HISTORY OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY CELEBRATION AND
THE PIONEER CARAVAN OF 1937-38

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C. V. A.
The thesis of Carl V. Applegate

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

So far as the writer has been able to discover, nothing has heretofore been done in compiling a history of the Northwest Territory Celebration of 1937-38. The purpose of this study is to write the story of that Celebration. Particular emphasis will be placed on the Pioneer Caravan, which was a feature of the Celebration. The writer was a member of this Caravan, and much of the material contained in this thesis was taken from a personal diary which he compiled from day to day during the trek.

In March of 1786, the Ohio Company of Associates was organized to promote a settlement in the western country. By March of the following year they had raised sufficient funds to send an agent to Congress to apply for the purchase of lands. Their agent was the Reverend Manasseh Cutler, who had served as a chaplain in the Revolutionary Army. With his broad interests and persuasive manner, Cutler was granted the purchase of one million, five hundred thousand acres north of the Ohio River from the seventh to the seventeenth range of townships. Meanwhile, the famous Ordinance of 1787 had been enacted, providing for the settlement and organization of a territory larger than any country in Europe except Russia.
On December 3, 1787, forty-eight men began a journey westward to establish a settlement in the territory which had been purchased by the Ohio Company of Associates. They arrived at what is now Marietta, Ohio, on April 7, 1788, and established the first civil government, under the Ordinance of 1787, west of the Allegheny Mountains.

To commemorate the contribution made by these early pioneers, the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission began operations in 1937. It was the one hundred and fiftieth birthday of the Northwest Territory.

As a feature of this Celebration, a caravan of thirty-six men, mostly college students, was recruited to re-create the trek of 1787-88. Two yoke of oxen were purchased in West Virginia. Five cavalry horses were purchased from the United States Army, and an authentic Conestoga wagon was assembled from old relics found in barns and carriage sheds in the Conestoga Valley of Pennsylvania. The party was equipped with tools and clothing of the Revolutionary period.

These modern pioneers left Ipswich, Massachusetts, on December 3, 1937, and arrived at West Newton, Pennsylvania, after a trek of fifty-two days.

During a ten-week period in this Pennsylvania town they built a flotilla consisting of two flatboats, two canoes, and a pirogue. They launched their craft on the Youghiogheny River and drifted toward Marietta, Ohio. After an eight-day journey
they reached Marietta on April 7, 1938.

From Marietta, Ohio, the modern caravan set off on a motorized trek through the states of the Old Northwest Territory. They traveled through the five states of the Northwest Territory presenting an historical pageant, Freedom on the March, in parks and amphitheatres in nearly two hundred towns and cities.

Their route lay north and west through Ohio to the level distances of Indiana and Illinois; to the lakes, fields, and woods of Wisconsin; north past the tip of Lake Superior; then through the woods of Minnesota to Lake Itasca, where the Mississippi River rises. The return route followed the Mississippi through Minneapolis, Winona, and La Crosse; passed through the prairies of central Illinois; crossed the Wabash River at Vincennes; and reached the Ohio River at Evansville, Indiana. The Caravan followed the Ohio through Cincinnati, Portsmouth, and Gallipolis, and ended their tour at Marietta, after eleven months and three thousand miles of travel.
CHAPTER II

THE OHIO COMPANY OF ASSOCIATES

Out of the flesh, out of the minds and hearts
Of thousand upon thousand common men,
Cranks, Martyrs, starry-eyed enthusiasts,
Slow-spoken neighbors, hard to push around,
Women whose hands were gentle with their kids
And men with a cold passion for mere justice.
We made this thing, this dream.
This land unsatisfied by little ways.
Open to every man who brought good will,
This peaceless vision, groping for the stars,
Not as a huge devouring machine
Rolling and clanking with remorseless force
Over submitted bodies and the dead
But as live earth where anything could grow.
Your crankiness, my notions and his dream,
Grow and be looked at, grow and live or die,
But get their chance of growing and the sun.
We made it and we make it and it's ours.
We shall maintain it. It shall be sustained.
---Stephen Vincent Benet, Listen to the People

At the close of the Revolutionary War, Congress, in
adjusting the claims of officers and soldiers, gave them
interest-bearing continental certificates. At that time the
United States Treasury was in a state of such depletion and
uncertainty that these certificates were actually worth only
about one-sixth of their face value. At the close of the war
many of these men were destitute, notwithstanding the fact
that they held thousands of dollars in these depreciated
"promissory notes" of the government.

On the eve of the disbandment of the army in 1783,
approximately two hundred eighty-eight officers petitioned
Congress for a grant of land in the western country. This petition went beyond a request for lands, however, and set forth certain provisions of government as essential to their petition. In this humble document, known variously as the "Pickering" or "Army" Plan, were contained many of the proposals which later found their way into the Ordinance of 1787. Included was the then radical provision of the slavery clause. General Rufus Putnam was one of the petitioners. If Congress should comply with the plan, General Putnam intended to form a colony and move to the Ohio Valley.

In 1785 Congress adopted the system of surveys suggested by Putnam and tendered him the office of Government Surveyor. He declined; but through his influence his friend and fellow soldier, General Benjamin Tupper, was appointed. In the fall of 1785, and again in 1786, Tupper visited the territory; and in the latter year he completed the survey of "seven ranges" in Eastern Ohio. In the winter of 1785-86 he conferred with Putnam in Rutland, Massachusetts, concerning the great potentialities of the "Ohio Country." They talked for many hours, and Tupper described the western country in glowing terms. It was not a surveyor's talk about benchmarks and section lines, but a layman's talk about field and forest, soil and water, temperature and rainfall. Outside, they could see the cramped stony fields of New England. The land
Tupper described was wide and free and gentle, with rich black soil that had never been stirred by a plow. The contrast was obvious.

On January 10, 1786, following an all-night conference, the two men issued the following information:

The subscribers take this method to inform all officers and soldiers who have served in the late war, and who are by a late ordinance of the honorable Congress to receive certain tracts of land in the Ohio Country, and also all other good citizens who wish to become adventurers in that delightful region, that from personal inspection, together with other incontestible evidences, they are fully satisfied that the lands in that quarter are of a much better quality than any other known to the New England people; that the climate, seasons, produce, etc., are in fact equal to the most flattering accounts that have been published about them; that being determined to become purchasers, and to prosecute a settlement in this country, and desirous of forming a general association with those who entertain the same ideas, they beg leave to propose the following plan, viz: That an association by the name of the Ohio Company be formed of all such as wish to become purchasers, etc., in that country who reside in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts only, or to extend to the inhabitants of other states as shall be agreed on. In order to bring such a company into existence the subscribers propose that all persons who wish to promote the scheme meet in their respective counties at 10 A.M. on Wednesday the 15th of February next, and that each county meeting then assemble and choose a delegate or delegates to meet at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, in Boston, on Wednesday the first day of March next, at 10 o’clock A.M., then arrange there to consider and determine on a general plan of association for said company; which plan, covenant, or agreement being published, any person (under condition therein to be provided) may by subscribing his name become a member of the company.

RUTLAND, January 10, 1786

RUFUS PUTNAM

BENJAMIN TUPPER

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From the minutes of the Ohio Company we learn that the meeting was held at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston. Delegates from nine counties were present. From Suffolk came Winthrop Sargent and John Mills; from Essex, Manasseh Cutler; from Middlesex, John Brooke and Thomas H. Cushing; from Hampshire, Benjamin Tupper; from Berkshire, Jahlalier Woodbridge and John Petterson; from Berstable, Abraham Williams; from Plymouth, Crocker Sampson; and from Worcester, Rufus Putnam. Putnam was elected chairman of the meeting and Winthrop Sargent, clerk. The name, "Ohio Company of Associates," is not to be confused with the earlier "Ohio Company" of the 1750's which had been one of the earlier land schemes. It is also important to note that no man in the "Ohio Company of Associates" had been a member of the former Ohio Company, and there was no relation between the two companies. The History of the Ordinance of 1787 and the Old Northwest Territory says:

It has been pointed out that most of those attending were also members of the military society of Cincinnati, so named because the Revolutionary soldiers thought they resembled the Roman soldier Cincinnatus in leaving their farms to work to save their country.2

A committee was appointed to draft a plan of association. Two days later they made a report. According to the History of the Ordinance of 1787 and the Old Northwest Territory:

Some of the important parts of this report were:

(1) That a stock company should be formed with a capital of one million dollars of the Continental Certificates already mentioned; (2) that this fund should be devoted to the purchase of lands northwest of the river Ohio; (3) that each share should consist of one thousand dollars of certificates, and ten dollars of gold or silver to be used in defraying expenses; (4) that directors and agents be appointed to carry out the purposes of the company.3

A committee was then named to gather subscriptions. Winthrop Sargent, John Mills, and Colonel William Hull, the latter replacing Colonel Brooke, were placed on this committee.

Subscription books were opened at various places, and toward the end of the year a sufficient number of shares had been subscribed to justify further proceedings. On the eighth of March, 1787, another meeting was held at Boston; and General Samuel Holden Parsons, Putnam, Cutler, and General James M. Varnum were appointed directors and were ordered to make proposals to Congress for the purchase of land in accordance with the plans of the Company. Later, the directors employed Cutler to act as their agent and to make a contract with Congress for a body of land in the "Great Western Territory of the Union."

To many who have studied this transaction of the Ohio Company of Associates there is some reason to believe that through it the Ordinance of 1787 was drafted, as the following quotation from the History of the Ordinance of 1787 and the

3 Ibid., p. 22.
Old Northwest Territory might indicate:

The two were intimately related parts of one whole. Either studied alone presents inexplicable difficulties; studied together each explains the other. Through the agency of Cutler the purchase of land was effected and those radical changes in the ordinance were made between the ninth and thirteenth of July, 1787.4

Later the Reverend Manasseh Cutler of Ipswich, Massachusetts, a shareholder in the Ohio Company and one of its directors, was appointed to the task of asking the Continental Congress for the enactment of legislation looking toward a most democratic government for this western country.

Their agent was extremely well-chosen. He had been a whaling agent, botanist, lawyer, doctor, minister, and had served as a chaplain in the Revolutionary Army.

Cutler's diary reveals that he left his home in Ipswich, twenty-five miles northwest of Boston, on Sunday, June 24, 1787. He preached that day in Lynn and spent the night at Cambridge. He also stopped at Middletown to confer with Parsons. Here the plan of operations was perfected; and he pursued his journey, arriving at New York on the afternoon of July 5, 1787. He had armed himself with fifty letters of introduction.

The next morning Cutler was on the floor of Congress presenting letters of introduction to the members. He immediately impressed Congressmen, particularly Southerners who

4 Loc. cit.
admired his genteel manners.

He worked with dispatch, and during the morning he prepared applications to Congress for the proposed purchase of western land for the Ohio Company. He was introduced to Congress by Colonel Edward Carrington; then he delivered his petition and actually proposed terms of the purchase. A committee was appointed to discuss and study these terms.

It should not be forgotten that Cutler was employed not only to make a purchase of land, but also to see that the frame of government for the territory was acceptable to his constituents. Cutler made use of teas and dinners to push his plan.

He argued that Congress could pay a large amount of the national debt to its most worthy creditors by approving this proposed purchase. Furthermore, as he saw it, this would open up the Northwest to settlement, thus insuring large sales of land to civilians. In addition to this it would establish a barrier between older settlements and the western Indians, thus furnishing protection without expense to the government. His selling points made a great deal of sense.

In three or four days he had been so successful that Congress appointed a new committee to prepare a form of government for the proposed territory. The day following Cutler's departure, the committee presented to Congress a new ordinance prepared in accordance with Cutler's suggestions.
On the nineteenth of July, 1787, in New York, he made this entry in his diary:

Called on members of Congress very early in the morning, and was furnished with the ordinance establishing a government in the western Federal territory. It is, in a degree, new modeled. The amendments I proposed have all been made except one, and that is better qualified.\(^5\)

Congress, having satisfactorily settled the frame of government, proceeded to state the conditions on which the sale of lands should be based. On July 20, 1787, these terms were shown to Cutler, who rejected them. He said, "I informed the committee that I should not contract on the terms proposed; that I should greatly prefer purchasing lands from some of the states, who would give incomparably better terms; and therefore proposed to leave the city immediately."\(^6\)

It appears that the flavor of the ordinance and the provisions which have given it greatness among all the credos of mankind were injected into it after July 9, and after Cutler had been requested to make suggestions and amendments.

At this time a number of other leading persons who held government certificates proposed to make Cutler their agent for the purchase of lands for themselves. This plan would accordingly give him control of some four millions more of the debt with which to influence Congress. He

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\(^5\) Ibid., p. 25.

\(^6\) Ibid.,
apparently agreed to act for the group on the condition that the affair be conducted secretly. The next day several members of Congress called on him. They found him unwilling to accept their conditions and proposing to leave immediately. They assured him that Congress was prepared to give him better terms. His manner was one of almost complete indifference, and they became somewhat alarmed. This was a ruse, and it was working admirably. He finally informed them that if Congress would accept his terms, he would extend his proposed purchase.

On the twenty-fourth, he wrote out his terms and sent them to the Board of Treasury, which had been empowered to complete the contract. According to the History of the Ordinance of 1787 and the Old Northwest Territory:

Cutler contracted to purchase for the Ohio Company a million and a half acres at one dollar per acre, less one third of a dollar for bad lands and the expenses of surveying. Because the public securities with which payment was to be made were worth only twelve cents on the dollar, the actual purchase price was eight or nine cents per acre. The tract of land was bounded on the east by the Seven Ranges, which had been surveyed and offered for sale under the Land Ordinance of 1785, on the south by the Ohio River, and on the western side by the seventeenth Range; it extended far enough north to include in addition to the purchase one section of 640 acres in each township for the support of religion, one section for the support of schools, two entire townships for a university, and three sections for the future disposition of Congress.

Five hundred thousand dollars was to be paid when the contract was signed and the same amount when the United States completed the survey of the boundary lines of the tract. The contract was signed on October 27, 1787, by Cutler and Sargent for the Ohio Company, and by Osgood
and Arthur Lee for the Treasury Board, as commissioners of public land. Because the company could not pay the second installment when it was due, the tract was reduced in size from a million and a half acres to 1,064,285 acres when the patent was issued on May 20, 1792.

In conformity with the Articles of Association the shareholders received equal divisions of the purchase. Instead of 1000 shares originally expected, 822 were subscribed. When the final apportionment was made each share received a total of 1,173.37 acres in seven allotments of eight acres, three acres a house lot of .37 acres, 160 acres, 100 acres, a 640 acre section, and 262 acres (sic).

Had army pay certificates been worth par, the maximum holding for any individual would have been about $5900, and from that amount to a fractional part of $1173. In such sized holdings there could be little suggestion of either speculation or monopoly. The army certificates being depreciated in value as they were, the real value of holdings, in hard money, varied from $700 down to a few dollars. On such vast capital was America started across a continent.

For a number of reasons the Ohio Company purchase was located on the Muskingum River. Since the men of this organization expected to engage in farming and since they were the first settlers, many have wondered why they did not choose a more level tract of land. It is true that the Muskingum region is a hilly one. However, there were several reasons for this choice. Although they were the first settlers, they did not have the first choice of territory. Southern Ohio was the only part of the territory to which the United States could give clear title. Connecticut withheld her Western

7 Ibid., pp. 33-34.
Reserve of three and a quarter million acres east of the Fort McIntosh Treaty line. The western land lying between the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers was under Virginia option. Since a location west of the Little Miami would have been too far from the settled part of the country, a tract of suitable size for the Ohio Company could be found only in the southeast part of the present state of Ohio. The southern location just west of the Seven Ranges was closer to New England and was on the then greatest thoroughfare of western travel, the Ohio River. More important than all this was the fact that the Muskingum region was far distant from the Indian settlements farther west. Fort Harmar, situated in this region, presented another advantage. In making his choice of location, Cutler considered all these factors. Also, he was advised by Thomas Hutchins, geographer of the United States. In Hutchin's opinion the Muskingum Valley was the best part of the whole of the western country.
CHAPTER III

THE TREK OF 1787-88

"The Promised Land always lies on the other side of a wilderness."
---Havelock Ellis

When the purchase was assured, the Ohio Company started systematic preparation for settlement. General Rufus Putnam was elected superintendent. Some of the plans had to do with a city of four thousand acres with wide streets and public parks at the mouth of the Muskingum. One hundred houses were to be constructed on three sides of a square for the reception of settlers. For making the necessary surveys and preparing for immigrants, Putnam was ordered to employ four surveyors and twenty-two assistants, six boat builders, four house carpenters, one blacksmith, and nine laborers. Of their equipment it is recorded that:

Each man was required to furnish himself with a rifle, bayonet, six flints, powder horn and pouch, half a pound of powder, one pound of balls, and one pound of buckshot. Surveyors were to receive $27 a month, and laborers $4 per month and board.\(^8\)

Although these plans were made when it was midwinter and travel was difficult, no time was lost. These men were war veterans and had known action. They had waited more than three years; and when Congress finally made their dreams possible, they wished to carry out their purposes speedily.

