we hope may prove successful.

The Marietta Historical Association was organized November 21, 1841, with the following gentlemen as officers: Ephraim Cutler, President; Arius Nye, Vice President; Caleb Emerson, Corresponding Secretary; Arius S. Nye, Recording Secretary; Wm. R. Putnam, John Mills, A. T. Nye, Curators. It has a library of about one hundred and fifty volumes of rare old books, and a few volumes of old newspapers, and a quantity of old manuscripts, mostly letters. It will probably do something in the course of a year, in pursuance of its objects.

* Minutes, April 19th—"On motion, James H. Perkins and G. Williams Kendall were appointed a committee to draft a sketch of the historical societies of the state." Report accepted August 6th, and ordered to be printed. 1849.

The Historical and Geological Society of Norwalk Seminary was organized in 1842, by the election of Rev. A. Wilson, President; H. Dwight, Esq., Secretary. The Society made a small collection of geological specimens, which are now in the seminary, but did nothing in the way of historical collections. It has long since been suspended.

In August, 1844, the Cincinnati Historical Society was organized, with the following officers:

JAMES H. PERKINS, President.
JOHN P. FOOTE,
W. D. GALLAGHER, Vice Presidents.
E. P. NORTON, Recording Secretary.
Corresponding Secretary.
R. BUCHANAN, Treasurer.
A. RANDALL, Librarian.

Who continued in office until 1847, when the following officers were chosen:

D. K. ESTE, President.
J. P. FOOTE,
J. HALL, ...Vice Presidents.
J. H. PERKINS, Recording Secretary.
J. G. ANTHONY, Corresponding Secretary.
A. RANDALL, Librarian.

During this year, Dr. Hildreth presented the manuscript of his work on the "Pioneer History."

The officers chosen for 1848 were:

W. D. GALLAGHER, President.
JAS. H. PERKINS,
CHAS. WHITTLESEY,
E. D. MANSFIELD, Vice Presidents.
A. RANDALL, Secretary and Librarian.
H. HALL, Treasurer.

Upon the removal of the State Society to Cincinnati, all of the books and other property of the Cincinnati Society were presented to the former, and its members transferred to it also.

In 1822, a number of the citizens of Ohio, desirous of preserving, by a united effort, sufficient material in relation to the

history, settlement, and antiquities of the State, were induced to apply to the Legislature for an act of incorporation, under the name of the Ohio Historical Society. This was granted; but the proposed society was never organized.

Several years after, the project was revived; and an act was passed by the Legislature, February 11, 1831, incorporating the HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO, located at Columbus. This Society was organized December 31, 1831, by the election of the following officers:

BENJ. TAPPAN, President.
EBENEZER LANE,
REV. WM. PRESTON, Vice Presidents.
ALFRED KELLY, Corresponding Secretary.
P. B. WILCOX, Recording Secretary.
JOHN W. CAMPBELL, Treasurer.

Curators,

G. SWAN, S. P. HILDRETH,
EDWARD KING, B. G. LEONARD,
J. P. KIRTLAND.

And the adoption of a code of bylaws for the government of the Society.

At the annual meeting held in December, 1832, Benj. Tappan, President, delivered the introductory address. S. P. Hildreth read a communication on the subject of Floods in the Ohio river, from 1772 to 1832, inclusive.

The officers for the second year were as follows:

BENJ. TAPPAN, President.
E. LANE,
J. C. WRIGHT, Vice Presidents.
ALFRED KELLY, Corresponding Secretary.
P. B. WILCOX, Recording Secretary.
JOHN W. CAMPBELL, Treasurer.

Curators,

JAMES HOGE, ARIUS NYE,
C. B. GODDARD, J. R. SWAN,
JOS. SULLIVANT.

At the annual meeting in 1833, Hon. Ebenezer Lane delivered

the annual address. The following gentlemen were elected officers for the ensuing year:

B. TAPPAN, President.
E. LANE,
J. C. WRIGHT, Vice Presidents.
ALFRED KELLY, Corresponding Secretary.
P. B. WILCOX, Recording Secretary.
N. H. SWAYNE, Treasurer.

