
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

**Series 2: “ You have nothing to fear but fear itself:” FDR
and the New Deal**

File No. 874

1936 June 14

**Vincennes, IN - Address -
George Rogers Clark Memorial**

Reading Copy
June 14, 1956.

VINCENNES SPEECH

Events of history take on their due proportions when viewed in the light of time. With every passing year the capture of ~~last~~ Vincennes, more than a century and a half ago, when the thirteen Colonies were seeking their independence, assumes greater and more permanent significance.

The first grave danger, as the War of the Revolution progressed, lay in the effort of the British with their Indian allies, to drive a wedge from Canada through the Valley of Lake Champlain and the Valley of the Mohawk, to meet the British frigates from New York at the head of navigation on the Hudson River. If this important offensive in 1777 had been successful, New England would have been cut off from the States lying to the south, and, by holding the line of the Hudson, the British, without much doubt, could have conquered first one half and then the other half of the divided Colonies.

The defeat and surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga is definitely recognized as the turning point of the Revolution.

The other great danger lay thereafter not in the immediate defeat of the Colonies, but rather in their

inability to maintain themselves and grow after their independence had been won. Records show that the British planned a definite hemming-in process, whereby the new nation would be strictly limited in area and in activity to the territory lying south of Canada and east of the Allegheny Mountains. Towards this end they conducted military operations on an important scale west of the Alleghanies, with the purpose, at first successful, of driving back eastward across the mountains all those Americans who, before the Revolution, had crossed into what is now Ohio and Michigan and Indiana and Illinois and Kentucky and Tennessee.

In the year 1778 the picture of this western country was dark indeed. The English held all the region northwest of the Ohio, and their Indian allies were burning cabins and driving fleeing families back across the mountains south of the river. Three regular forts were all that remained in Kentucky, and their fall seemed inevitable.

Then, against the dark background, stood forth the tall young Virginian, George Rogers Clark. Out of despair and destruction he brought concerted action. With a flash of genius the 26-year old leader conceived a campaign -

a brilliant masterpiece of military strategy. Working with the good will of the French settlers, and overawing the Indians by sheer bravado, he swept through to Kaskaskia and other towns of the Illinois country.

But the menace of the regular British forces remained. Colonel Henry Hamilton, the British Commander of the Northwest, had come down from Detroit and seized and fortified Vincennes. Fort Sackville, where we stand today, made Clark's position untenable. His desperate resolution to save his men and the Northwest by a mid-winter march and an attack by riflemen on a fort manned by the King's own regiment and equipped with cannon, marked the heroic measure of the man.

It is worth repeating the story that the famous winter march began at Kaskaskia with a religious service. To Father Pierre Gibault, and to Colonel Francis Vigo, a patriot of Italian birth, next to Clark himself, the United States is indebted for the saving of the Northwest territory. And it was in the little log church, predecessor of yonder Church of Saint Francis Xavier, that Colonel Hamilton surrendered Vincennes to George Rogers Clark.

It is not a coincidence that this service in dedication of a noble monument takes place on a Sunday morning. Governor McNutt and I, aware of the historic relationship of religion to this campaign of the Revolution, and to the later Ordinance of 1787, have understood and felt the appropriateness of today.

Clark had declared at Kaskaskia that all religions would be tolerated in America. Eight years later the Ordinance of 1787, which established the territory northwest of the Ohio River, provided that "no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or for religious sentiments in the said territory".

And the Ordinance went on to declare that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged". It seems to me that one hundred and forty-nine years later the people of the United States in every part thereof, could reiterate and continue to strive for the principle that religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the

happiness of mankind.

Today religion is still free within our borders:
it must ever remain so.

Today morality means the same thing as it meant
in the days of George Rogers Clark, though we must needs
apply it to many many situations which George Rogers Clark
never dreamt of. In his day among the pioneers there were
jumpers of land claims and those who sought to swindle
their neighbors, though they were poor in this world's goods
and lived in sparsely settled communities. Today among our
teeming millions there are still those who by dishonorable
means seek to obtain the possessions of their unwary neighbors.
Our modern civilization must constantly protect itself
against moral defectives whose objectives are the same but
whose methods are more subtle than their prototypes of a
century and a half ago. We do not change our form of free
government when we arm ourselves with new weapons against
new devices of crime and cupidity.

Today, as in 1787, we have knowledge; but it is a
vastly wider knowledge.