\(^8\) Ibid., p. 35.
The choice of Rufus Putnam as superintendent of the affairs of the Ohio Company of Associates was a happy one. He had been well-taught in the school of experience. After his father's death, he had been reared by a stepfather, who put him to hard labor and would not permit him to attend school. At the age of sixteen, he found himself bound as an apprentice to a millwright. After three years of severity, he determined to escape and seek adventure by joining the English army in the French and Indian War. After two enlistments, he returned home in disgust. He had wanted to fight the French and Indians, but the army had placed him in a mill. After seven years as a millwright, he turned to farming and surveying. Soon after the outbreak of the American Revolution he was appointed military engineer. Later in the war he constructed fortifications at West Point and suggested that place for a military school. He retired from the army a Brigadier General and returned to farming and surveying.

On November 23, 1787, he wrote in his diary:

The directors of the Ohio Company this day appointed me superintendent of all the business relating to the commencement of their lands in the territory northwest of the river Ohio. The people to go forward in companies employed under my direction, were to consist of four surveyors, twenty-two men to attend them, six boat builders, four carpenters, one blacksmith, and nine common hands, with two wagons. . .

---

9 Mary Cone, Life of Rufus Putnam (Cleveland; Ohio: William W. Williams, 1886), p. 64.
Putnam's position as superintendent of affairs carried with it a salary of forty dollars per month and expenses.

The surveyors appointed were Colonel Ebenezer Sproat of Rhode Island, Anselm Tupper and John Mathews of Massachusetts, and Colonel R. J. Beigs of Connecticut. Eventually the total party was to consist of forty-eight men.

Major Haffield White, one of the proprietors and a former officer in the company of Minute Men, was selected as leader of the first section. He had been engaged in major battles of the Revolution and covered himself with glory at the Battle of Trenton and the triumph of Saratoga in 1777. He served as a lieutenant in Hutchinson's regiment and captain at Campus Martium (the fort at Marietta, Ohio) during the Indian War, 1790 to 1795.

From the pages of his diary comes the composite feeling of the colonists at the outset of their long trek:

December 3, 1787---Up early and about the last end of business before departing for the western country. One has queer feelings at the outset of such a long journey. So much last minute business must be settled before this adventure, but there comes a strange peace of mind.

In the party will be many friends with whom I fought in the recent war. Independence is ours but we have been disturbed by the rumblings of dissension and threatened strife among the states. A new Constitution has been proposed, but many are apprehensive whether the states will accept it.

But we have abounding faith in the Ordinance by which we will be governed. We are sure for the first time of our individual rights. We can rebuild our fortunes which have been so depleted by the war. If the country beyond the Ohio is settled as we think it will be, we are guaranteed new states equal in rights with the other thirteen.
We will have our land, schools, and free churches, essentials of good government.

These dark December days seem unfavorable for the journey. It is not easy to leave our families, our friends and our homes of many years behind. It is un-fit that women should essay such a trip in the dead of winter. But we must be on the Muskingum in time for spring planting. If the crops turn out well we can probably have the women fold and many others join us next summer. Dr. Cutler and the party should be here within the hour and we will away.10

The company of forty-eight men was divided into two sections. The boat builders and their assistants made a party of twenty-two. They assembled on December 3, 1787, in Ipswich, Massachusetts, at the home of Cutler. For their expedition he had provided a wagon covered with black canvas and lettered in his own handwriting, "For the Ohio Country."

This entry appears in Cutler's diary dated December 3, 1787:

This morning a part of the men going to the Ohio met here two hours before day. I went on with them to Danvers. The whole joined Major White's. Twenty men, employed by the Company, and four or five on their own expense, marched at eleven o'clock. This party is commanded by Major White. Captain Putnam took the immediate charge of the men, wagons, etc.; Jervis went off in good spirits. He is well fitted for the journey.11

A reminiscence written by Temple Cutler, Esquire, gives some particulars of this event:

The little band assembled at the house of Dr. Cutler in Ipswich, Massachusetts, on the 3d day of December, 1787,

10 News article in the Pittsburgh Press, January 19, 1938.
11 Cutler, op. cit., p. 329.
and there took an early breakfast. About the dawn of
day they paraded in front of the house; and, after a
short address from him, full of good advice and hearty
wishes for their happiness and prosperity—three volleys were fired, and the party (one of
whom was his son Jervis aged 19) went forward, cheered
heartily by the by-standards. Dr. Cutler accompanied
them to Danvers, where he placed them under command of
Major Heffield White and Captain Ezra Putnam. He had
prepared a large and well-built wagon for their use which
preceded them with their baggage. This wagon, as a pro-
tection from cold and storm, was covered with black can-
vas, and on the sides was an inscription in white letters,
I think in these words, "For the Ohio at the Muskingum,"
which Dr. Cutler painted with his own hand.

Although I was then but six years old, I have a vivid
recollec­tion of all these circumstances, having seen the
preparations, and heard the conversations relative to
this undertaking. I think the weather was pleasant and
the sun rose clear; I know I almost wished I could be of
the party then starting for I was told we were all to go
as soon as preparation was made for our reception.12

On this important day of their lives, Reverend Cutler
was writing the following letter to Rufus Putnam:

Ipswich, December 3, 1787.

Dear Sir: -- There are two men gone from us into the
Western Country, Ebenezer Porter and Nathaniel Sawyer,
who have subscribed each for one share in our Company.
Porter has paid his silver money part, and has made pro-
vision for the payment of securities here. Sawyer has
not yet paid any part; but both of them wished, if they
found it in their power, to turn in provisions, or such
other articles as might be wanted by our company in that
Country, in payment toward their shares. I suppose they
are either at Hannah's Town or Well's Mills, and will
make application to you as soon as they are informed
of your being in the Country. I wish they may be permitted
to do whatever may lie in their power toward making pay-
ment in that country consistent with the interests of the
Company. They will make, I presume, good inhabitants;

12 Ibid., pp. 329-330.
and the service they have rendered to our cause, by going early into the country, returning, and removing their families entitles them to as much attention and lenity as can be consistently given them.

Shares in our Company are now in higher demand this way than at any time before. I have disposed of all assigned to me. Some few will fail, but there are others ready to take them. I have taken up Major White's and have delivered him one hundred and ten dollars more in silver, which he has receipted to me as received on the account of the Ohio Company, and promises to deliver the same to you. I hope to obtain more silver money before you go to the westward, and shall, if possible, forward it to you; if not, shall embrace the first opportunity to send it to Colonel Platt. The matter of fixing a regular mode for passing of letters appears to me of so much importance, that I wish to be favored with a line from you on the subject, if you have time, before you go into the country.

Wishing you an agreeable tour, and success in your business, I am, dear sir,

Your most affectionate friend and humble serv't,

M. Cutler

So these men without women set out for the perilous journey across the Allegheny Mountains. Ahead of them were eight hundred miles of the roughest roads and unchartered trails around which hovered bands of unfriendly Indians. For eight weeks and eight hundred miles the first party plodded and slogged over stagecoach roads, mountain trails, and the Forbes Road until they reached the Old Glade Road, so named because of its course through the beautiful glades of Somerset Country. This they followed until they came to the Youghiogheny River at Simerall's Ferry, thirty miles southeast

13 Ibid., pp. 375-6.
of Pittsburgh. The journey had required eight weeks. At
this place (now West Newton, Pennsylvania), they started to
build boats in preparation for the arrival of the other party.

Few settlers had cast their lot in the Youghiogheny
Valley when the first caravan to the Ohio Country plodded down
the snow-rutted Glade Road and came to rest on the banks of
the frozen stream.

John Simerall and his brother Alex probably watched the
strange procession from their ferry boat mooring across the
ice-jammed Youghiogheny. Their cumbersome ferry boat,
hoisted ashore, was useless in the frozen river; yet it was
this old boat that gave the spot its name, Simerall's Ferry.

A few miles west of the river crossing, the brothers
operated a tavern which also bore their name. In tracing the
history of the Simeralls, research men believe they have
found the original stone tavern, still standing today and
in a remarkable state of preservation. Nearby stands another
smaller house that is believed to be the old residence of the
Simeralls when they first came to this section of the country
in 1772.

Major Haffield White and his band of boat builders
brought their eight-week trek to a halt here January 23, 1788.

General Putnam had planned to lead the second group to
Simerall's Ferry, but he was forced to abandon his plans. On
January 1, 1788, having business in New York, he left the group
and did not rejoin them until January 24, 1788. Putnam in his diary records it as follows: "From Hartford I was under the necessity of going by New York, and this party moved forward conducted by Col. Sproat. . . "14 He promised to rejoin them at a place he called Swatara Creek between the present Harrisburg and Lebanon, Pennsylvania.

On January 22, 1788, he overtook the caravan at a point near where Harrisburg now stands; and for four days they battled a raging blizzard. Finally at Cooper's Tavern at the foot of the Tuscarrora Mountain they abandoned their wagons and built large sleds from timber hewed in the forest. With men marching ahead to break a track in the deep, drifted snow, they managed to push through.

The January 24th recording in Putnam's diary reads as follows:

I joined the party at Lincoln's Inn near the Sweetterret Creek, which was hard frozen but not sufficient to bear the wagon, & a whole day was spent incuting a passage. So great a quantity of snow fell this day & the night following as quite blocked the road. It was with difficulty we got the wagon as far as Cooper's at the foot of Tuscarroras mountains, (now Strawburgh) where we arrived the 29th--here we found that nothing had crofed the mountains Sence the great Snow above mentioned, and that in the old Snow which was about 12 inches deep pack horses only had crofed these mountains--our only resource now was to build Sleads and to harnefs our horses one before the other, & in

this manner, with four sleds, & the men Marching in front to break the tract we set forward, and reached the Yauhiogany the 14th of February where we found Major Whites party who arrived here the 23d of January.--15

General Rufus Putnam was a man to delight the soul of a historian. Not only did he make history, but he also recorded it. With painstaking care he preserved all his voluminous correspondence, including copies of his own letters; for most of his life he kept a journal; he made extensive memoranda on various subjects; and he punctiliously filed all his papers, adding explanatory endorsements.

That long march across the Allegheny Mountains had been slow and toilsome. To men less determined, the difficulties would have seemed insurmountable. The men had to break a way through the snow for the weary horses to follow with their sleds. They could accomplish but a few miles each day and at night they bivouacked around large fires which they kindled in the woods. They were two weary weeks in reaching the Youghiogheny, where the other detachment awaited them.

I. THE BUILDING OF THE BOATS

On February 14, 1788, Putnam wrote:

Here, we find Major White had trimmed for building the boats. He had three canoes on the Yoh. Oliver Dodge, John Gardner, Amos Porter, Jun Hezekiah and

15 Ibid., pp. 103-04.
Jun david Walles on the 13th were "inoculated" for small pox contrary to advice of Major White. Although he mentioned small-pox inoculation, he made no records concerning an epidemic, whether any of the men died, or whether the action prevented an epidemic.

In Putnam's part was a master shipbuilder named Jonathan Devol. He supervised the boat building. Weeks of back-breaking work followed, but these were a tough group of American citizens who had helped wrest independence from England, and hardship was not a new thing to them. Their axes rang in the woods, and along the river bank their whip saws created a song of saw dust. The craft they needed to continue the journey to Marietta, Ohio, began taking shape. There were the open flatboat, Adelphia, and three canoes. Eventually one of these was to be built into a pirogue. These canoes were christened the Katling Tender, The Allen, and The Welfel. They were not ordinary canoes of birch or bark or even hollowed trees but were constructed of timbers to carry "burthens" of two tons, one ton, and eight hundred pounds.

The largest boat constructed was a galley of heavy timber to deflect bullets, and it was covered with deck-roof high enough for a man to walk upright under the beams. It was fifty feet long and thirteen feet wide with an estimated carrying capacity of twenty-one tons. In his diary Putnam

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says the craft was named the Union Galley; other records claim Adventure Galley; but before the pioneers reached Marietta, they had named it The American Mayflower.

The construction of the pirogue makes an interesting story. Indians and fur traders had experimented with the pirogue on the Ohio River. It had gained some popularity with the fur traders of the region. It was a log split in half, lengthwise, with a wide flat section inserted between the two halves. This made a more substantial boat with greatly increased carrying space. It was easy to handle and simple for the pioneers to build with the primitive materials at hand.

II. RIVER JOURNEY

On March 29 the boats were launched on the Youghiogheny and found to be "river worthy." The next two days were spent in loading the boats and packing the caravan of ox teams and horses that were to proceed overland to "Buffalo" near where Wellsburg, West Virginia, now stands. Colonel Sproat was in charge of this detail with a Mr. Foster, who was responsible for collecting supplies for the caravan as it proceeded west. The overland caravan then started for Buffalo.

On the afternoon of April 1, 1788, the galley, with the accompanying boats, left its mooring; and after weary months
of travel and work and waiting, the emigrants embarked. The river was at flood; and with ice swirling past them, they prepared for a rough journey to Marietta, Ohio. The dream was becoming a reality. Putnam made but brief reference to the trip in his memoirs:

Tuesday, April 1, 45 minutes past one o'clock we left Sumrell's Ferry and falling down 6 mile took in one tun of hay and proceeded to Mr. Gaes Ferry where we arrived at 9:00 o'clock the same.17

It is believed he was referring to McKee's Ferry, now the site of McKeesport, Pennsylvania.

The flotilla did not spend much time in Pittsburgh according to his records:

April 2, Got underway at 4:00 o'clock in the morning and arrived at Pittsburgh about 8 a.m. Left Pittsburgh at 2 o'clock p.m. Passed Beaver Creek at 8 in the evening.18

April 7, 1788, was a rainy day with the chill of winter lingering over the Ohio River. Where the Muskingum and Ohio Rivers meet, there stood Fort Harmar with its picketed palisades surmounted by blockhouses. The fort at this time was two years old, and its garrison had been living an isolated existence. From time to time occasional bands of Indians came down the Muskingum to trade their winter furs for food, blankets, traps, and hatchets.

17 Ibid., January 20, 1938.
18 Loc. cit.
On that seventh of April this land became a part of the United States. Out of the cold fog and the vapors of a muddy river, past the rounded point of Kerr's Island, in a fast current, came the dark shape of a rough-hewn boat. Its builders called it a galley; yet it looked more like a floating shed—flat-roofed and slab-sided, dark with rain. It was followed in that April rain by a companion flatboat, two canoes, and a pirogue. The large galley missed the mouth of the Muskingum, for which it was headed, and came alongside the Ohio bank beneath the log walls of Fort Harman. Had it not been for assistance from soldiers of that Fort who put out into the Ohio in canoes, the Galley might have floated past what is now the city of Marietta. Here the pioneers first stepped upon Ohio soil, and in their galley stalls the horses and oxen stamped restlessly. The forty-eight men had landed (their wives and children were to come when dwellings were ready) and the first settlement of the Northwest Territory was begun.

This Mayflower brought forty-eight men from New England to the Ohio wilderness, and with them began the civiliza-
tion of interior America. They named their town Marietta in honor of Queen Marie Antoinette, queen of France, the country that aided them as soldiers fighting for liberty. In years to come, people were to speak of it as the Plymouth of the West. Walter Havighurst has this to say of Marietta as it is today:
Today Marietta is a spacious, leafy town, with layers of memory kept alive by the mounds of a forgotten people and many monuments to the people whom it cannot forget. It is a town of shady river front and many open squares and broad green terraces. It has the composure of time. In the quiet Mound cemetery the great Conus Mound, bearing a canopy of forest trees, rises about the graves of the first families--more Revolutionary officers are buried there than anywhere else in America. The spacious "Sacra Via" still connects the raised square of a temple mound with the Muskingum landing. At the foot of the Sacra Via, beside the Muskingum, stands a replica of the Union Galley, built at West Newton, Pennsylvania, and floated down the Ohio to land at Marietta in the cold rain of April 7, 1938, one hundred and fifty years after the first settlers began the claiming of the continent beyond the mountains.19

Modern Marietta has broad streets with solid New England houses and long rows of arching elms. The Ohio flows in a long graceful curve at this point, but the town really lies on the Muskingum. It is a smaller, more intimate stream with hilly, wooded shores. It has preserved the time-softened earthworks of the Mound Builders. It has preserved its own beginnings. The Land Office, a one-room, hand-hewn building, brown with weather and green with vines, still stands on Washington Street. In this building the first maps of the territory were drawn, and the first land claims were filed of a country which was to stretch to the Pacific Ocean. Across Washington Street, now enclosed in the brick walls of the Campus Martius Museum, is the two-story house of General Rufus

Putnam, a house which was part of the original stockade that the settlers built in 1788. Along Muskingum Park, Front Street is framed by the handsome Northwest Territory Gateways; and under the elms stand the six stone figures of a memorial commemorating the start westward of the United States.
CHAPTER IV

INCEPTION OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY CELEBRATION

The idea of celebrating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 first took form in the latter part of 1934 when the directors of the Marietta Chamber of Commerce discussed celebrating Marietta's one hundred and fiftieth birthday. They appointed a committee to devise a plan and select a temporary director. This committee consisted of Lew N. Harness and Walter Gerhart, both of whom discussed the matter with Edward M. Hawes. Hawes was offered the directorship but refused. He agreed, however, to submit a plan, based upon the premise that the historic events concerned in the settlement of Marietta were of great enough significance to merit a national commemoration. His plan was submitted to and approved by the Marietta Chamber of Commerce in December, 1934. A special committee of the Chamber of Commerce undertook the promotion of the idea and raised a fund of some three thousand dollars by popular subscription to defray the necessary expenses involved.