Curators,

M. Z. KREIDER, C. B. GODDARD,
J. R. SWAN, JOS. SULLIVANT,
J. H. JAMES.

At the annual meeting for 1834, Mr. G. H. Flood pronounced a eulogy on the life and labors of Dr. Thos. F. Conner, a deceased member of the Society. J. H. James delivered the annual address, and Joshua Malin read a paper on the meteoric phenomena of November 13, 1833. The officers elected for the year were:

BENJ. TAPPAN, President.
E. LANE,
J. C. WRIGHT, Vice Presidents.
ALFRED KELLY, Corresponding Secretary.
P. B. WILCOX, Recording Secretary.
I. A. LAPHAM, Treasurer.

Curators,

M. Z. KREIDER, C. B. GODDARD,
J. RIDGWAY, Jr., JOS. SULLIVANT,
ROBT. THOMPSON.

The officers for 1836 were:

EBENEZER LANE, President.
J. C. WRIGHT,
A. NYE,.....Vice Presidents.
J. DELAFIELD, Jr., Corresponding Secretary.
P. B. WILCOX, Recording Secretary.
J. RIDGWAY, Jr., Treasurer.

Curators,

R. THOMPSON, J. RIDGWAY, Jr.,
J. SULLIVANT, W. M. AWL,
C. B. GODDARD.

The Corresponding Secretary was ordered to subscribe for Rufus's Antiquitates Americanæ and to procure any printed evidence of the existence of the city of Palenque in South America.

In December, 1837, Hon. Timothy Walker delivered the annual address. Mr. Delafield presented a series of letters from the Hon. Jacob Burnet, detailing early scenes in the history of Ohio.

The officers elected were the same as for the preceding year.

Part I, vol. 1, of the Transactions of the Society, was published in 1838, containing the act of incorporation and bylaws, list of officers for 1838, Tappan's address, James's address, Van Cleve's History of the Settlement of Dayton, and a brief description of Washington county, Ohio, by J. Delafield, Jr.

Officers for 1838:

JACOB BURNET, President.

E. LANE,

J. C. WRIGHT, Vice Presidents.

J. DELAFIELD, Jr., Corresponding Secretary.

P. B. WILCOX, Recording Secretary.

J. B. THOMPSON, Treasurer.

Curators,

A. NYE, R. THOMPSON,

J. RIDGWAY, Jr., J. SULLIVANT,

J. W. ANDREWS.

Vol. I, Part II, of "Transactions," was published in 1839, containing a series of letters relating to the early settlement of the North-West Territory, addressed to J. Delafield, Jr., by Jacob Burnet; Walker's address; a discourse on the aborigines of the Ohio valley, by W. H. Harrison; Perkins's address; an essay on the origin and progress of political communities, by James T. Worthington; and a fragment of the early history of Ohio, by Arius Nye.

The officers for 1839 were:

J. BURNET, President.
E. LANE,
J. C. WRIGHT, Vice Presidents.
W. D. GALLAGHER, Corresponding Secretary.
P. B. WILCOX, Recording Secretary.
J. B. THOMPSON, Treasurer.

Curators,

J. RIDGWAY, R. THOMPSON,
J. W. ANDREWS, ARIUS NYE,
J. SULLIVANT.

For 1840.

J. BURNET, President.
E. LANE,
T. L. HAMER, Vice Presidents.
J. L. MINER, Corresponding Secretary.
J. W. ANRDEWS, Recording Secretary.
J. B. THOMPSON, Treasurer.

Curators,

J. RIDGWAY, R. THOMPSON,
J. W. ANDREWS, ARIUS NYE,
WM. WALL.

For 1841.

J. C. WRIGHT, President.
E. LANE,
T. L. HAMER, Vice Presidents.
ALFRED KELLY, Corresponding Secretary.
J. RIDGWAY, Recording Secretary.
J. B. THOMPSON, Treasurer.

Curators,

R. THOMPSON, ARIUS NYE,
JOS. SULLIVANT, S. NASH,
J. RIDGWAY, Jr.

A resolution was passed, soliciting the formation of local historical societies throughout the state, for the collection of facts relative to the civil and natural history of their districts.

Charles Whittlesey delivered an address, relating to the expedition of Lord Dunmore, of Virginia, against the Indian towns on the Scioto, in 1774.

The next meeting was held in December, 1844, when the following gentlemen were elected officers for the ensuing year:

J. Burnet, President.
J. C. Wright,
E. Lane, ... Vice Presidents.
J. Sullivant, Corresponding Secretary.
J. Ridgway, Jr., Recording Secretary.
J. B. Thompson, Treasurer.