During the past week I have travelled through many States; and as I have looked out in the daylight hours upon the countryside of Tennessee and Alabama and Arkansas and Texas and Oklahoma, I have tried to visualize what that countryside looked like a short century and a half ago. All of it was primeval forest or untilled prairie, inhabited by an exceedingly small population of nomadic Indian tribes, untouched by white man's civilization.

In most of this vast territory, as here in the Middle West, nature gave her bounteous gifts to the new settlers, and for many long years ~~xxxxx~~ these gifts were received without thought for the future. Here was an instance where the knowledge of the day was as yet insufficient to see the dangers that lay ahead.

Who, even among the second and third generation of
the settlers of ~~this~~ virgin land gave heed to the future
results that attended the cutting of the timber which denuded
the greater part of the watersheds?

Who, among them, gave thought to the tragic ex-
termination of the wild life which formed the principal
article of food of the pioneers?

Who among them had ever heard the term "sub-marginal land" or worried about what would happen when the original soil played out or ran off to the ocean?

Who among them were concerned if the market price for livestock for the moment justified the over-grazing of pastures, or a temporary boom in the price of cotton or corn tempted them to forget that rotation of crops was a farming maxim as far back as the days of ancient Babylon? Who among them regarded floods as preventable?

Who among them thought of the use of coal, or oil, or gas, or falling water as the means of turning their wheels and lighting their homes?

Who among them visualized the day when the sun would be darkened as far east as the waters of the Atlantic by great clouds of top soil borne by the wind from what had been grassy and apparently imperishable prairies?

Because man did not have our knowledge in those older days, we have wounded nature and nature has taken offense. It is the task of us, the living, to restore to nature many of the riches we have taken from her in order that she may smile once more upon those who come after us.

George Rogers Clark did battle against the tomahawk and the rifle. He saved for us the fair land that lay between the mountains and the Father of Waters. His task is not done. Though we fight with weapons unknown to him, it is still our duty to continue the saving of this fair land. May the Americans who, a century and a half from now, celebrate at this spot the three hundredth Anniversary of the heroism of Clark and his men, think kindly of us for the part we are taking today in preserving the nation.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION OF THE
GEORGE ROGERS CLARK MEMORIAL
VINCENNES, INDIANA
Sunday, June 14, 1936, 10.15 A. M.

(The presiding officer, Honorable D. Frank Culbertson, presented Governor McNutt of Indiana who, in turn, presented the President.)

Governor McNutt, Governor Horner, my friends of Indiana:

Events of history take on their due proportions only when viewed in the light of time. With every passing year the capture of Vincennes, more than a century and a half ago when the thirteen colonies were seeking their independence, assumes greater and more permanent significance.

I come, as you know, from the Valley of the Hudson and the first grave danger as the War of the Revolution progressed, lay in the effort of the British, with their Indian allies, to drive a wedge from Canada through the Valley of Lake Champlain and the Valley of the Mohawk, to meet the British frigates from the City of New York at the head of navigation on the Hudson River. And if this important offensive in the year 1777 had been successful,

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

start of address to the audience
to which reference has been made
and all references prior to address

To speak to you all gathered here today

labor Day

and especially and I trust we shall find it proper
one year after today to begin our review and also
for you to have some opportunity to evaluate and test our
various policies over so much territory and under such a
wide variety of circumstances because, undoubtedly
about one-half of our people have not as yet

achieved and to this end no regard exists that has not
been paid to the right of every man and woman to earn
a fair day's pay for a day's work, to receive equal
pay for equal work, and to enjoy a minimum of social welfare
and to such men as still hold authority during the year
and who are not members of labor organizations to demand
adequate and just conditions of employment, including

New England would have been cut off from the States lying (to the) South of New York, and by holding the line of the Hudson River the British, without much doubt, could have conquered first one half and then the other half of the divided colonies. That was our first great crisis.

The defeat and surrender of (General) Burgoyne at Saratoga (is definitely) became recognized as the definite turning point of the military operations of the Revolution.

(The other) But there was another great danger. Danger lay thereafter not in the immediate defeat of the colonies, but rather in their inability to maintain themselves and grow after their independence had been won. The records of history show that the British planned a definite hemming-in process, whereby the new nation would be strictly limited in area, (and) limited in activity to the territory lying south of Canada and east of the Alleghany Mountains. Towards this end we know they conducted military operations on an important scale west of the (Alleghanies) mountains, with the purpose, which was at first successful, of driving back eastward to the seaboard (across the mountains) all those Americans who, before the

the Revolution, had crossed into what is now Ohio and Michigan and Indiana and Illinois and Kentucky and Tennessee.