Former Governor George White agreed to accept chairmanship of the special committee, and E. M. Hawes was retained as director. The other member was W. P. McKinney.

The first major step was a conference between the
President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Marietta Committee. The President heartily approved the plan and promised his support and aid.

Conferences were held by the committee with Congressmen Robert T. Secrest of Ohio, Senator R. J. Buckley of Ohio, and Congressman Sol Bloom of New York, who had directed the Washington Bi-Centennial and other celebrations.

A bill providing for the celebration was prepared and introduced by Mr. Secrest of Ohio as H. J. Resolution No. 208. This bill provided for a commission of fourteen, including the President of the United States, two members from each house of Congress (one from each major political party); the regents of the Daughters of the American Revolution in each of the six states of the Northwest Territory; and three members-at-large, to be appointed by the President. The resolution also provided for an appropriation of $100,000 for the purposes of the celebration.

The plan submitted by the Marietta Committee was complete in its details. There was no blanket appropriation to be spent as might later be designated. The appropriation was exactly the amount asked. This was due to the definite plan that was submitted and to the fact that the amount was relatively small as compared with many other historic commemoration programs.

It had been stated in the plan submitted that the
complete program outlined could not be carried through solely on the appropriation asked, but certain phases of cooperation by other government departments and agencies were outlined and approved.

The bill, originally on the "consent calendar" of Congress where one dissenting vote would defeat it, met opposition from an Ohio Congressman-at-large who insisted unsuccessfully that $15,000 of the appropriation being allotted to the Ohio State Fair. The bill was eventually placed on the regular calendar and carried by an almost unanimous vote in the House of Representatives and later drew a heavy vote in the Senate. By August 2, 1935, the bill was an act.

In the meantime, President Roosevelt had written a letter stating his views on the importance of the proposed commemoration; and various groups had visited the Governors of the States of the Northwest Territory. The financial response from the six states comprising the Northwest Territory was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Appropriation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>$40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>20,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>15,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>5,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>Nothing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In September, 1936, the Federal Commission was organized at Indianapolis, Indiana, with Governor McNutt in the Chair. Officers were as follows:
Former Governor George White, Chairman (Honorary)
Mrs. Leland S. Duxbury, Vice Chairman
Mrs. George Baxter Averill, Vice Chairman
Miss Bonnie Farwell, Vice Chairman
Miss Samuel James Campbell, Vice Chairman
Mrs. John S. Heaume, Vice Chairman
Mrs. George D. Schermerhorn, Vice Chairman
Reverend Joseph E. Hanz, Secretary
Robert T. Secrest, Treasurer

Mr. E. M. Hawes was chosen as Executive Director.

The plan as yet was still only a plan. Its development will be discussed under its different phases. The celebration was carried through almost to the letter of the original plan.

I. WORKING PERSONNEL

At this point something should be said about those individuals who formed the nucleus of the actual working organization. George J. Blazier, Librarian of Marietta College, was chosen as official historian. Miss Marian Baesal acted as secretary to the director; and a publicity man was furnished by the Federal Writer's Project. Some of the clerical help was furnished by the National Youth Administration and Federal Writer's Project. Later, O. K. Reames of Zanesville, Ohio, was employed as director of pageantry; and Percy Jewett Bur-rell of Watertown, Massachusetts, was retained as advisor on pageantry. Governor White, occupying an honorary position as Chairman, gave much time and effort to the affairs of the commission.
II. THE PLAN AND OBJECTIVE

The program proposed for the Northwest Territory Celebration was designed to do three essential things:

1st -- To cover as large a part of the United States as possible, getting citizens actually into a local as well as national interest. This was commonly referred to as "taking the show to the people," rather than asking or expecting the people to come to any central point.

2nd -- To maintain the program for a long enough period to permit it to become firmly embedded in the consciousness of the public. So many historic programs are held in one place, and for such a brief time that they fail to make the desired "dent," and soon pass into the realm of forgotten episodes in the hurry of our modern living. Every advertising man knows it is the drip, drip, drip of the water which wears the stone away, and we merely adapted this sort of thinking to an historic commemoration.

3rd -- The intent of the sponsors of the Northwest Territory Celebration was that every dollar spent should result in at least a dollar's worth of constructive program and more if possible.

4th -- The purpose of the celebration was to be educational and inspirational. The entire period and events commemorated were relatively little known to Americans generally, and seemed to be of unusual interest and value to our citizenry at this particular time and in the present state of National and World affairs. 20

The aim was to secure financial co-operation from as many of the interested sources as was possible, thereby securing a more tangible interest and easing the burden for each participating unit. An attempt was made to reach all classes

of people for financial support. The program attempted to carry out the democratic ideal in every way.

It remains to be seen how proper these premises were and how well the Commission succeeded in a very difficult task. Historians are not prone to judge conclusively the events of a decade that has lately passed into history.

III. FEATURES OF THE CELEBRATION

**Cartographic Map.** Wide distribution of a cartographic map was planned as an inexpensive yet informational piece of literature. Original plans called for tentative distribution of about five million maps. A map was to be given to each school child in the Territory with a reasonable supply for miscellaneous distribution. The maps were offered to State Commissions at the actual printing cost of one cent each. For one reason or another none of the states made provision for enough maps, there being only about two and one half million printed and distributed.

The map was printed in four colors and contained many historical data. It shows how the United States came into possession of the Old Northwest Territory, both as to the cession of colonial claims and as to the relinquishment of Indian ownership, and it shows the various steps by which the Territory became six states of this nation.

The value of the map has been shown repeatedly in that
prior to the Celebration, and during it, many people had erroneously thought of the Northwest Territory as being the Pacific Northwest, Oregon, Idaho, and Washington.

On the back of the map appears the text of the Ordinance of 1787, with selected portions printed in red. This was a complete piece of literature, more likely to be looked at and studied than any booklet. Its cost was nominal.

**Bibliography.** The historian of the Commission, Mr. George J. Blazier, prepared two bibliographies. The first covered most of the available material and an abridged list of the more important and most commonly available books. To gain a more comprehensive idea of the epoch, it was necessary to do a great deal of research work. More than one hundred and fifty books contained material on the history of the Northwest Territory.

Assuming that others felt an inadequacy in their knowledge of this particular phase of United States History, a textbook was written. This feature was intended to present a brief and concise history of the Ordinance of 1787 and the Old Northwest Territory. To put such a textbook together entailed a research problem of the first magnitude. The textbook proved to be a summary of available material, and it was printed for school use as well as for the use of interested adults.
The preparation of such a text could not be left to amateur writers; so it was determined that a committee of State Historians from the Territory itself should prepare the book. Dr. Harlow Lindley of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical society agreed to serve as chairman and editor-in-chief. Dr. Fuller of the Michigan State Historical Society was unable to give time, and Dr. M. M. Quaife of Detroit agreed to serve in his place. A great deal of the work was accomplished by Dr. Lindley, Dr. Quaife, and Norris Schneider of Zanesville, Ohio.

The Federal Writer's Project, both state and national, co-operated on arrangement of the copy. Most of the illustrations used were done by students in public school art classes, chosen as the result of a contest sponsored by the Commission.

The book was distributed free to all school teachers in the Territory and was offered for sale to other interested individuals at ten cents per copy. The final result was a ninety-six page book, six by nine inches in size, which earned approbation from both general readers and historians.

No study has been made as to how many of the teachers of the social studies did anything constructive with the publication. It is quite possible that numbers of them failed to read the book or to pass along the material to their classes. There is little doubt concerning its value as source material.
This was a permanent contribution, however, for in some schools it is being used today. Its basic material on the period is far superior to that found in the typical high-school text in American history.

**Commemorative Postage Stamp.** This feature was designed for the nation at large, but particularly for stamp collectors. With the complete cooperation of the Post Office and President Roosevelt, two special commemorative stamps were issued. The first, known as the "Ordinance of 1787" stamp, was issued July 13, 1937; and first-day sales were held at both New York City and Marietta, Ohio. It was a special-delivery-size stamp showing a map of the Old Northwest Territory and the nation of the period of 1787. On it were portraits of Manasseh Cutler and Rufus Putnam.

The second stamp was issued July 15, 1938, commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the first civil government west of the original thirteen states. It was of regular postage-stamp size and employed a picture of the national memorial at Marietta, Ohio. The first-day sale of this stamp was held exclusively at Marietta. Both stamps were of the three-cent variety, and first-day sales were quite heavy.

In addition to these official recognitions, there were many "sachets" put out by many different people, companies,
and organizations. The Marietta commission issued two series of cachets which proved to be remarkably attractive.

**Ox Team Mail.** One of the unique features of the celebration was the "ox team mail" which was carried by the Pioneer Caravan from Ipswich, Massachusetts, to Marietta. A special cachet was issued by the commission, and letters were officially stamped and postmarked at Ipswich, Massachusetts, and again on arrival at the Marietta Post Office. From Marietta they were remailed and reached the addressee in the regular manner. It is believed that this was the only ox-team mail in existence in the United States. It is probably the only issue of cachets so carried.

The cost was fifty-three cents each, and three thousand two hundred were sold. The special letters and their stamps were suggested and designed by stamp collectors, but their sale did not approach the enthusiastic estimates of the designers. Receipts from all such projects were placed in the general fund of the United States Treasury.

**The New York Program.** The Northwest Territory Celebration was opened officially on July 13, 1937, at New York City. It was there on July 13, 1787, that the famous Ordinance was adopted by the Continental Congress. It was not only proper that this Celebration should take major cognizance of the event but also psychologically sound that the
program should begin in the largest population center of the nation. It was also possible to hold the ceremonies on the very site where the Congress had passed the Ordinance, since the New York City Hall of colonial days is now occupied by the United States Sub-Treasury Building.

Permission was secured from Mayor La Guardia, and assurance was given of the cooperation of the city. The Federal Theatre Project had agreed to furnish personnel and to enact the pageant, "Freedom on the March," which had been written by Mr. O. K. Reames of Sandusky, Ohio. This was to be the Official pageant-drama of the Celebration.

The program was scheduled to take place in the afternoon, on a special stage erected over the broad steps of the Sub-Treasury Building. To complicate matters, it was at a time when the Federal Theatre Project was beset by strikes and agitation. A cut of thirty per cent had been made in its lists; and this action, along with conflict between rival labor organizations, had presented a serious situation. Ugly demonstrations were the daily order. It was somewhat doubtful whether the cast selected to do the pageant would actually go ahead with the presentation.

Mayor La Guardia had suggested an ox-team parade through the main streets of New York; but this idea, as well as other build-up features, had to be cancelled because of the possibility of such events becoming merely the main features of a
demonstration of strikers. Profiteers and chiselers appeared in several phases of the plans for the New York program.

Eventually everything seemed set for a somewhat reduced program, but this was not to be. On the day before the pageant was to be presented, an official of Manhattan Borough of New York City refused the necessary permission to erect the stage and to block off the streets. It took the combined efforts of the Mayor's office, Congressman Secrest, and a number of other influential persons to secure even a quasi-acquiescence to proceed; and this was not secured until one-thirty p.m. The program was to begin at three p.m. To cap this climax of unexpected events, the loud speaking system did not arrive, and it was too late to arrange for another.

However, an estimated twenty-five thousand people saw the pageant; the Federal Theatre cast did its part splendidly; and Congressman Secrest read a message prepared by President Franklin Roosevelt for the occasion. It is doubtful that many of the audience heard much of the dialogue, but the bright colors of the costumes and the pantomime of the pageant may have been enough.

School Contests. One of the major objectives of the Commission was to reach the younger generation. No phase of its work had more thought or intensity of purpose devoted to it than these school contests. Many school authorities were
called in for consultation, and methods to be employed were screened and re-screened. No unanimity of opinion could be secured from these authorities. Some favored objective tests; others, contests. Contests were finally chosen as the most practicable procedure, even though criticisms of dishonesty were leveled at the Commission.

An attempt was made to avoid all the known faults of other contests; and with six thousand dollars set up as prizes (both cash and trip prizes), along with college scholarships valued at thirteen thousand, five hundred dollars, it was agreed that such a contest should attract a great deal of attention.

In an effort to contribute permanently to the literature of American history and to carry much further the premise which resulted in the textbook before described, the Commission offered an honorarium of a thousand dollars to any adult scholar in the United States for the best standard text for reference work of the Northwest Territory period.

Ten manuscripts were submitted. The entires were nationwide. The committee of judges was nominated by the American Historical Association, and the award was made to Dr. R. H. Pershing of Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.

**An Historical Novel.** In its plan of literature the Commission tried to set up a well-rounded program. The
textbook might be compared to a reader for grade-school pupils. It might prove worthwhile for senior high-school use in the teaching of American history. The standard history, on the other hand, was intended as a reference work and as reading material for adults who enjoy factual non-fiction.

Certain critics maintained that a considerable gap remained. The great mass of people are more inclined to read history if it is dressed up in historical-novel form with a goodly portion of high romance. The Commission insisted that if such a project were adopted, the novel should be written by an established author, known and respected not only for his literary ability but also for his accurate treatment of historic fact.

Among those suggested was Kenneth Roberts, but the successful recommendation came from George Palmer Putnam who suggested Meade Minnigerode. After a careful check on Mr. Minnigerode's work and his potentialities, he was selected. The resultant book was *Black Forest*, a novel splendidly based upon historic fact, yet containing the type of romantic literature which would assure it a large reading public. It was published by Farrar & Rinehart of New York. The Commission paid no subsidy whatever to Mr. Minnigerode or to the publisher. This was but the first of many books which were to appear concurrently with the Northwest Territory Celebration and
which deal with that period of history. Whether, in some cases at least, the negotiations which had been carried on by the Commission resulted indirectly in other writers and publishers bringing out books or whether the consciousness of the unique value and import of this phase of history interested others as it had impressed the Commission is not known. The net result was the publication of the largest number of current books which has ever appeared in connection with any American historic commemoration.

The Caravan Pageantry. The pageantry of the caravan proved to be the major feature of the Celebration program. Through it the nation at large was made more conscious of the commemoration. Because of it the states of the Northwest Territory took definite part in the national program. Without this feature, it is quite possible the Northwest Territory Celebration would have been like previous commemorations which at no time were widely known and which were quickly forgotten.

The undertaking was not without its complexities; and because it was something entirely new in celebration procedure, there was no precedent to follow. It was obvious to the commission that such a feature would come into contact with the northeast quarter of the United States. This section contains forty-five per cent of the nation's population. The
celebration had such value that the attention of the entire
country was attracted to it.

Because of the lack of sufficient precedent and the
entire lack of experience of the Commission staff in such
matters, considerable research and consultation with tech-
nical experts was necessary. A conference with William
Farnsworth, Associate Director of Federal Theatre in Wash-
ington, D. C., proved worthwhile. Mr. Farnsworth indicated
an enthusiasm for the project and outlined the mechanics of
pageantry from the standpoint of theatre technique.

A request was then made for the Federal Theatre per-
sonnel to finance and direct the pageant; and while no defi-
nite assurance could be given until the future of the Federal
Theatre Project was determined by Congress, it was indicated
that Mr. Farnsworth would personally recommend such action.
The meeting with Farnsworth occurred in the latter part of
1936; and negotiations proceeded along this line until Jan-
uary, 1937. At that time it was approved tentatively on the
basis that the Federal Theatre would continue as an organi-
zation. By June, 1937, labor troubles within the Federal
Theatre Project threatened the very existence of the Project.
It was apparent that to start the caravan under such cir-
cumstances would mean almost certain disaster. Further, it
was evident to some critics that the people who were in the
Federal Theatre were not physically equipped to withstand the
hardships of this unusual trek. With these facts in mind, it was thought best to turn to another agency.