Curators,

J. Sullivant, J. Ridgway, Jr.,
R. Thompson, Arius Nye,
Simeon Nash.

The next annual meeting was held in December, 1848, and adjourned the business to be transacted, to a meeting to be held in the city of Cincinnati, in February, 1849. The members of the Cincinnati Historical Society were then elected members; a donation of all the property of the Cincinnati Historical Society was accepted.

The election of officers, for the year 1849, was held March 20th, and the following gentlemen were elected:

William D. Gallagher, President.
James H. Perkins,
Edward D. Mansfield,
Charles Whittlesey, Vice Presidents.
Robert Buchanan, Treasurer.
And. Randall, Corresponding Secretary.
Samuel B. Munson, Recording Secretary.
G. Williams Kendall, Librarian.

General Curators,

John C. Wright, David K. Este,
John P. Foote, Edwin R. Campbell,
Restore C. Carter.

The library is now of respectable size, and contains much very rare and valuable historical material, consisting of books.

maps, charts, sketches, etc. The "publications" of the Society, for 1849, consist of Hildreth's Pioneer History; for 1850, Hildreth's Biographical Sketches, and such others as may be ordered by the Society.

Early in 1850 the Constitution of the Society was modified, receiving the form it bears at he opening of the Appendix, and the following gentlemen were elected officers:

President,
WILLIAM D. GALLAGHER.

Vice Presidents,
THOMAS M. KEY, E. D. MANSFIELD.

Recording Secretary,
EDWIN R. CAMPBELL.

Corresponding Secretary,
A. RANDALL.

Treasurer,
ROBERT BUCHANAN.

Librarian,
G. W. KENDALL.

Curators,

Hamilton	county,	J. G. Anthony, Charles Cist, Geo. T. Williamson, S. B. Munson, Geo. Mendenhall.
Erie	"	Ebenezer Lane.
Cuyahoga	"	Chas. Whittlesey, J. P. Kirtland.
Franklin	"	S. Medary.
Jefferson	"	Benjamin Tappan.
Ross	"	Seneca W. Ely.
Fairfield	"	Wm. Medill.
Washington	"	S. P. Hildreth.
Butler	"	James M'Bride.
Champaign	"	John H. James.

The sixty-second anniversary of the first settlement of Ohio (by the Ohio Company, at Marietta, April 7, 1788), was commemorated by the Society, at the Historical Rooms in Cincinnati, on the 8th of April, 1850—the 7th occurring this year on Sunday.

The President's Discourse, herewith published, was delivered on that occasion.

According to a determination then come to, the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio will hereafter commemorate the First Settlement of the State, every year, by appropriate ceremonies, and social festivities.

Under its present organization, much is expected from this Society, in the hitherto much-neglected field of western history. Hope we, then, that it may present to all, in its truth and beauty, the historic field now before it. May it ever be foremost in the glorious task of establishing the memory of those high, noble, moral principles, which actuated the men of the creation-morn of our republic; and may success crown its purpose "to gather from still living witnesses, and preserve for the future annalist, the important records of the teeming and romantic PAST—to seize, while yet warm and glowing, and inscribe upon the page which shall be sought hereafter, the bright visions of song, and fair images of story, that gild the gloom and lighten the sorrows of the ever-fleeting PRESENT—to search all history with a steady eye, sound all philosophy with a careful hand, question all experience with a fearless tongue, and thence draw lessons to fit us for, and light to guide us through, the shadowed, but unknown FUTURE."

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WORKS PUBLISHED BY H. W. DERBY & CO.

PIONEER HISTORY.

Being an account of the first examinations of the Ohio Valley, and the early settlement of the North-West Territory. By S. P. HILDRETH. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

Some account of this volume, and of one which is to follow, may be found in the Appendix to Mr. Gallagher's Historical Discourse. It is an exceedingly interesting narrative of the First Settlement of the now great State of Ohio, and of occurrences preceding and following that event: the materials of the work being almost wholly original, comprising the papers of Colonel George Morgan; those of Judge Barker; the diaries of Joseph Buel and John Mathews; the records of the Ohio Company, etc. It was a fortunate thing that these materials fell into the hands of the venerable Dr. Hildreth, who was peculiarly qualified, by a residence of more than forty years among the scenes and men described, and by an enthusiastic love of historical pursuits, for the task of arranging and combining them with other but cognate matter. He has produced an original work of great interest now, and of highest value to those who shall hereafter write the history of Ohio, and of the West: for his facts are authentic, and may be relied upon in every respect. The volume is a handsome octavo, of 525 pages, well supplied with lithographic plates, to illustrate the text, and increase its interest.