In (the) that year 1778 the picture of (this) the western country was dark indeed. The English held all the region northwest of the Ohio, and their Indian allies were burning cabins and driving fleeing families back across the mountains south of the river. Indeed there were only three (regular) forts (were all) that remained in all of Kentucky, and their fall seemed inevitable.

(Then) In that moment, against the dark background, (stood forth) rose the young Virginian, George Rogers Clark. Out of despair and destruction he brought concerted action. With a flash of genius, the 26-year old leader conceived a campaign -- a brilliant masterpiece of military strategy. Working with the good will of the French settlers through these states, and overawing the Indians by what perhaps we can call sheer bravado, he swept through to Kaskaskia and other towns of the Illinois country.

But the menace of the regular British forces remained behind. Colonel Henry Hamilton, the British Commander of the Northwest, had come down from Detroit. (and) He seized and fortified Vincennes. Fort Sackville, where

we stand today, as long as it remained uncaptured, made Clark's position untenable. His desperate resolution to save his men and the Northwest by a mid-winter march and an attack by riflemen on a fort manned by the King's own regiment and equipped with cannon, marked the heroic measure of the man.

I think it is worth repeating the story that the famous winter march began at Kaskaskia with a religious service. To Father Pierre Gibault, and to Colonel Francis Vigo, a patriot of Italian birth, next to Clark himself, the United States is indebted for the saving of the Northwest territory. And it was in the little log church, predecessor of yonder Church of Saint Francis Xavier, that Colonel Hamilton surrendered Vincennes to George Rogers Clark.

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his famous march, that all religions would be tolerated in America. Eight years later the Ordinance of 1787, which established the territory northwest of the Ohio River, provided that "no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or for religious sentiments in the said territory."

And the Ordinance went on to declare further that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." It seems to me that one hundred and forty-nine years later the people of the United States in every part thereof, could reiterate and continue to strive for the principle that religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind. (Applause)

Today religion is still free within our borders; it must ever remain so. (Applause)

Today morality means the same thing as it meant in the days of George Rogers Clark, though we must needs apply it to many, many situations which George Rogers Clark never dreamt of. In his day among the pioneers there were

jumpers of land claims; (and) there were those who sought to swindle their neighbors, even though they were all poor in this world's goods and lived in sparsely settled communities. Today among our teeming millions there are still those who by dishonorable means seek to obtain the possessions of their unwary neighbors. Our modern civilization must constantly protect itself against moral defectives whose objectives are the same but whose methods are more subtle than their prototypes of a century and a half ago. We do not change our form of free government when we arm ourselves with new weapons against new devices of crime and cupidity. (Applause)

Today, as in 1787, we have knowledge; but it is a vastly wider knowledge.

During the past week I have travelled through many states; and as I have looked out in the daylight hours upon the countryside of Tennessee and Alabama and Arkansas and Texas and Oklahoma, I have tried to visualize what that countryside looked like a short century and a half ago. All of it was primeval forest or untilled prairie, inhabited by an exceedingly small population of nomadic Indian tribes. It was untouched by (white man's) the civilization of the white man.

In most of this vast territory, as here a little further north in the Middle West, nature gave her bounteous gifts to the new settlers, and for many long years these gifts were received by them without thought (for) of the future. Here was an instance where the knowledge of the day was as yet insufficient to see the dangers that lay ahead.

Who, for example, even among the second and third generation of the settlers of this virgin land gave heed to the future results that attended the cutting of the timber which denuded the greater part of the watersheds?

Who, among them, gave thought to the tragic extermination of the wild life which formed the principal article of food of the pioneers?

Who among them had ever heard the term "sub-marginal land" or worried about what would happen when the original soil played out or ran off to the ocean?

Who among them were concerned if the market price for livestock for the moment justified the over-grazing of pastures, or a temporary boom in the price of cotton or corn tempted (them) men to forget that rotation of crops was a farming maxim as far back as the days of ancient Babylon?

Who among them regarded floods as preventable?

They were referred to as acts of God.

Who among them thought of the use of coal, (or) of oil, or gas, or falling water as the means of turning their wheels and lighting their homes?

Who among them visualized the day when the sun would be darkened as far east as the waters of the Atlantic by great clouds of top soil borne by the wind from what (had been) used to be grassy and apparently imperishable prairies?