The Civilian Conservation Corps was asked to take over the assignment of providing personnel for the Caravan. A unique plan was proposed, and its appeal seemed obvious. Since there were to be forty-eight men in the party, and since there are forty-eight states in the Union, the Civilian Conservation Corps was the one agency which could furnish young men from each of the forty-eight states. At that time, the Corps had a dramatic department; and many of its boy actors were capable. A few of these boys had moved on to the New York stage. The plan submitted to the Corps was that a place on the Caravan party should be allotted to each state as an award of merit to the best Corps member in the state. Corps officials embraced the idea heartily, but they were unable to act until Congress passed the act which would give the Corps further life. With the passage of the new act in late July, officials of the Civilian Conservation Corps interpreted such a project as the Caravan as adverse to the stipulations of the act.

The Commission was again left in a bad predicament. The entire Celebration was built around this central motif and had progressed to such a point that there was apparently no practical way in which to re-design the plan.

Now the Caravan must be put on the road by using funds
which the Commission had intended to use on other features. At first it appeared somewhat hopeless, but eventually all but thirty-four hundred dollars of the probable cost was raised. To aid this fund, Congressman Secrest introduced a bill in Congress and secured its passage authorizing re-appropriation of the receipts from sales of commission literature. Congress passed the act appropriating fifteen thousand dollars. This act is not to be regarded as an additional appropriation because it was intended merely to return to the Commission the moneys spent from the original appropriation for literature sold or to be sold.

This somewhat relieved the pressure as to the Caravan plans, but at all times it was necessary to be most conservative in financial management. Men of the Caravan were in agreement concerning the "shoe string" on which they were forced to operate.

Accumulation of Properties. In his Final Report, Mr. Hawes said:

Again being new as a project, and yet dealing with the recreation of the period of one hundred and fifty years ago—it was necessary to do a great deal of digging into little known details of the past.

To illustrate, the element of the oxen, how and where to procure them (with horns for instance); what they would stand in the way of work, roads, etc.; and how they should be shod; and what was their hazard in crowds; all these had to be investigated.21

21 Ibid., pp. 22-23.
After an extensive search, two yoke of oxen were procured by Mr. Marvin Schock, who had been employed as the ox-driver for the Caravan. One yoke was to be used immediately on the wagon, and the other kept as a reserve in case of an accident.

A news item was published asking for information concerning the shoeing of oxen. Approximately twelve hundred replies were received from all over the United States. Most of the replies came from elderly people, from sixty-five to ninety-seven years of age, who in earlier years had had experience with the shoeing of oxen. The advice covered everything from steel shoes to straw mats around the oxen's feet. The consensus of opinion, however, was in favor of the usual steel shoes; and this checked with investigations and modern-day tests made by the Commission. All this had its human interest value and probably reached a group of people who would have seen little personal value in the celebration itself. The decision was finally made to use steel shoes, and they proved to be entirely practical except on icy roads.

Both yoke of oxen had to be trained to Mr. Schock's style of driving, and an attempt was made to orient them to modern roads, city traffic, and parades. Tom and Jerry made the entire trek and came home in good condition. The reserve yoke, Whiskey and Sour, was never needed. A word of testimonial to these dumb animals is not amiss, for they made
a real contribution to the success of the Caravan. Though they never had a change of expression, no matter what the situation, they followed their cues well. Their killing pace of two miles per hour angered the neophyte pioneers early in the trek, but eventually the philosophers of the group agreed that it might be well for the American public to slow down to a like pace. Along the parade routes every child who saw the animals wanted to touch them and even handle their horns. The oxen took it all in their stride, and at no time did they cause any trouble or damage.

Five cavalry horses were purchased from the United States Army. These horses were old; and although they were purchased at a hundred and sixty dollars each, they brought only about twenty-five dollars each at public auction in November, 1938. One of these, a horse named Cyclops, became the favorite among the men; and there were substantial bets concerning the chances of his completing the trek. The horse negotiated the complete distance and brought the highest bid at the closing-out sale.

Saddles, both riding and pack, were made after the pattern of those used in colonial days.

No description of the livestock would be complete without mention of the dogs which attached themselves to the Caravan. Special consideration must be given Buck, who joined the Caravan at Allentown, Pennsylvania, and completed the trek.
In less than a year, he accumulated more newspaper publicity than any other dog in the United States. Two other dogs should be mentioned. Bonus, a small rat terrier, was picked up in Pennsylvania and disappeared in Pittsburgh. Stogy, a short name for Conestoga, deserted the party in Indiana. Buck was named for Jack London's hero dog of Call of the Wild, and Bonus drew his name from the hundred-dollar bonus the men were to receive if they completed the trek.

Among the most interesting and difficult properties to be secured were the Conestoga wagons. Again, for purposes of reserve, it was necessary to have two wagons, only one of which was to accompany the Caravan. After an extended effort to find originals, it was decided to buy parts of old wagons, using their unique wrought iron parts, but rebuilding the wooden parts. Not one authentic wagon of the period, in good repair, could be had at any acceptable price. There were several wagons of heterogeneous sort, with parts of all different periods; but the desirable ones were either in museums or were being held by their owners as antiques. With the assistance of Mr. David Sterbergh of Reading, Pennsylvania, a careful survey was made through the Conestoga Valley; and old parts with entirely authentic iron-work were secured.

The next problem was to secure an old-time wagon builder to rebuild the wooden parts. An octogenarian, James Williamson, rebuilt the wagons by hand so that they were as they
would have been when built originally fifteen decades ago. One exception was made in that modern canvas was used for covers rather than the hand woven materials of colonial days. One wagon made the entire trip. A wheel was wrenched off in the Alleghenies but was replaced.

Originally, the wagon was equipped with tar bucket, jack, antiquated pitchforks, and axes; but this equipment was stolen as fast as it could be replaced.

As to uniforms, the men were given two outfits, the usual traveling clothes of a pioneer and the costumes for use in the pageant-drama.

Though it certainly was not authentic of the period, one of the great aids in carrying out the project was the modern Covered Wagon Trailer lent to the Commission by the manufacturer. This was equipped as a costume department and dressing room.

Another property which proved worthwhile was the portable stage lent by the Federal Theatre project. It had stage lighting and sound equipment. It was ponderous and awkward to handle, but in no other way could the pageantry have been presented satisfactorily.

Guns and side arms presented yet another problem. Authentic arms of the period were prohibitive in price, and dummy guns were finally made from original models. The Collins Company of Connecticut made a generous gift of sidearms, axes,
adzes, and such tools as were of use to the pioneer party. The saws and other tools necessary for shipsawing and hewing timber for the boats used by the Caravan were all replicas of colonial tools.

Caravan Personnel. Mr. O. K. Reames of Zanesville, Ohio, was employed as director and agent cashier. Mr. Reames had an impressive record in handling other pageants under difficult and unusual circumstances. He accompanied the party on the year-long trek, and no man at any time challenged his sincerity and conscientiousness; but as time passed, those amateur actors came to believe he had created a slow plodding pageant out of material that fairly reeked of action and adventure. This thought continued throughout the journey, and a standing joke with members of the pioneer group after a few months had elapsed was that the director did not recognize his own pageant. Much license was taken with his material in an effort to pump some life into this beautifully costumed pageant, but the dialogue never seemed to come to life. This may have been the fault of the men. Only a few of them had had any dramatic training. It seems to the writer that the handling of historic material by Mr. Reames bordered on the dull side. The fact that there was no admission charge may have been the saving feature of the pageant-drama.

Percy Jewett Burrell of Watertown, Massachusetts, was
employed as advisor on pageantry. He whipped the pageant into shape before the Caravan had crossed Massachusetts. Had he remained with the organization, it is quite possible a more worthwhile contribution might have been made. Under his direction, Freedom on the March, the eight-episode pageant-drama came to life. He drove the men, but he earned their respect. Pierce York, a member of the caravan, summed him up with the statement: "Percy is a tough man, but he knows what he is doing." Mr. Reames never commanded so much respect. He failed to inspire confidence.

The selection of personnel to re-create the roles of the pioneers presented a difficulty. In solving this difficulty, it was necessary to use thirty-six men instead of forty-eight planned upon and historically correct.

A news release was employed in an effort to secure capable men. This release told briefly of the trek planned, the desire for men able to withstand its hardships and to deport themselves properly, and stated that those selected would receive one dollar per day and subsistence, with a bonus of one hundred dollars for completing the trek. This story was widely carried by the press and resulted in over seven hundred inquiries. Many of the inquirers volunteered their services and waived the salary and bonus. An application form was then mailed; and from the data submitted in reply, the thirty-six men were selected. The applications were turned over to Mr.
Names of those who participated are as follows:

John F. Ball ........................................ Paris, Illinois
David Peterson ....................................... Evanston, Illinois
Hugh Van Runkel ...................................... Macomb, Illinois
John S. Ward .......................................... Evanston, Illinois
Abe Wells ............................................. Paris, Illinois
Carl Applegate ........................................ West Terre Haute, Indiana
William Diamond ...................................... Logansport, Indiana
Orland K. Leaman ...................................... Cromwell, Indiana
Peter Anderson ........................................ Tossfield, Massachusetts
Clifford Appleton ..................................... Ipswich, Massachusetts
Richard Courage ....................................... Everett, Massachusetts
Robert Neary .......................................... Manchester, Massachusetts
Sidney Smith .......................................... Hamilton, Massachusetts
Robert Jeffrey ......................................... St. Paul, Minnesota
Ralph Swenson .......................................... Minneapolis, Minnesota
Erling Wade ........................................... Minneapolis, Minnesota
Carmen Treichler ....................................... Dunnellen, New Jersey
Pierce R. S. York ...................................... New York, New York
Paul Boyce ............................................. Whipple, Ohio
Donald Brooks ......................................... Belpre, Ohio
Robert M. Brown ....................................... Zanesfield, Ohio
William J. Farrell .................................... Athens, Ohio
Joseph E. Foust ....................................... Ravenna, Ohio
Robert A. Gilcrest .................................... Hartville, Ohio
Carl J. Givler ......................................... Bradford, Ohio
Robert Hawes .......................................... Marietta, Ohio
Bernard Heskett ....................................... Byesville, Ohio

Reames with instructions to select the best men among the applicants without regard to personal friendships, pressure, or politics.

The majority of those chosen were college men, ranging in age from twenty to thirty years. A number of them had been social studies majors, and possibly half of them were athletes. An indication of how well this plan worked might be drawn from the fact that of the thirty-six originally chosen, twenty-eight completed the year-long trek. Only four were dismissed.
Graham H. Johnson .......................... Zanesville, Ohio
Robert G. King ............................ Marietta, Ohio
William B. Kellstadt ....................... Circleville, Ohio
Roger E. Ketzenbarger ..................... Bowling Green, Ohio
Donald McAtee .............................. Cutler, Ohio
James Lyle ................................. Circleville, Ohio
Montford E. Parr ........................... Mingo Junction, Ohio
Edwin V. Pugh .............................. Wellsville, Ohio
Lester W. Richardson ........................ Carrollton, Ohio
Milo R. Scott .............................. Allensville, Ohio
Dr. Clarence J. Shaffer .................... Sandusky, Ohio
Marvin Shock ............................... Lowell, Ohio
Norris V. Singer ............................ Chesapeake, Ohio
Stuart M. Kelly ............................ West Newton, Pennsylvania
F. Marion Powell .......................... Sharon, Pennsylvania
Ernest M. Magee ............................ Pawtucket, Rhode Island
Eugene R. Cowan ........................... Rock Hill, South Carolina
Arnott R. Raikes ........................... Phillipi, West Virginia
CHAPTER V

THE TREK OF 1937-38

Thirty-six men, mostly college students, were recruited to make the winter march from Ipswich, Massachusetts, to West Newton, Pennsylvania. The men assembled at Marietta on November 1, 1937, and traveled by truck to Fort Devens, Massachusetts, where they trained and rehearsed until December. The training consisted of a great deal of hiking, which was supervised by a first lieutenant who never let them forget he was a West Point man. Eugene R. Cowan, from Rock Hill, South Carolina, had attended the Citadel; and this fact created a minor problem. The lieutenant could never convince Cowan that the training he was employing was of any value. A month was spent in a hardening-up process which paid dividends as the "pioneers" moved westward. Some time was spent on pageant rehearsal, but little was accomplished in the thirty-day period.

One hundred and fifty years before, a group of hardy New Englanders, most of them veterans of the Revolutionary War, departed from Ipswich, Massachusetts, on December 3, 1787. After pushing over the Allegheny Mountains through unsettled

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22 Much of the material found in this chapter was taken from a personal diary which the writer compiled from day to day during the trek.
territory, they arrived at what is now West Newton, Pennsylvania, and began the construction of boats which were to transport them and their equipment to the Ohio Country. On April 7, 1788, they arrived at what is now Marietta, Ohio. This group of ordinary Americans established the first colony in the Northwest Territory under the Ordinance of 1787.

One hundred and fifty years later, December 3, 1937, another band, thirty-six strong, moved out of Ipswich, Massachusetts, for the Ohio Country. This trek was to re-create the journey of the original party. It was to be a living memorial to a heroic accomplishment.

These thirty-six young men represented eleven states. For the most part they were college or university men. Their task was to prove to a dubious public that the youth of the present day, under similar circumstances, might demonstrate the same sort of hardiness which was a part of the make-up of their forefathers. Their objective was to arouse in Americans throughout the eastern part of the United States and in the Old Northwest Territory an appreciation of the rich historical heritage which was theirs. They hoped to bring to Americans in a troubled world an understanding of the past greatness of their country in order that they might realize what a hard-bought thing freedom actually is. For it was a time of challenge—free governments and free men were being challenged, and citizens of this country daily heard the words "fascism"
and "communism." It was a time to renew faith in democratic ideals, and this ox-team Caravan plodding its way across a section of the United States might help to renew that faith.

Fifty thousand people lined the streets of Ipswich and Hamilton, Massachusetts, to watch the pioneer caravan of 1937-38 get under way. The Columbia Broadcasting Company picked up the voice of each "pioneer," and a broadcast of the complete ceremony was being beamed to New England. Many of the inhabitants of Ipswich, in order to add a touch of color and reality to the ceremony, dressed in colonial costumes. Many of the youngsters were outfitted in authentic dress.

As the caravan began moving out of the city, five horsemen rode in the lead. With the snapping of a long whip by Marvin Shook, the driver, the oxen lunged forward; and the journey was officially underway. Farewells, possibly as deeply felt as those accompanying the original party, were extended to these modern "pioneers." They looked a little awkward and uncomfortable in costumes of the late eighteenth century. Roll after roll of film was being shot by professional and amateur cameramen who were stationed on roof tops, in trees, on the roadside, and in moving automobiles. Autograph seekers rushed frantically from one "pioneer" to another in an endeavor to miss no one.

Well-wishers cheered and accompanied the Caravan as it moved on a hard brick pavement. Later the "pioneers" were to
encounter cobblestone roads. On that first day's travel they were joined from time to time by groups dressed in colonial garb, oftentimes driving wagons much like theirs, giving the parade route more color.

Twelve weary miles were completed the first day. The men realized they would not encounter the hardships experienced by the original party, but a number of them wondered after those first twelve miles how well the members of the original party might have performed on brick pavements. The oxen were averaging two miles per hour, and they were never to increase that speed; actually they were to plod into a mile-and-a-half gait once the party reached the foothills.

Boston newspapers, many of them openly skeptical of the project, covered the journey through Massachusetts. They had a great deal to say after the first day concerning the young doctor who was spending a lot of his time treating blisters and muscle soreness.

On December 6, after a hike of nineteen miles, the "pioneers" arrived at the famous "Wayside Inn," which is now the property of Henry Ford. In this inn Henry W. Longfellow penned him immortal Tales of a Wayside Inn and many other poems now known to American school children. Here Daniel Webster wrote and rewrote several of his finest speeches. George Washington had been a frequent visitor here.

On December 6, 1937, the following article appeared in
the New York Times:

Twelve hours after setting out from Cambridge at 10 o'clock this morning, the caravan of 36 young impersonators of the pioneers of 1787 wearily plodded up to the Wayside Inn, the objective of the third day of their trek to Marietta, Ohio.

Their covered wagon, constantly hemmed by automobiles of an estimated 100,000 sight-seers, rumbled about thirteen miles, averaging a little better than a mile an hour in the Federal-sponsored re-enactment of the emigration to the West.