From the Cincinnati Gazette.

. . . The volume is one of great interest, and has been gotten out in a style at once beautiful and substantial. The work has thus original historical value, such as will, doubtless, cause it to be sought after with avidity. Its perusal will be attended with intense interest, for its plain, eventful, authentic account of the pioneer history of the west.

From the Louisville Courier.

. . . Mr. Hildreth enjoys an extensive reputation throughout the west, as a close and patient observer, and is not less known for his accuracy. In all things relating to the early history of the west, he is known to be one of the most zealous of men in the collection and preservation of everything that can illustrate the early day of settlement, and one of the most honest in recording these interesting pieces of information. The chapter "On the Early and Present Climate of Ohio, with the Natural Productions of the Country," is one of much interest, and one that could scarcely have been written by any man in the west but Mr. Hildreth.

BURNET'S NOTES.

Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-Western Territory. By JACOB BURNET, of Cincinnati. One vol. 8vo. Price $2.50.

This volume will be welcomed by a large class of readers, as a valuable addition to the historical literature of our country. The author is one among the few eminent men now living, who are left to record the events of the past sixty years in the rapid growth of the west. We subjoin extracts from a few, out of many testimonials which have been received respecting the merits of the work:

From the Louisville Journal.

. . . We regard this work as one of the most important contributions yet made to the historical department of western literature. Persons wishing to inform

themselves of the great events that have marked the progress of the north-western territory, will nowhere find a work so well adapted to that end. It ought to find a place in every family, and will, doubtless, have a circulation commensurate with its uncommon interest and merits.

From the New York Tribune.

This fine work, just issued from the press, is needed, and will be extremely useful both in a historical and, we may say, a biographical sense—giving, as it does, so much insight into the institutions, character, and causes of the degeneracy of the North-Western Indians—while it is valuable and interesting in its relation of those revolutionary events in which all the Indian tribes figured more or less conspicuously. The author of this work has, undoubtedly, executed his task faithfully, as we are certain he has entertainingly.

THE NATURE AND TENDENCY OF FREE INSTITUTIONS.

By Judge Grimke.

From the Western Literary Emporium.

This work will rank among the very best treatises on the science of government, and will do honor to the author and to the state of Ohio. Judge Grimke has taken up the subject in the spirit of true philosophical investigation, and has triumphantly met, as far as we have been able to read his work, the stale and standing objections of monarchists against republican institutions. His work will be read by all who wish to get at the true merits of the subjects he discusses. The style is simple, the argument close and clear, but often too deep for the popular mind—a quality which the sound politician will not regret, as it carries him into fields of thought which have the freshness of a virgin soil, and gives him a confidence in American institutions which the superficial observer can not enjoy. We believe that God gave to his ancient people the free forms of government, because they were best for the nation; and we fully believe that mankind must come back to republican simplicity and economy, before the nations can be truly prosperous and happy. We believe that the great men of Europe will read the work of Judge Grimke with a degree of respect for American institutions that they never have felt before. We confess that fears which we have long entertained, in regard to the success of the American experiment, are much diminished, and our hopes and confidence very greatly increased, by a careful study of the essential principles of freedom. We shall read the work now before the public with careful attention, and may give our views of it more at large, at a future time.

THE WEST; ITS COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION.

By James Hall.

From the Marietta, O., Intelligencer.

This is a highly-interesting and instructive work, embodying a greater amount of valuable statistical information upon the subject of which it treats, than any work we have ever seen. No man in the country is more intimately acquainted with the history, increase, and present importance of western commerce and navigation, than Mr. Hall. And his work not only contains much important information respecting the resources of the west, but it demonstrates the necessity of governmental aid and supervision in the prosecution of improvements, and the protection of internal commerce. Its author feels a just pride in the remarkable growth and prosperity of the Queen City, and labors with commendable zeal to show that many of its advantages are greater, and its elements of prosperity more numerous, than any other western city possesses.

From the Dayton Journal.

. . . Judge Hall has, in his work before us, embodied many facts and statistics which should be generally known. He imparts an interest to the subject, by the manner in which it is treated, that divests it of the *dryness* people are apt to consider necessarily attached to the discussion of such matter.