Yes, my friends, because man did not have our knowledge in those older days, (we have) he wounded Nature and Nature has taken offense. It is the task of us, the living, to restore to Nature many of the riches we have taken from her in order that she may smile once more upon those who (come) follow after us.

George Rogers Clark did battle (against) with the tomahawk and the rifle. He saved for us the fair land that lay between the mountains and the Father of Waters. His task is not done. Though we fight with weapons unknown to him, it is still our duty to continue the saving of this fair land. May the Americans who, a century and a half

from now, celebrate at this spot the three hundredth Anniversary of the heroism of Clark and his men, may they think kindly of us for the part we (are taking) take today in preserving the Nation of the United States. (Prolonged applause)

February 25, 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Recently you asked that a study be made at the State Department in order that certain facts relating to the cession of the Louisiana (The Louisiana Purchase) and the Northwest Territory, be compiled for you. My understanding was that you desired this information for possible use in connection with the address you will make when you visit Vincennes and dedicate the memorial to George Rogers Clark.

These two studies have been completed and are attached hereto.

STEPHEN EARLY
Assistant Secretary
to the President

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PLEASE MAKE FOLDER FOR
ARKANSAS AND TEXAS SPEECH FILE

Joint speech
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 25, 1936

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

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SE

STEPHEN EARLY
Assistant Secretary
to the President

* APP 243
* 155
* 552

x 200-4

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICE OF THE HISTORICAL ADVISER

January 31, 1936

The Cession of Louisiana

The Cession of Louisiana (written at Paris in a treaty and two conventions) was dated April 30, 1803, although the papers were actually completed somewhat later (May 9).

Other relevant dates are: first published news of the Cession, at Boston, June 28; first news received by Jefferson and Madison from any official source but without details, July 3; first public announcement in Washington, July 4; despatch from Paris with the treaties received by Jefferson and Madison, July 14; proclamation for an extra session of Congress, to be held on October 17, issued July 16; publication of an accurate summary of the terms of the Cession, July 18.

Even before the receipt of the text of the Cession certain initial steps were taken by the Jefferson administration preparatory to the occupancy of Louisiana.

Jefferson's first view (put forward prior to July 9) was that an Amendment to the Constitution was necessary. Two drafts by Jefferson of a Constitutional Amendment are extant. The subject had been discussed six months earlier and conflicting views on the constitutional

power

power had been put forward by Levi Lincoln, Attorney General, and Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury. Jefferson had seemed to agree with Gallatin, although he thought it would be "safer not to permit the enlargement of the Union but by Amendment of the Constitution".

Jefferson (by September 7) yielded his views on the necessity of a Constitutional Amendment; but in the draft of his message to Congress which he submitted (late September) to the members of the Cabinet he indicated his intention of laying the treaties before both Houses of Congress. Both Madison and Gallatin advised against this and Jefferson took their advice. The lengthy message to Congress (October 17) stated, as was already known, that the Cession had been made, and said that the treaties would be communicated to the House as soon as they had been acted on by the Senate. The brief message to the Senate (of the same date) referred to the message to Congress and submitted the treaties. By October 21 the Senate had acted, the President had ratified, and the ratifications had been exchanged. By a message of the same date Jefferson communicated the treaties to Congress and the necessary legislation followed.

Formal delivery of the Province of Louisiana by
Spain

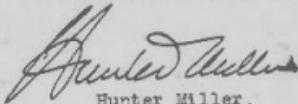
Spain to France and by France to the United States took place on December 20, 1803.

The constitutionality of the acquisition of Louisiana was vigorously attacked at the time by various personages of note. A later critic was Henry Cabot Lodge in his youth (1877), who wrote that Jefferson in carrying out his Louisiana policy "violated the Constitution with an indifference which would have been striking in anyone", et cetera. Lodge thus overruled John Marshall (1828), and brushed aside the Florida Treaty (1819), the annexation of Texas (1845), the Oregon Treaty (1846), the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), and the Gadsden Treaty (1853); and two decades later, when the Administration was Republican, came the annexation of Hawaii and the Treaty with Spain.

If the President is interested in this constitutional subject I venture to suggest that he read the good account by Everett Somerville Brown in The Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase. The chapter is not lengthy as it extends to only 22 pages (pp. 14-35, especially 22-35). The volume is here available.

One popular misconception is that the Cession of Louisiana inspired the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The fact is that Jefferson had the idea of such an expedition

to the Pacific as early as 1783; and the plans for the Lewis and Clark Expedition were being framed (following authorization by Congress) by February 1803, months before the Cession of Louisiana was made or was known.