But the yoke of oxen hauling the cart tired out and had to be carried by truck over the last lap, the strong arms and shoulders of the youths pulling and pushing the vehicle.

At the Inn the wayfarers dined and slept overnight, as did the men of 150 years ago.23

A few days later they successfully fought off their initial Indian attack as two twelve-year-old squaws, riding hard, circled the wagon. The attack was turned back, but for days there was much talk about these two youngsters who rode with the grace and ability of seasoned horsemen.

New England weather in mid-winter is not conducive to such an undertaking, and the "pioneers" soon found themselves traveling through a rainstorm that continued for two days. It was a thoroughly chilled group that staged the pageant Freedom on the March at Worcester, Massachusetts. To make matters worse, a lot of bad spots developed in the pageant and in the acting. Lines had not been well memorized; and

though the costumes were colorful, the plot from time to time bogged down.

Worcester left a note of discouragement in the minds of the "pioneers." The pageant had not gone at all well. Then snow began to fall. It was accompanied by a hard driving wind, which threatened to rip the canvas from the wagon. Near Spencer, Massachusetts, a combination of snow and ice made travel difficult. A horse fell heavily; but its rider, a Minnesota youth, managed to leap clear. A chilling wind ripped through and past them. Fine particles of snow were driven into their faces by the wind. Nature was providing her own brand of cosmetics, and a high color was invading the collective cheeks of the party. These adverse weather conditions, however, meant little to the school children who lined the highway as the Caravan passed country schools. The small party was being augmented by large parades within the various towns and cities. The East, always proud of its historical traditions and beginnings, was searching the many attics in an effort to provide antiques and displays for store fronts.

Slow plodding oxen, the Conestoga wagon with the words "For the Ohio" scrawled across the canvas, and thirty-six "pioneers" reached the foothills of the Berkshire mountains. In the Berkshire country, though the slopes were gradual, it was often necessary for the "pioneers" to help the oxen to move the heavy wagon upward. It was apparent that the oxen
could not handle their assignment in mountainous country.

Mr. O. K. Reames, director of the pageant, was presented the key to the city of Spencer, Massachusetts. This was the first of such ceremonies; many others were to follow.

An Indian attack by pseudo Indians caught the personnel off guard as they approached the town of Warren, Massachusetts, on December the tenth. A number of young men garbed and painted to resemble warring Indians leaped from the brush as the party made its way across a narrow wooden bridge. Assuming that it was a part of the welcoming program of the town, the "pioneers" offered a weak defense. After a general free-for-all, one of the bolder "savages" leaped on an ox; and for a few seconds it looked as if the oxen might be stampeded. Marvin Schock went into action, and his long whip began to find the flesh of the adventurous young man. With this action a real fight began. Fists were flying; nose bleeds were in evidence, and there was a promise of a black eye or two. The attack was dispersed, but the next morning the Boston Globe carried a particularly critical attack on the Caravan and all it stood for. There was some implication that the Caravan might be one of the "lunatic-fringe ideas of the New Deal."

The "pioneers" learned that the Indians of the past night were members of an elite Harvard club who had wandered off their reservation. This Harvard group thought it might be a good idea to create a little excitement for the boys who were making
the long trip and give them a little taste of what the original pioneers experienced. An interesting comment by Frank G. Jason, a Boston newspaper man, said ten of the attacking party were direct descendants of Bostonians who staged the historic Boston Tea Party.

Trudging ever westward, the party moved into the Berkshire Mountains. The weather was clear, and the spirit of the trek was beginning to be felt by most of them. These young men had experienced a depression and were representative of the post-depression cynicism that was a part of the American scene at the time. They did not believe in many things and were openly skeptical of the project at the beginning. Now they were watching Americans react favorably to a celebration which glorified their past; and in the process they, too, regained a faith.

A few days later, preceded by a police escort, they entered Springfield, Massachusetts. Into a modern city moved a re-creation of the past. The past was moving into a modernized present, and the contrast was a vivid one. Through the crowded thoroughfares of this modern metropolis moved a slow lumbering Conestoga wagon around which clustered modern youth in the garb of the early frontiersman.

For the sake of authenticity a number of the personnel were permitting their beards and hair to grow.

The next day the sun presented one of its feature
smiles, and the spirits of the group hit a new high. A near tragedy earlier in the day failed to daunt the optimism of the group. Gene Cowen, the boy from South Carolina, was thrown by a hard running horse. No injuries resulted and they pushed on.

New England's cobblestone highways continued to be a problem. Walking on this type of road construction created a series of pains that extended from the sole of the foot to the knee cap. The constant pounding of leather heels on hard stones often resulted in painful shin soreness. When dirt roads were followed the relief was instantaneous.

The Caravan moved out of Massachusetts and into Connecticut. It halted on the state line with two wheels of the wagon in Massachusetts and the other two in Connecticut. A welcoming committee extended a typical New England greeting, donned coon-skin hats, shouldered rifles, and escorted the party into Suffield, Connecticut. This was a town rich in historical lore. Thirty or more homesteads within the town had been built by early settlers between the years 1690 and 1824.

The caravan was usually underway by eight o'clock each morning. The awakening scene went something like this: A whistle, one of those instruments by which a man should never be awakened, was blown. It was shrill, dogmatic, and most demanding. Upon awakening, one member of the party always
misquoted Shakespeare. Groans and moans were the order of the day, and muscle soreness remained with some of the men the complete distance.

December is a rigorous month in mountainous country, and the men began to experience some bad weather in the latter part of December, 1937. Usually a hard-driving wind whipped out of the northwest, and no amount of clothing seemed capable of withstanding it. Always along the route, however, people would appear with coffee and doughnuts to ease these weary travelers. Once they were greeted by a little party in front of an old colonial church. For two hundred years this old church had watched men move westward. It is quite possible the original party passed this same church.

They completed their longest hike on December 13, when thirty miles were covered. They followed a trail leading through tortuous terrain covered with a thick growth of pine trees, which made the going extremely difficult. It was a fatigued group which settled down on all available beds in a small hotel that night. They were moving at dawn the following day. Members had begun to limp, and there was some talk of walking two days and resting one. The wind seemed to be always with them, and this made travel a constant struggle. Progress was slow. The men found themselves studying many things they had once taken for granted. This was an example of twentieth-century youth slowing down to an eighteenth-
century pace and benefitting from it. The New England countryside, even in deep winter, can be a thing of beauty. Blue lakes and rolling white caps added beauty to the scene; rugged bluffs and a few solitary pines high on the backbone of a ridge resembled Indian tepees in the morning sun.

In Lichfield, Connecticut, they visited the church of Henry Ward Beecher. Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was born and reared in this town. They left Lichfield and encountered an ice-covered highway near New Preston, Connecticut. It was a problem to stay on one's feet, and the oxen were falling to their knees at frequent intervals. One man's falling usually precipitated a general pileup. This was a barren country and must have resembled the type of territory traversed by the original party.

During the afternoon of December 16, they entered the state of New York. Pageant schedules were forcing the men to leave the oxen and wagon behind. They were to cut across a tip of New York and proceed into Pennsylvania. New York found them leg-weary. Some adjustment was taking place. It was not only physical but also mental. Pageant presentations often found men too weary to follow cues; and when this happened, another member carried the dialogue of two roles. Outbursts of temperament were more frequent; men began to curse more often; the oxen, plodding along, drew their share of the cursing.
The men were being awakened at six-thirty a.m., and the bite of a New England winter brought forth huge appetites. The wagon creaked forward at eight a.m.; dinner was served at six p.m.; a pageant presentation was made at eight p.m. This was the daily routine.

Traffic was beginning to prove a hazard. Heavy fogs rolled in each morning in this mountain country; fast-travelling automobiles often slipped around the Caravan with inches to spare. From time to time the Caravan drew curses from irate motorists who always seemed in a great hurry. The party was stretched out in order that the wagon and oxen might have some protection. Climbing steadily, they found rest periods a necessity. No canteens had been provided by the Commission, and men and animals drank from the same cold, clear mountain streams. People living along the road often insisted that the personnel rest on their front lawns. Usually these people had a number of historic antiques which they proudly displayed. One woman in New York invited the party into her home and pointed with pride to a living room on the walls of which were twelve deer antlers, a number of rifles, and a group of mounted birds. With much care she removed the beaded rifle scabbard from a set of pegs and informed them that it had been picked up by her grandfather at the scene of Custer's Last Stand.

The "pioneers" were receiving a first-hand course in
human relations because each day brought new experiences. They talked with all classes and types. They learned to distinguish between an Easterner and a Mid-westerner.

The Hudson River was reached on December 18, and late in the afternoon they were taken aboard the ferry Orange for transportation across the river. A few minutes later the Newburgh landing was reached. The crowd had packed the landing place, making it impossible for the Caravan to land. With the aid of a police escort the wagon and oxen forced a way through. A company of National Guardsmen then marched into a position to the fore of the Caravan. Behind the Caravan an American Legion drum corps, a high-school band, and two or three local orchestras completed the parade. Children raced alongside the procession while thousands of their elders lined the sidewalks. Upper windows were filled with people who could find no room on the streets. This was the first of a great many magnificent welcomes.

Here Washington had quartered his troops during the American Revolution. A log hut stands there today wherein were quartered the officers of Washington's staff. Lack of pay and constant hardships had brought the troops close to mutiny at this location.

The next day's travel brought the Caravan to a small hamlet. Great ridges guarded small mountain homes. Darkness came early and rapidly. The party were quartered in homes
throughout the locality, and meals were served in a log cabin tavern. A solid stone fireplace sent friendly flames upward; cloth murals lined the walls; honey gingham curtains covered the windows, and the produce of mountain soil was spread on a huge table.

According to an Elgin wrist watch, which was certainly out of character, they entered New Jersey at 10:15 a.m., December 22, 1937. At the state line they were met by a motorcycle policeman, who acted as an escort to Hamburg, New Jersey. This courtesy was extended to the group throughout the state. Three miles out of Hamburg a convoy of automobiles met the Caravan. In thirty seconds the band had increased threefold. The "pioneers" had become a group of modern pied-pipers and were to remain such, as they moved across the country. Children were to crowd around them in every hamlet, village, and town. They followed the wagon, touched the oxen, asked a million questions, and timidly touched the costumes of the "pioneers." The children were fascinated by the Caravan.

Were the writer unable to justify the celebration on any other premise he could justify it on this alone, that the children enjoyed the Caravan and the pageant.

Just outside Hamburg a procession led by a team of oxen awaited the Caravan. After hitching this second team to the Conestoga wagon, they moved through the town. Overhead a plane roared its own peculiar type of welcome. At this point
the personnel was intact but boasted eleven blisters, nine head colds, and two aching shins.

Twenty-eight miles were completed on Christmas Eve of 1937. Sleet and rain fell throughout the day. Christmas greetings were called to the party by passing motorists. Home seemed far away, and holly wreaths in the windows of little houses along the road brought thoughts of other Christmases. Darkness fell early, and Belvidere, New Jersey, was not reached until after 8:00 p.m. Here a diagnosis showed Pierce York of New York City to be suffering from pneumonia. He was slightly built and probably the best actor of the group. He had continued to walk when some of the men insisted he climb into the wagon. He exemplified the spirit of some of these college men who felt themselves on trial. He was rushed to an Allentown, Pennsylvania, hospital. He rejoined the Caravan in about five weeks.

Late that night in Belvidere, New Jersey, an exhausted outfit settled down in comfortable beds for a three-day rest. "When this is over," said Jimmie MaCee of Rhode Island, "I'll never go on another hike." Jimmie MaCee, however, did go on another hike—in the year 1943, as a captain of infantry.

Belvidere proved to be a small dull village, but it was a perfect spot for a rest. A thin coating of ice covered practically every visible thing and added to the holiday atmosphere. The majority of the personnel visited New York City,
and in that city the beards and long hair were taken for granted.

On December 26 they went in a body to visit Pierce York. He was resting quietly and attempted to apologize for "folding up" as he put it. They said goodbye and realized they would miss the antics of this young man who late at night practiced ballet steps.

A few hours later Richard Courage of Massachusetts lived an adventure for a few minutes. Riding the lead horse at a hard gallop, he felt his saddle slip sideways. Immediately he attempted to disengage his feet from the stirrups, but he succeeded in freeing only one. The saddle snapped loose and slipped beneath the horse's midsection. Suspended by one leg, Courage was dragged along the pavement for fifty or sixty yards. At each step the left hoof of a thoroughly frightened horse was missing the young man's head by only a few inches. Fortunately the stirrup strap snapped, and the man rolled free. He sustained a few cuts and bruises, and the shock reaction came about four hours later.

Snow was falling as December 27, 1937, slipped into history. It fell silently and effortlessly to blanket the country-side. Commonplace New Jersey towns took on a new glamour as their heretofore gray atmosphere got an exterior decorating. Government issue shoes were soon penetrated by wet snow, and footing on icy pavements became an uncertainty.
Late in the afternoon the travelers crossed the new Phillipsburg-Easton Bridge. The Caravan was credited with the initial crossing. Officially the bridge was not to be opened to the public until January 1, 1938. They journeyed toward Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The goal was now a possibility; the pavements of four states stretched behind them; in the vague distance the town of West Newton, Pennsylvania, promised a new experience, for boats were to be built there.

On the town line a large brown collie dog ran into their midst. He raced around the wagon barking his approval of the oxen, the men, and the horses. Joyfully he moved near the oxen and seemed to greet them. He became a member of the group as simply as that. One or two of the men attempted to discourage his efforts, but the majority made him more than welcome. One of the men who was familiar with General Rufus Putnam's diary insisted that the original party had purloined a dog in this vicinity. This gave the dog authenticity. He was registered at the Hotel Allen in Allentown, Pennsylvania, that night and so begins the story of the most publicized dog of 1937-38. He was named Buck in honor of Jack London's hero dog of Call of the Wild. Later it was said that he received the name because the salary of each man was one dollar per day. As a member of this Conestoga caravan his loyalty was never questioned. He proved to be a diplomat of the first water and never concentrated too much affection on any one
member of the group. He ignored outsiders as if they did not exist; he made himself as necessary as the oxen and the horses; and he was a morale builder who helped to account for the success of this modern pioneering trek.

The night was spent in Macumzie, Pennsylvania. The "pioneers" paraded through the streets, and a German band played the song, "MaGee." Plump lassies in red coats waved a cordial greeting; serious-faced school children voiced their approval; lean farmers concentrated their attention on the oxen; and buxom housewives smiled and cheered. They were in Pennsylvania Dutch country, and the food was superb. The welcome was all the men could have desired, and though they thought their pageant a little moth-eaten, these simple folk enjoyed it.

The last day in the month of December saw the Caravan moving through beautiful country. Snow, looking like strips of white tape, lined barren ridges. It was a scenic country, one in which the inhabitants must labor hard if they wished to eke out an existence. This battle for life had taken its toll of the children. Serious-faced little mites, looking like old men, gazed humbly as the party moved past.

Johnny Ward of Illinois was a splendid swimmer. At Northwestern University he had proved that. When Johnny joined the pioneer group, he liked to talk of the great American swimmers and the records they had posted; but Johnny Ward was
a poor horseman. Though his feet took a pounding day after
day, he elected to stay on them because he felt the oxen had
enough weight to pull without adding his and he would have
nothing to do with the horses. One afternoon in this region
he was hoisted astride a horse by some of his friends. Johnny
was tiring; he needed a rest. Immediately the lead horse
broke into a hard run, and Johnny's mount moved out in pursuit.
Weaving and sliding, Johnny eventually lost his balance and
dropped to the pavement. As he fell, a hoof grazed his face,
and his head crashed on to the pavement. When the men reached
him, his breathing was jerky; and blood seeped from a jagged
wound and clotted on his black hair. A passing motorist was
summoned; Johnny was taken to the next town and regained con-
sciousness an hour or two later. Though he remained conscious,
his memory was a blank. His name, past events, and pageant
dialogue were completely lost to him. Five days later he re-
membered he was Johnny Ward of Northwestern University, who
could swim a quarter mile in good time. He completed the
journey as a member of the "Caravan."

New Year's Eve was spent in Kutztown, Pennsylvania. A
driving rain accompanied the New Year. By mid-day clothes
were saturated. Wet buckskin does not give off a pleasant
odor, but no one was going to a tea party. Steam rose from
the bodies of the oxen, and Buck's hair was plastered to his
body. The Caravan reached Reading, Pennsylvania, in that
condition.

After the parade the men were invited to a house party. At 8:30 p.m., attired in wet buckskin and wearing soggy service shoes, they were ushered into a palatial mansion. Seated on one side of a long drawing room were forty or fifty attractive young women. The contrast in costumes was startling. These young women, all finishing-school products, were wearing evening gowns and corsages. There was an awkward silence; then Cliff Appleton of Massachusetts in his best Eastern manner asked a young woman to dance. A few minutes later the groups had blended.

The girls were a courageous lot because wet buckskin and heavy government-issue shoes are not conducive to the social graces. To add to the problem, the dance of the day was called the Big Apple, and it required a lot of gymnastics. Youth will find a way, and the formality of Emily Post was quickly forgotten. Vassar and Smith met the reincarnation of America's past with good grace.

With heavy eyes and heavier feet, the Caravan moved on. The oxen were in good shape; the horses, even old Cyclops, who looked as if he were dying most of the time, gave no indication of fatigue; the canvas of the wagon was now partially covered with autographs; and the "pioneers" were lean and strong.

Fourteen miles out of Reading, Pennsylvania, they smelled boiling chocolate. After traveling a pleasant
chocolate-smelling mile, they arrived at the city limits of Hershey, Pennsylvania. This model city, the accomplishment of a man with a candy bar, welcomed them in grand style.

This was Blue Ridge Mountain country. Magnificent scenery and friendly natives were making the trek an interesting adventure.

Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania, was reached on January 6, 1938. Twenty-two hundred spectators viewed the pageant. It was well received. Four hundred miles had been completed, and the objective was clearly outlined.

Shippensburg, in the eastern part of Pennsylvania, extended a warm welcome to the Caravan on January the ninth. A layover in this town permitted the personnel to visit the battlefield at Gettysburg. On a pleasant Sunday afternoon they trudged across the wheatfield, and what had once been but a page in a history book to the men now took on a new significance.

The mountains of the Appalachian range were near, and the foothills of that range presented a problem. It was necessary to help the oxen each day. Men were constantly placing their shoulders against the wagon. In these foothills one of the troupe was kicked in the midsection by a caravan horse but recovered in a few minutes. In a little foothill town Buck, the dog, made his initial stage appearance. With the ability of a seasoned actor, he literally stole the seventh
episode of the pageant. His accomplishments were creating newspaper copy. He could open a door without assistance, seat himself in a cafe booth, cling to a horse's back, and effect a nonchalant entrance into the best hotels past signs which read, "No Dogs Allowed."

January 11 saw the Caravan leaving Upper Strausburg. The base of the first mountain range had been reached. The day's assignment was a difficult one. Three inches of fine snow had created a slippery highway. Carefully, the party prepared for an arduous ascent. Anticipating something of this nature, the director had procured a sixty-foot rope. Cross pieces were tied in the rope at frequent intervals. As the oxen were unable to climb the first short rise without falling, the rope was then fastened to the wagon tongue. Working in unison the "pioneers" helped the oxen to pull a fifteen-hundred-pound Conestoga wagon over the first mountain pass. It was desolate country with but one telephone line for communication.

The horsemen moved ahead, and near the summit they kindled a wood fire. Apples were distributed and promptly baked. Snow continued to fall. Then came another tortuous mile before the crest of a ridge was reached. Far below they could see the lights of a small mountain hamlet. Smoke curled upward from homes nestled deep in these mountains. The wagon had crept upward. Frequent rest periods became necessary.
Oxen, horses, and men were breathing heavily. There was little talk. As they had moved upward, the speed had been about one and a half miles per hour.

Far below, the homes looked like toy houses blanketed with snow. With the coming of darkness an eerie stillness settled over the countryside. Jimmie Magge, his imagination doing double duty, talked of shadowy forms of the original party who moved outside their line of vision. It was his theory that they, too, had pushed and pulled the wagon. Derisive laughter greeted this, but men peered into the darkness and wondered.

Prior to attempting a descent, a large tree was lashed to the rear of the wagon. The personnel found seats on it by gripping with their knees. They were clustered like bees around a hive. The ox driver barked an order, and the caravan moved downward. Ice had capped the snow, and a sliding process carried them into the valley below. On the way down it was necessary to sprag the wagon wheels to keep the wagon from rolling over the oxen. Eventually the valley was reached, and the inhabitants of a small settlement called Burnt Cabins greeted them.

Weary and hungry, they were escorted to a small church. In the basement was a long table heavily laden with food. The men gorged. It was after ten o'clock, and the pageant was to have been presented at eight. They dressed in their stage
costumes and left the basement of the church. At the door they found it impossible to push inside. Since the church was the only public building the town boasted, the pageant had to be presented there. Finally an entry was made. Then it was found that if the thirty-six men concentrated their weight at the front of the building, a cave-in might result. It was necessary, therefore, to use only twenty men. Less than ten feet separated the cast from the audience. More than three hundred people had crowded into this little church. The population of the town was less than three hundred, but people from outlying districts had increased the crowd. The sincerity of these mountain people left a lasting impression upon the men.

Overcast skies on January 12 promised bad weather. Nineteen miles of up-grade travel was the next challenge. Snow and a heavy fog blotted out the upper heights. A blizzard was blowing out of the north, and the wind velocity had reached sixty miles an hour. Men huddled behind the wagon as it creaked upward. No man had escaped wind burn. Darkness slipped over them as if to conspire with the fog and snow to batter them still more. The weight of the wagon and a slippery footing rendered the oxen impotent. Men leaned their weight against the wagon and cursed the oxen and the Commission. Colonial guns were thrown into the wagon, and men shivered in the wind.

"I'll do no show tonight," yelled Erling Wade of
"We're not pioneers," said another; "we're horses."

There was talk of food, of women, of a heaven where no one walked; and an appreciation of the pioneer breed of men this country of theirs had produced was creeping into their consciousness. Here was something one must experience. The arm-chair adventurer who lives such hardships vicariously would never know.

Weary and thoroughly chilled, they found shelter at the Mountain House, high in the Allegheny Mountains. The original party had been housed there in 1788. The day's travel had proved costly when a wheel was wrenched from the wagon, and there was talk of abandoning the vehicle and pushing on without it. Earlier in the day a few of the men had complained of cramps and indigestion, and now the complaint was general. Illness spread throughout the group, and there was much vomiting that night. The young doctor, out of medical school only a short time, was proving inadequate. Eventually the men were to lose faith in him, and he was destined to become a figurehead, tolerated but not respected. Misfortune had begun to dog their trail. Possibly this was the acid test. They could have quit at this point and salvaged something; but the accomplishment of this trek was not merely an ego-satisfyer; there was something more basic, something with more depth to it.
It looked as if history might have repeated itself the following day. The original party, a century and a half before, had been forced to abandon its wagon because of heavy snows in this same vicinity, but those New Englanders had constructed a sled and pushed on. The modern "pioneers" constructed a sled on January 13. Observers reported it to be a crude but practical contraption. Tom and Jerry were hitched to this improvised sled and the party moved on. The temperature was a few degrees below zero; the pavements were a sheet of ice. The oxen were often on their knees. The front knees of both oxen were bloody; and Marvin Shock, the driver, feared they might smash their kneecaps. The wind had roared throughout the night and had not abated during the day. Huge pines bent low before it; and particles of snow, feeling much like grains of sand, were blown against their faces. The men walked with heads bowed low, and conversation was impossible. The wind whipped the words out of their mouths and carried them away into silence. Though the winter weather should have driven everyone inside, a huge crowd greeted the Caravan at Everett, Pennsylvania. There was much handshaking and back petting.

The sun broke through the following day. The party grinned and moved along. There was some limping, and the doctor ordered a half dozen men to get off their feet. The beards no longer itched; the hair had begun to curl over the
coats. Along the road were shocked fodder covered with snow, beautiful farms and well-fed cattle, miles of rail fences, sturdy mountain shacks, and some wild game. Life was good again, and the hardships of the past days were forgotten.

Freedom on the March was staged in Mann's Choice, Pennsylvania, that night. The "pioneers" had traveled with a precision—defiant of swollen ankles, blisters, and cramps. A great banner spanning the mountain highway bade the group welcome. In their wake walked a young man costumed as Uncle Sam. Flag-draped automobiles lined the streets. A stage coach which had been used in Civil War days led the parade. Mountain folk, quiet, simple, and respectful, filled the town to capacity. It was a sincere welcome.

One of the most picturesque days experienced by the "pioneers" was spent in the Allegheny mountains. On that particular day sun rays played deliberately on the peaks of snow-covered ridges. White clouds, apparently snow clouds, moved majestically across the sky. Climbing steadily, the Caravan followed a ridge that stretched fifteen miles gradually upward. It was paralleled by another ridge. Between the two stretched a series of pyramid-like rises. Dense snow was continually shifted by the wind, the patterns always new, always changing. The men were watching nature give one of her magnificent performances. Some of these young men had never had the time or the inclination to look at the heavens. They were representative
of a generation that roared across the countryside in fast-traveling automobiles, a generation who from time to time read a Burma shave limerick and let it go at that. Had one talked to them of sunrises and sunsets or the beauty of the Pacific at dusk, he would have drawn a bored yawn. They were representative of a generation that was hurrying through life without any apparent reason for such a rush. Now, these few were moving at an ox's pace; and in the process, they were discovering some of the beauty and truth they had so long ignored.

Braddock's grave was visited on January 16. They walked slowly along the historic Braddock road. Late in the afternoon the Braddock Monument was reached. Here had passed in proud array that ill-fated English army under General Edward Braddock, and by this route its bleeding remnant returned after a disastrous defeat. Following the highway, the Caravan arrived at Fort Necessity. At the age of twenty-two, Lieutenant Colonel George Washington constructed this fort. Here his army, outnumbered three to one, was attacked by the French and Indians. A severe rain storm had ruined his powder supply; yet he marched out of the fort with honors of war.

The travelers entered Somerset, Pennsylvania, on January 17, 1938. Citizens attired in buckskin and coonskin hats welcomed the group.

On January 18, they were moving through a rolling
country which resembled Missouri. The night was spent at Jane's Mill. Here in a rustic hotel a hundred and sixty-two years old, they found good food and solid comfort. With a good meal consumed they gathered around an old piano and sang religious hymns. The townspeople asked if they, too, might join in the singing; and the results were loud if not musical. On the outskirts of this little town the "pioneers" picked up a second dog. He fitted easily into a saddle bag. Immediately he was christened Bonus.

Probably the last scheduled Indian attack in the nation's history was staged the next day. A troop of Boy Scouts masqueraded as Indians and sent one of their group with a message for the "pioneer" outfit. It was typewritten and contained detailed instructions on how the battle was to be waged, how the "pioneers" were to be taken and then led into the town hall as captives. The attack came according to the schedule near the outskirts of Mount Pleasant, Pennsylvania. Forty or fifty youngsters dashed from behind brush piles. After an inglorious defeat, the personnel of the Caravan was given a banquet.

Fourteen miles away lay West Newton, Pennsylvania. The completion of six hundred and fifty miles of walking was near. The weary eyes of the tired group of modern "pioneers" held a smile. Memories of hard pavements, chilling winds, aching muscles, and hundreds of autograph books slipped away. The
objective was in sight; nothing had stopped or could stop them.

At lunch time a group of conspirators roped and tied two of their long-walking members and placed them in a wagon. These two young men had made the complete journey on foot. Rescuers released the two lads, and they trotted back and retraced their steps. Then, the "pioneers" topped a rise and through the smoke and fog they sighted West Newton, Pennsylvania. Eight hundred and fifty miles of eastern highways stretched behind them. A group of inexperienced college men, had faithfully and authentically re-created the original trek. Thirty-six young men had acquainted the East with an historical heritage that even the East had overlooked. The journey had been completed in fifty-two days.
CHAPTER VI

BOAT BUILDING AND A RIVER JOURNEY

Historic West Newton, Pennsylvania, became the center of activity on January 23, 1938. It was presented an old act in a new setting. Heralded by a fanfare of trumpets and the roll of military drums, the "pioneers" of the twentieth century, counterpart of the Northwest Trek of 1787-88, entered the town which was to be their home for the next ten weeks.

The gala reception would have warmed the sturdy heart of Rufus Putnam and answered the prayers of Parson Cutler, those venerable patriots of early America who blazed the way for settlement in the land beyond the Ohio a century and a half ago.

West Newton and its surrounding hills were but a wilderness of snow and ice when Putnam and Haffield White led their weary foot-sore bands of courageous colonists to the banks of the ice-bound Youghiogheny in 1788. Simerall's Ferry the spot was called, taking its name from the ferry boat crossing of John and Alex Simerall. The trail-blazing march of these Colonials opened up the way for more caravans. Simerall's

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24 Much of the material found in this chapter was taken from a personal diary which the writer compiled from day to day during the trek.
Ferry flourished, and from its growth had come West Newton with its families of old American stock.

West Newton greeted the "pioneers" of 1938 and bade them welcome to the lands made historic by their forefathers. Here on the banks of the Youghiogheny river the travelers were to build two flat boats, two canoes, and a pirogue as did the members of the original party and, still following the idea of the trek they were re-creating, were to float down the river with the flood waters of April.

A heavy mist clung close to the valley obliterating the winding river as the party of youthful actors with their strange-looking Caravan, ox-team, Conestoga wagon, and fur-capped hikers topped "town hill" and started down the long steep grade of Main Street. They were officially welcomed by A. B. Adams, a town official; and the bands struck up lively music. Below in the valley, church bells tolled, and a fire siren screamed a welcome. From the surrounding hills came an escort of horsemen. They, too, wore heavy fur caps and buckskin suits. Then came a thunderous roll of drums, a blare of trumpets, and the parade of reception was on. For nearly a mile, from the top of the hill to the heart of the town at the bottom, an unbroken line of residents and visitors cheered the procession.

West Newton boasts a population of thirty-five hundred people. On their arrival, the "pioneers" were quartered in an old brick house which had been abandoned for some time. The
volunteer fireman of the town had arranged for these quarters. The young men promptly called it Shangri-La and arranged for a sign to be made. Though the house was in a poor state of repair, it served their purpose well enough for the next ten weeks.

Curious townfolk filed in and out, and it resembled a railroad station for a few days. West Newton had never seen such activity as it was to see in the next few weeks. Visitors poured in to watch the boat-building program, and it has been estimated that not less than a hundred thousand people visited the town during this period.

The next assignment of the "pioneers" was to construct five boats for the trip to Marietta, Ohio. Every piece of lumber to be used in the construction of the boats must come from trees in the vicinity. Trees must be felled, trimmed, and logged into boatways near the Youghiogheny.

Within a few days, the work in the woods had begun. To the dismay of all, it was found that only eleven of the men had had any previous experience with an axe. Cracked fingernails, cut hands, blisters, and general muscle soreness kept the doctor occupied. Visitors were barred from Shangri-La, and the majority of the personnel were in bed by nine p. m. each night. The hospitality of the town could not have been more complete, but these young men were not able to take advantage of it as completely as they might have liked.
In the original bend there had been a number of master shipbuilders. A good many of the men were familiar with the sea, and a few of them had shipped out from Atlantic ports. The modern travelers, however, had no one who was skilled in the construction of flat boats, canoes, and pirogues. Only a few of the personnel had handled an axe or a cross-cut saw. To complicate matters further, they all must learn to use whipsaws, which had not been in use in America for many years. They could locate no man in the town who had ever used one. All instruments of construction were necessarily crude, for they were to build these boats under authentic conditions. Two large flatboats, one having a cabin, two canoes, and a pirogue must be built in a ten-week period. The work must be done by hand and without the use of a saw mill or modern equipment. Again they read newspaper accounts insisting the boats could not be built under such conditions, but this was nothing new. A few months before, Boston newspapers contained articles which termed the complete trek a fiasco which had little if any chance of completion.

Eventually a professional boat builder, "Captain" Henry Fisher of the United States Engineer Repair Station, was hired to supervise the work. Seven miles from the Youghiogheny River trees were felled. Timber was snaked out of the woods by oxen and hauled to the river bank, where the whipsaw stalls were constructed. Whipsawing each plank which must go into
the two flatboats proved to be a herculean task. With constant labor and good fortune, two men could saw one plank off a log in a three or four-hour period. If the saw should twist during the process, all was lost, and they must begin again. After a few days of labor, the whip saw gang was in a bad shape. They complained of muscle soreness and nightmares that had to do with twisted saws. Irritation was beginning to make itself felt among the personnel, and along with low morale there were open accusations of malingering.

Slowly trees were felled, and a little more slowly plank after plank was whip sawed off the timber. Work had begun on the Union Galle y, and it was beginning to take shape. To relieve the tension, the men began to plan basketball for an hour or two each evening; and they found they possessed the nucleus for a competing ball team. The town was enthusiastic, and soon they were playing a game or two each week. Clad in basketball shorts that sported fringe, their long hair secured by rubber bands, they played the semi-pro teams of the county. They always attracted a large crowd.

As the days passed, there was much talk concerning the possibility of the boats' not being completed on time. A minority group was deliberately neglecting its work because of too much social life.

On February 5, the sun broke through storm clouds; and for the first time in fourteen days no cold winds whipped their
way off the Youghiogheny River. Slowly a stock pile of planks was being produced. Record crowds were always present, and this alone may have influenced some of those who tired too easily to carry on.

In a few days rain came again and with it another drop in personnel morale. Colds and sinus trouble, caused by working so near the river, created more discomfort. Joe Faust was the victim of an accident when a stall collapsed, sending a heavy oak log down on him. He was cut up a bit, and a diagnosis showed a wrenched back. Medical facilities were very poor, and the doctor had been given up as a failure.

Throughout the first few days there was much criticism of the food. It was plentiful but poorly prepared. Repeated suggestions to the authorities at Commission headquarters brought no results. The group was beginning to believe that the Carevan was a forgotten element of the Celebration. The men on the whipsaws needed goggles badly, and medical supplies were low. Irritation, hard work, and a general discouragement were breaking the outfit up into little cliques.

In an effort to combat this situation a general meeting was called by the "pioneers;" but, though much was said, little was accomplished. Mr. Reames, the pageant director, opened the meeting but proved thoroughly ineffective. Protests concerning the lack of payment of salaries and the need for summer apparel (to date it seemed the Commission expected them
to spend the summer in outfits of heavy frontier clothing) were registered. Gene Cowan of South Carolina summed it up well when he said that he was tired of going around smelling like a horse!

This sort of thing continued until the director, Mr. E. M. Hawes, put in an appearance. He was a rugged person who attempted to eradicate all unrest and dissatisfaction. As he talked to them, it was obvious he had been informed from within the Caravan; and men began to look around suspiciously. The fact that his son had been attached as a replacement was considered by many of them as the perfect arrangement for inside information. Mr. Hawes used an insulting and sarcastic approach which gained him very little. Instead of correcting a situation which might have destroyed his pet project, he left behind a worse situation than he had found.

On February 14, 1938, snow began to fall and continued for three or four days. New whipsaws were sent by the Commission, and they were more than welcome. Heavy new saws plowed through snow and ripped their way through tough oak and gummy poplar logs.

With the beginning of the thaw, ice, which had formed on the river, moved past the stell; Spectators and cameramen were in constant attendance.

On March 3, Monty Parr of Ohio, while working on a dug-out canoe, let an adz get out of control, inflicting a deep
out just below his left knee. He was out of action for a period of two weeks, and a local doctor wondered whether or not he would walk again. Since Parr was one of the best-liked members of the group, townspeople filled his room with flowers and fruit. It a week or two his recovery was complete.

Francis Marion Powell II, a member of the Caravan, was married to Miss Elizabeth Lorraine Troth of Sharon, Pennsylvania, on March 12. Powell was a graduate of St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, and of the Maryland Institute of Art in Baltimore. One hundred and fifty years before, so the story goes, a member of the pioneer caravan en route to the northwest fell in love with and married a Simerall's Ferry maiden.

By March 14 the river was rising steadily, and the first flatboat was ready for launching. Men working on the lower stalls with whipsaws were standing in three to four inches of water. A few days later, however, the river retreated, and the weather was like spring.

The Union Galley was launched on March 18. All of West Newton turned out. The banks of the river and the bridge itself were lined with people. The huge crowd milled about in mob fashion, and there were thousands of questions to be answered. The large flatboat was launched, and it floated. A roar went up from the "pioneers" and the spectators as the boat bobbled in the stream. The two occupants, Buck and Bonus, took the exhibition in their stride. So after many days of
despair, inexperience, irritation, and criticism, they had constructed a boat which did not sink.

Autograph hunters were beginning to visit the scene of the boat building, and this fact constituted a loss of valuable time. Many observers were saying that the "pioneers" would not complete the flotilla on schedule. Spring buds and sunshine made the work a more pleasant experience.

Dissension hit the group again when it was learned that two of the "pioneers" had disappeared. A check-up revealed that Monte Parr and David Peterson had accompanied J. W. McCauley of West Newton to Washington, D. C., in a promotional stunt that smacked of commercialism. The Commission knew nothing of the trip and had not authorized it; so when details were finally made known, a great deal of ill feeling was directed at Peterson, who was not a well-liked member of the personnel. Throughout the trip from Massachusetts, he had demonstrated repeatedly an opportunistic philosophy which had not endeared him to the others. Now it was learned that the party had an audience with President Franklin Roosevelt and that Peterson was photographed by leading newsreel companies as he presented to the President a plaque made from the oak timber which had gone into the Union Galley. The newspaper article which carried details went on to say that the President asked many questions concerning how the timber was seasoned, how the boat seams were caulked, and how the beams were
constructed. He was interested in knowing the length of the vessels and whether or not the men were certain that the vessels were seaworthy.

A few days later Peterson resigned and gave as his reason an assignment with Paramount Pictures in New York. He left for New York, saying he was to report to the movie company's screen school there.

By March 31 the two flatboats, two canoes, and one pirogue were completed. The flotilla was launched and floated. To add to the authenticity of the river trip, a Continental flag was made to fly above the Union Galley. The flag contained a circle of thirteen stars with the white letters spelling out the words "Union Galley" on a blue background. It was the handwork of a modern Betsy Ross, Miss Evely Hep- ler, a junior in the West Newton High School.

The river journey was begun. The Union Galley, the two canoes, the smaller flatboat, and the pirogue, were picked up by the current. Both flatboats were leaking, but not too badly. In keeping with the spirit of the expedition, this river water was being removed without the help of modern pumps.

The Union Galley was soon out of control. As the boat whirled and plunged, the crew of twelve young men, poling wildly and waving fond farewells, began their journey downstream. Sister boats of the Union Galley permitted her to go into the lead, and the flotilla moved down the Youghiogheny,
following the pattern as described in General Putnam's diary written a hundred and fifty years before.

A few minutes later a hard-driving wind, coupled with a clumsy craft, created a series of problems. Not one of the crew had ever had experience with a sweep or the sailing of a flatboat, and their ignorance became more apparent as difficulties were encountered. The poles which had been selected for the all-important task of poling were not proving practical. Most of them were too heavy; others snapped off when navigation became difficult.

Four men worked constantly on the sweep in an effort to hold the nose of the boat downstream. Their efforts were of little avail, for the boat assumed a forty-five degree angle and headed into the left bank of the river. At this point the first pole snapped, and an Illinois youth was thrown into the river.

Ahead loomed the Sutersville Bridge, all the available space on it filled with spectators. Fifty yards from the bank a sudden lurch twisted the boat broadside; and, to the horror of all, it headed for a concrete pier. Frantically all hands poled, while the man on the sweep drove hard on this crude guide. The boat righted itself and slipped to the left. Two men leaped into the yawl and rowed toward the bank, towing a two-hundred pound anchor which was dropped. It held fast. By this means a swing to the left was completed, and the bulky
craft halted within ten feet of the pier.

For two hours the "pioneers" awaited a calm, but the wind continued to blow. Finally orders were given to move. After the boat was dragged along the shore for seventy yards with the help of a tow chain fastened to a heavy truck, the anchor was lifted. Slipping sideways, the boat passed beneath the bridge. Through a series of ripples huge rocks could be seen beneath the surface. This was the most dangerous part of the river journey; the bottom of the vessel might go out at any moment.

A sudden crash and an abrupt halt brought the men to their knees. Striking a submerged rock, the boat had slipped sideways and become wedged among the rocks. The long rope was taken to the opposite bank, and friendly people vainly attempted to pull the boat off the rocks.

Settling down for the night, after a search for food on the boat revealed that they had shoved off without provisions, the crew attempted to sleep. The majority of them were asleep when a sudden lurch moved the Galley. By the time the men reached the roof of the cabin, the boat was whirling and spinning downstream. For two hours, without benefit of artificial light, they raced through the darkness expecting the worst at any minute. The craft was completely out of control.

Automobile lights stabbed the darkness along the river
road, and well-wishers shouted instructions from the shore. From time to time flashlights from the shore spotted the boat, but lights and friends were soon lost in the gloom. Suddenly the men were thrown to their knees as the boat went aground on a sand bar where the river swept around a bend. Poling, towing, and numerous other attempts to free the boat proved futile. Prayers followed the profanity, and the party settled down for the night on the sand bar.

During the night the boat shifted slightly. At seven the next morning the anchor was dropped upstream in an attempt to pull the boat off the sand bar. When this failed to produce results, the rope was towed to the bank; and a steady pull by "pioneers" in a foot of water netted only a quiver from the stranded craft. The boat was taking water, and a couple of men were detailed to bail for a two-hour period; then they were to be relieved by two more men.

Finally in desperation the crew left the boat; and after wading cold water which was more than hip deep, they succeeded in moving the stern of the boat off the sand bar. Immediately the current whipped the boat forward. They were underway again, but one man who had fallen into the stream as the craft jerked loose was left behind. He later joined them in Pittsburgh. The others were attempting to dry clothes without the benefit of a fire.

The next miles saw the Galley moving sideways down the
river. Then, buffeted by heavy headwinds, the boat began
to spin again, crashing from time to time into the bank.
Progress became incredibly slow. Late that afternoon they
reached the Boston Bridge at Pittsburgh. They learned that
the most dangerous part of the trip had been safely navigated.
Here they were met by the river boat, Shenango, and pushed
into the landing.

Immediately the "pioneers" were loaded into cars and
rushed to a banquet in Pittsburgh. The other craft making up
the flotilla had arrived hours before. The pirogue, with its
two occupants, had floated on into Pittsburgh. While one man
bailed water, the other did broadcast, standing in the pirogue
with a radio boat nearby.

Into the Hotel Schenley walked eleven very dirty young
men. Wet clothes and muddy shoes moved into a newly decorated
dining room. Bloodshot eyes beneath muddy hair gazed at the
first solid food they had seen in two days. Blistered hands,
covered with grime, reached for immaculate silverware. Eleven
men who had lived on jelly beans and milk for two days and a
night were preparing to eat.

On April 3, 1938, the following article appeared in
the New York Times:

Marietta is ready and waiting for the arrival of the
"Pioneers," the band of young men re-enacting the 1788
trek from New England which opened up the whole Ohio
Country for settlement. They are now somewhere on the
Ohio below Pittsburgh, bringing their cattle, horses,
covered wagon and equipment down the river by boat after a wearisome journey overland from Hamilton, Massachusetts. They will arrive here on Thursday and open Marietta's sesquicentennial celebration.

The event commemorates the founding of the first permanent settlement in the Northwest Territory which was established in Marietta in the spring of 1788. The celebration will include a five-day program of pageants, parades and historical remembrances. Close to 100,000 visitors are expected to attend.

The Campus Martius Museum will be of particular interest to visitors, as will the Rufus Putnam home, carefully preserved; the Ohio Land Company's office, intact and now owned by the Colonial Dames of America; the Picketed Point, which was a stockage of refuge. Of both historic and archaeological interest is Mound Cemetery, where many veterans of the Revolutionary War are buried and in the center of which rises one of the mounds built by a long-vanished race in Ohio's forgotten past... All roads to Marietta lead through a countryside now lavish with Spring, orchards in blossom and meadows in flower. If the travelers are so minded, they can visit along the way countless historic sites--Vincennes, Ind., where George Rogers Clark heroically preserved title to the Territory for the Colonies; Fort Dearborn, in Chicago, where the British were repulsed; Madison, Ind., which was once the gateway to the whole Indian country; Maumee, Ohio, site of old Fort Miami and scene of the Battle of Fallen Timbers, and dozens of other battlegrounds of the territorial past... So this week Marietta celebrates in the name of the whole territory. On Thursday the modern "pioneers" will arrive, float past and be towed by the soldiers. They will be greeted by descendants of first settlers--including many Delaware Indians--and the whole ceremony of welcome and landing will be re-enacted. This ceremony will be followed by an afternoon of parades and pageants, and in the evening the pioneer dinner will be held.

Friday will be New England Day, when a delegation from Ipswich, Mass., will stage an old-fashioned New England clambake, with clams, ovens and even beach sand brought from Massachusetts. That evening the Federal pageant, "Freedom on the March," will be presented, and the day will
They left Pittsburgh and moved downstream. As they neared Steubenville, Ohio, a steamboat regatta moved up the Ohio river to greet the "pioneer" boats. Six steamboats pushed around the bend of this mighty inland river to extend an official welcome. Rapidly they moved around the crude craft. Then the Union Galley, flanked by modern river transports, moved toward the city.

Aerial bombs sent a roar of welcome over the waters; river craft of many types were moving out from the shores; and the contrast of a hundred and fifty years of river transportation was obvious. So curious were some of the crowd that they pushed forward along the banks and some stood in the water. One curious man, in attempting to get a better view, fell into the stream.

A band of musicians dressed as Indians waited at the dock. Steubenville was Monte Parr's hometown, and the townspeople were celebrating the return of a native son.

That day's parade boasted thirty-seven floats, twenty-four bands, and fifteen marching units; a hundred thousand spectators lined the streets. From office buildings ticker tape and confetti floated down. The home town of Edward Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War, was putting on a show.

On the following day the party again moved downstream. The "pioneers" reached Martin's Ferry in a driving rain storm that made navigation difficult. Because of the hazard of spring floods and the difficulty of navigation, the flotilla was being towed by an army engineer boat. Two copies of Esquire magazine were found aboard the Galley; there was something about the poorly clad, rain-soaked "pioneer" who leafed through a copy to read glowing accounts of the latest styles in men's clothing.

The oxen were loaded on the Union Galley at Wellsburg, Ohio, and their body heat often was shared by the men at night. Fortunately an ox seldom rolls or turns in its sleep.

Beards now adorned most of their faces, and because of a lack of washing facilities a number of those beards were saturated with mud; clothes were dirty, for the men had worked and slept in them. Spring rains fell throughout the passage from West Newton, Pennsylvania, to Marietta, Ohio. Willows and elm trees were in leaf along the Ohio; ducks were mating on the river; grass gleamed green on the river banks; and farmers plowed rich black soil of the Ohio Valley.

The next stop on the river itinerary was Martin's Ferry, Ohio. Here they found a reproduction of an original Indian village, where Indians moved around small fires. Their tepees gleamed in the light, and it was as if a vanished people had returned.
Journey's end came at Marietta, Ohio, on April 7, 1938. Rain was falling; and a fog had settled on the river, making conditions identical to those experienced by the original party a hundred and fifty years before. In attempting to make the landing authentic, the Union Galley almost went out of control. Soldiers, dressed in the uniforms of colonial troops, rowed out from the bank and attempted to tow the flatboat to the shore. Because of flood waters and a fast current, they were waging a losing fight when the army engineers moved in with a power-driven boat to offer assistance. Seventy-five thousand people stood on the banks and shouted a welcome.

Whistles shrieked a welcome, and thousands of umbrellas, many of them brightly colored, moved in the air. The party landed and stumbled up a bank of mud to be greeted by the official committee.

Thirty-six young men had re-created, at least in part, the accomplishment of that first little band who had landed at what is now Marietta, Ohio, on April 7, 1788. Young men had answered the call to adventure, had followed the trail of that first party, and had helped to acquaint America with a heritage that is hers.

Now the modern "pioneers" were to become a mechanized Caravan and take their story and their pageant, Freedom on the March, to the inhabitants of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. They were to travel by truck through these states.
CHAPTER VII

JOURNEY THROUGH THE OLD NORTHWEST TERRITORY

From Marietta, Ohio, the modern Caravan set off on a trek which the men of the Ohio Company of Associates never dreamed of making. The Caravan traveled through five states of the Old Northwest Territory, presenting an historical pageant in parks and amphitheatres in nearly two hundred towns and cities.

Athens, Ohio, home of Ohio University, gave the personnel a preview of what was to come. A crowd estimated at twenty-five thousand watched the parade, and nearly seven thousand people saw the pageant that night. The men spent the night in fraternity houses on the campus; Buck was permitted to sleep at the Sigma Pi House, an honor no dog had previously been given.

As the "pioneers" traveled across Ohio farm country, spring was beginning to make itself felt. In the Muskingum Valley dandelions were in bloom; freshly plowed earth gleamed black in the sunlight; sweet williams raised their heads near small streams; fishing poles were in evidence on the porches of country stores; and the natives were chewing tobacco in the

26 Much of the material found in this chapter was taken from a personal diary which the writer compiled from day to day during the trek.
Forty thousand people lined the sidewalks of Zanesville, Ohio, the home of Graham Johnson, a Caravan member, as the old Conestoga wagon moved along the main streets. Floats and historical displays on wheels extended for a distance of one mile. It was a gala day for Zanesville and the Caravan.

In the first five-day period the "pioneers" paraded before approximately two hundred thousand people of whom at least twenty thousand had attended the pageant presentation.

Mr. O. K. Reames, the director of the pageant, was presented the key to the city of Worthington, Ohio. Monte Parr, a "pioneer", received the key to the city of Columbus a few days later. Slowly they crossed the state of Ohio; great crowds greeted them in each town and city. The local floats and displays in parades often extended for two or three miles prior to the actual start along the parade route. Each city and town made an effort to unearth its claim to historical significance, and the wealth of historical display was amazing. Each store window featured antiques, and no city realized how much of the past it possessed until the advent of the Caravan brought these relics of the past forth from attics and cellars.

Parades often required two hours to pass one point; hundreds of bands were featured in the parades; authentic replicas of log cabins of the early period were usually part of the display; and candid cameramen "shot" everything from
the oxen to the mayor. No pioneer of 1788 could have en-
visioned the reaction resulting from repetition of his achieve-
ments.

On May 27 they entered the city of Cleveland. By pro-
clamation the mayor set aside the day as "Pioneer Day." In
Delaware, Ohio, they attended a shooting match where flint-
lock rifles were featured; in Westerville they were shown
a former home of Carrie Nation; in Circleville a woman one
hundred and one years of age rode in the parade.

The party arrived in New Philadelphia, Ohio, on May 16.
Two days were spent in this replica of Shoenbrunn (Beautiful
Spring). The story of this, one of Ohio's first settlements,
is a saga of heroism, romance, and tragedy, so say the in-
habitants. The town was established in 1772 by David Zeis-
berger and a small company of Christian Indians. Here was
formed the first temperance and peace society west of the
Appalachian Mountains. These settlers did not believe in war;
during the uprisings in the Northwest Territory at the time
of the American Revolutions, they abandoned their settlement
rather than take up arms. In endeavoring to reap a crop of
corn prior to their departure, ninety Christian Indians were
massacred by the colonial militia. The village of ten huts,
a school house, and a church had been faithfully and authenti-
cally rebuilt. The modern "pioneers" spent the night in the
school.
At Massillon, Ohio, old General Coxey, of the famous hunger march on Washington, now eighty-four years of age, led the parade. His mode of transportation was a carriage which was once the property of President William McKinley. A direct descendant of Daniel Boone made the members of the Caravan welcome. At Mount Vernon, Ohio, one old settler assured them that they had attracted the largest crowd since William Jennings Bryan spoke there.

In Ohio they broadcast in eight cities. The National, Columbia, and Mutual networks featured the Caravan from time to time. The mayor of Youngstown led the parade and marched the complete distance, which was well over four miles. They were plagued by autograph seekers; and in Elyria, Ohio, they were forced to take refuge in a school building, so insistent were these "fans."

As the Caravan prepared to leave Ohio, it was estimated by the federal office at Marietta, Ohio, that it had paraded before a million, one hundred thousand spectators and that the pageant had been seen by two hundred and sixty thousand people.

On May 18, through a dull mist and occasional showers, a Caravan which had passed over the pavements of many states crossed the state line of the next, namely Indiana. Fort Wayne, the first city in which the "pioneers" gave a pageant presentation, made the group welcome to Hoosierdom. Governor Clifford Townsend, at the conclusion of a parade witnessed by
seventy thousand people, welcomed the group and demonstrated that he knew how to drive oxen.

Angola, Phymouth, and Valparaiso were visited. A city rivalry was making each parade a better one. The Caravan was beginning to prove that America loves nothing better than a parade. In Lafayette the Caravan bade goodbye to Indiana and prepared to move into Illinois. George Ade witnessed the pageant in the Ross-Ade Stadium at Purdue University.

Danville, the first Illinois city, staged a parade witnessed by forty thousand people. Because of confusion in the transportation schedule, the oxen were lost, and two of the men pulled the wagon through the streets. Governor Henry Horner of Illinois came backstage during the pageant performance and officially welcomed the personnel.

Casey, Illinois, proved to be one of the surprise towns of the entire trek. Casey, a town of twenty-two hundred, had placed all its citizens on the program committee. During the parade and the pageant presentation, the town boasted a population increase of thirteen thousand people. During the afternoon the town's population, en masse, helped create a typical American holiday. The plow was left standing in the field; the hardware merchant closed his store and looked proudly at his antique display before he walked toward the town park; housewives moved in the afternoon sun and chatted about the canning they were doing; children roamed the street
at will and spent long minutes speculating on the viciousness of Tom and Jerry who continued to chew lush grass. Huge plow horses that had forsaken endless acres of young corn promenaded down Main Street; farmers dressed as frontiersmen walked behind historical floats; the Daughters of the American Revolution participated; and a small boy's lemonade stand was doing a profitable business.

In Anna, Illinois, a heavy rain and wind storm swept across the fair grounds and sent a number of the tents crashing down on the "pioneers." The next morning was spent in trying to locate equipment which had been blown about the area.

Many of the parades in the small Illinois towns featured the farm horses of the area, huge hay wagons, fiddlers playing the folk songs of America, quartets singing barbershop harmony, and girls in brightly-hued calico escorted by young men in blue denim.

A week-end was spent in Cairo, Illinois. The Caravan members visited an historical hotel where General U. S. Grant was quartered at one time during the Civil War. During that war, Confederate soldiers were held prisoners in prison blocks in the basement of the hotel. A local man mistakenly insisted not only that one of the rooms provided for the "pioneers" had been occupied by Grant at one time but also that the famous words, "We'll fight it out on this front if it takes all summer," were first uttered there. He thought the battles of
Vicksburg and Chattanooga might have been planned there. He was certain that the room had felt the footsteps of Sherman and that a small ancient table had known the weight of War Department correspondence. Memoranda and instructions signed by Abraham Lincoln were on display there.

The site of Cahokia was visited while the party was in the city of East St. Louis. This was the first white settlement in Illinois. Here in 1699 priests of a Catholic settlement in Canada founded a mission. On this historic spot, ten thousand were in the audience when the pageant was presented.

The "pioneers" were in Chicago on June 28 and 29, 1938. They were quartered on Stagg Field at the University of Chicago. On the journey to the university twelve trolleys were blocked by the Caravan, and a traffic jam resulted. With the assistance of a police escort the group reached Stagg Field and prepared to present the pageant. Their strange appearance brought many comments. They were mistaken in the City for members of the House of David baseball team, a touring circus, and the Ritz Brothers.

The men were guests of the management at Chicago's famous College Inn. The group was introduced and well received. Edgar Guest, the newspaper poet, talked with them and thought he might find material for a poem in their story.

The attendance at the pageant was a disappointment. Here they played to only five hundred people, which was their
smallest audience to date. It was too large a city, too sophisticated, too occupied with the business of the world, too dubious to pause and help pay tribute to its own historical past.

On July 4, 1938, the Caravan entered Rockford, Illinois. This city of ninety thousand people had a mammoth celebration. A spot called Bell Bowl, a natural amphitheatre, provided space for a picnic, a fireworks display, and the pageant presentation.

They crossed the state line of Illinois into Wisconsin July 8. Eight states had seen the pageant and the Caravan; another three months would terminate the trek. The initial city in the Badger State was Racine. Here they were escorted into the city proper by junior-high-school patrol officers on bicycles. A day later the Caravan was in Milwaukee. A radio broadcast opened festivities, and this was followed by a parade which extended twelve city blocks.

As the pageant was shown through Wisconsin, it was drawing capacity audiences. The hospitality of the citizens could not have been improved. Each locality was competing with the preceding one in an effort to bring forth historical lore and the tools of the pioneers. No member of the group had any idea of the wealth of historical material, still in an excellent state of preservation, possessed by small towns and cities.
The citizens of Sheboygan, Wisconsin, put on a large show July 18. The children crowded around the "pioneers" and asked intelligent questions. The adults of this city were by far the most courteous of all those met since the party had left the Allegheny mountains.

A tribe of Indians joined the parade at Stevens Point and provided a great deal of historic atmosphere. Their costumes were colorful, and they were asked to participate in the pageant. They added a picturesque touch to the show.

In Black River Falls the committee welcoming the party and many of the town's male population had grown beards. Each business establishment had a display of ancient firearms and swords. Here the members of the Caravan were entertained with a demonstration of log rolling.

Minnesota, the state of ten thousand lakes, was reached on July 29, 1938. Buck served notice on Minnesota dogs by battling three of them within the first fifteen minutes. The party followed highways that led through wild, heavily timbered country. In Virginia, Minnesota, they were served venison at the evening banquet. Almost all towns provided a meal. Apple pie with cheese was invariably the dessert.

After completing a journey of one hundred and twenty-five miles across Minnesota, the Caravan halted at Itaska State Park on August 3. It was a virtual wilderness which presented scenic beauty in its pristine state. For miles
there was no human habitation. Tall, straight pines reached skyward. Here, at the headwaters of the Mississippi River, the "pioneers" rested and talked of the journey home. The old Northwest Territory had been traversed; the farthest northwestern point in their journey had been reached, and now all thoughts were of home. Three days later they began the journey home.

The Caravan came into Alexandria, Minnesota, late in August. Here, in the fall of 1898, the now famous Kensington Runestone was discovered by Olaf Ohman. It was imbedded in the roots of a tree on his farm near this town. Mr. A. R. Holand, a well-known Norwegian scholar and historian, became interested in it and began investigating the locality. After years of investigation both here and abroad, it was deciphered as follows: "8 Goths and 22 Norwegians on exploration—from Finland over the west. We had camp by two skerries one day—journey north from this stone. We were and fished one day. After we came home found 10 men red with blood and dead. Ave Maria save from evil." On the edge is the following: "Have 18 of our party by the sea to look after our ship. 14 days journey from Island. Year 1362." At first the authenticity of the stone was challenged, and some scholars felt it was a giant hoax perpetrated by a crank. At the present time, however, the authenticity of the stone and the accuracy of the translation are accepted by a number of historians. It is
possible that this stone stands as mute evidence of the visit of white men to America more than a hundred years before Columbus.

The journey from St. Paul to Stillwater was negotiated in a train of ancient make. The engine and cars were first used in 1870. The passengers were a group of St. Paul citizens dressed as Colonial belles, Indians, and pioneers. The mayor of St. Paul, dressed as a colonial officer, accompanied the party. It required two hours to make a journey of twenty-five miles. On August 17 Rochester, Minnesota, was visited.

Out of Minnesota, through Illinois, and into Indiana the mechanized Caravan rolled. It was September, and the first Indiana town on their return itinerary was Terre Haute. Here the personnel was transported to the men's dormitory at Indiana State Teachers College. At noon a reception was held at the Hotel Deming. Parade formation found the men leading a parade with approximately two miles of floats following. A thousand marching youngsters sang songs of the past. Before an estimated seventy thousand people, the Caravan trudged three miles in the oppressive heat of a September afternoon.

Following the parade, the "pioneers" were guests in a theatre party; and at five-thirty they were guests at a banquet served in the new dining room of the Terre Haute House. The pageant was presented that night at Memorial Stadium.

The Caravan attended the Indiana State Fair in Indian-
apolis. In a place of seething activity and much dust they pitched their worn tents. They were quartered near a band of Sioux Indians. For a week these Indians followed a tribal custom of beating tom toms at midnight.

To the left of the caravan the merits of a two-headed cow were being extolled by her proud owner. Though the area was filled with side-show people, the long hair and well-trimmed beards of the "pioneers" attracted attention. They heard the query of the carnival folk who said, "Where you been, how'd you do, where you goin' next?"

An attempt to stage the pageant at the race track proved to be a mistake. On one side of the actors a horse-pulling contest was being staged, and on the other side an exhibit of dairy cattle presented competition. The spectators congregated in the stands were attempting to watch all three events at once and were unable to give attention to any of the three presentations.

The caravan visited Vincennes on September 17. A heavy rain and wind storm greeted the pioneers there. The group was nearing completion of the trek; only twelve days remained of an itinerary which had covered more than eighteen thousand miles.

The pioneers reached Marietta in early October, 1938. They had spent eleven months and two weeks on the trek. It was a time for remembering, and they experienced a kind of
nostalgia. Men drawn closely together by a unique undertaking were preparing to say goodbye.

They gathered that last day in early October at Marietta's finest hotel. A banquet was served to the members of the Caravan and officials of the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission. Each man of the Caravan said a few words. There were tears in some eyes. Bonus checks and recommendations were presented to the "pioneers" who had completed the trek.

After being disbanded twenty of the "pioneers" and Buck returned to West Newton, Pennsylvania, where many of the group had made lasting friendships. The remaining members of the Caravan journeyed to their respective homes.

Tom and Jerry, the ox team that hauled the covered wagon, were presented to Marvin Shock, the driver, and that winter they went back to a brush farm in the hills of West Virginia.

The Conestoga wagon was placed in the Marietta museum; and Buck, by lottery, went to the writer. With this disposal of the paraphernalia of the Caravan the Northwest Territory Celebration had reached its conclusion.
CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The pageant-drama, Freedom on the March, was presented in eight separate acts. The first act depicted the Albany Convention on June 19, 1754, which is generally regarded as the most significant attempt by the American colonies to form a union before 1775. The second act portrayed the capture of Fort Sackville from the English by the army of George Rogers Clark in 1788.

The third act depicted the drafting of the Newburgh Petition, which was the request of the Revolutionary Army officers and men for land grants in the Ohio Country; the fourth showed the signing of the treaty of Fort McIntosh in 1785. In this treaty between the Americans and Indian tribes, the Indians ceded most of the Ohio Country to the United States.

The fifth act portrayed the formation of the Ohio Company of Associates on March 10, 1786, for the settlement of the Northwest Territory; the sixth, the meeting of the Continental Congress to enact the Ordinance of 1787.

The seventh act depicted the trek of the pioneers westward into the new territory; and the concluding episode portrayed a meeting at Marietta, Ohio, on July 15, 1788, during which the government of the Northwest territory under the Ordinance of 1787 was inaugurated.
In the writer's opinion, the Caravan, which staged the pageant, proved to be the major feature of the entire Celebration. Because of it, the states of the Northwest Territory took a definite and active part in the national program. No other feature of the Celebration possessed the news value or the human interest appeal of the Caravan.

The writer believes the material presented in this thesis concerning the original trek and the re-enactment of that journey can be of assistance to teachers of American history who desire more background concerning the Ohio Company of Associates and the Northwest Territory Pioneer Caravan.

To teachers of United States history on the high-school level, this study might have importance in that portions of it could be used to add human interest to the teaching of that particular period. Those who might be interested are provided with a day-to-day account of the work of thirty-six young men who attempted to re-create a pioneer trek of historical importance. A comparative study of the treks of 1787 and 1937 could be used in the project form of teaching.

This study could serve as a guide to those who stage historical pageants in the future. Any group which anticipates the re-enactment of historic treks or marches might benefit by the information contained in this study.

To the best of the writer's knowledge, this is the only complete story of the Northwest Territory Celebration. It is
The first study of the Pioneer Caravan of that Celebration.

The fact that the flatboat, the Indian, the Kentucky rifle, and the covered wagon have passed into history does not mean that our pioneering days are over. We are not yet a mature nation. New days bring pioneering problems of a different nature, problems which call for the same type of foresight and fortitude which was possessed by those forty-eight men of the Ohio Company of Associates who, after countless obstacles, established the first civil government under the Ordinance of 1787 west of the Allegheny Mountains and called that first settlement Marietta.
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The Pittsburgh Press, January 19, 1938.

The following are the names of the forty-eight pioneers of 1787-88:

Jabez Barlow
Daniel Bushnell
Phineas Coburn
Ezekiel Cooper
Ebenezer Corey
Samuel Cushing
Jervis Cutler
Israel Danton
Daniel Davis
Jonas Davis
Allen Devol
Gilbert Devol, Jr.
Jonathan Devol
Isaac Dodge
Oliver Dodge
Samuel Felshaw
Hezekiah Flint
Hezekiah Flint, Jr.
Perigrine Foster
John Gardner
William Gray
Benjamin Griswold
Elizur Kirtland
Theophilus Larned

Joseph Lincoln
Simeon Martin
William Mason
John Mathews
Henry Maxon
Return J. Meigs
William Miller
Edmund Moulton
William Moulton
Josiah Munro
Amos Porter
Allen Putnam
Jethro Putnam
Rufus Putnam
Benjamin Shaw
Earl Sproat
Ebenezer Sproat
Anselm Tupper
David Wallis
Joseph Wells
Haffield White
Pelatiah White
Josiah White
Josiah Whitridge