Hunter Miller,
Historical Adviser.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION

January 31, 1936.

The Northwest Territory

The peace treaty closing the Revolutionary War, in 1783, confirmed to the United States the vast area shortly to be organized by the Congress of the Confederation as the Northwest Territory. The treaty with Great Britain fixed the western and northern boundaries at the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes. When the region was organized as a Territory its southern boundary was established along the Ohio River. Out of this region were ultimately to be carved the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and a portion of the state of Minnesota. In extent it was imperial, containing some 265,000 square miles, an area more than twice as large as Great Britain and Ireland, larger than either France or Germany.

At the time of its cession to the United States, this great domain was an unbroken wilderness. By far the larger number of the few inhabitants were savages. The only civilized population consisted of French colonists, not five thousand in number, who lived at Vincennes, on the Wabash,

Wabash, and in the Illinois country, those at Detroit remaining temporarily under British control. These people had been practically without government since 1784, and they were the only people on the ground calling for government. However, the Northwest Territory was not established for the resident population. What the Frenchman had made little use of, and what the Englishman refused to use at all, was now to be set up as the home of a large section of the American people.

The date July 13, 1787 is an important one because it was on that date that the Congress of the old Confederation, as one of the last public acts of its history, passed the ordinance for the government of the region above described. The ordinance stands at the convergence of three series of important events.

The first of these was the cessions by the states of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia of their claims to the Northwest region, claims based upon early colonial charters. The cession of the claims in question was induced by the refusal of Maryland to ratify the Articles of Confederation until the states possessing such claims should agree to relinquish theirs. Maryland owned no western lands and she contended that the time might come when Virginia or Massachusetts, or some other state would establish a new state or states out of their respective western

dominions,

dominions, and thus create states within states, owing no direct allegiance to the federal government. Besides, according to Maryland's contention, states with western lands were in a better position to relieve their embarrassment in regard to rewarding Revolutionary soldiers by a gift of land than would a state with no outlet.

It was in answer to Maryland's objection that the Congress of the Confederation passed on October 10, 1780, the first important resolutions relating to the West, which form the basis not only for the ordinance of 1787, but also for an important provision of the Constitution of the United States. The resolutions provided that any lands ceded by any state to the United States should be disposed of for the common benefit of all the states, and be settled and formed into republican states and admitted as equal members of the Federal Union. And that lands so ceded should be granted to individuals under such regulations as Congress should hereafter agree upon. Maryland ratified the Articles, and the states carried out their implied provisions to cede their claims. The New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia cessions, therefore, paved the way for the subsequent organization and settlement of the Northwest Territory under the direction of the Congress.

The second series of events has to do with the

dangers

dangers from without. Both Spain and Great Britain were viewed as dangerous neighbors, and American power in this region, it was feared, was seriously threatened. From Canada the British, in control of Detroit and minor posts, were intriguing with the Indians, hoping at least to hold the rich fur trade, while across the Mississippi the Spanish were plotting to recover the east bank of that river. If the Old Northwest was to be held in the face of foreign intrigues, a sturdy American population must be settled in this vast wilderness at an early date. As early as 1784, Washington wrote to Governor Harrison, of Virginia, that "the flanks and rear of the United States are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones, too." It is necessary, he asserted, to "apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together by indissoluble bonds."

Thus with the return of peace, the acknowledgment of independence, the concession of the Lakes and the Mississippi as our northern and western boundaries, and the land cessions of the states to Congress, the time for planting new states had come, if the Union were to be preserved intact. And so we come to the third series of events: those connected with the desire of the American people to emigrate, after the Revolution, and with the various efforts of Congress to prepare the way by

planning an orderly government in advance. In this connection attention may be called to the fact that the old Congress of the Confederation was being pressed for some arrangement to assist the former soldiers of the Revolution, either in money, or in lands. Pressure from this group had no little influence in rushing to completion plans for the organization of the northwestern lands so that an early settlement might be effected. In general, therefore, both former soldiers and other organized groups, as well as many individuals who wished to establish new homes in the Northwest, were further factors in hastening the passage of the fundamental ordinance.

As early as 1784, Thomas Jefferson had drafted and Congress had passed an Ordinance for the organization of the Territory; but it had never gone into operation. As many as three others were drafted and reported to Congress before the final one was passed on July 13, 1787.

In drawing up a scheme of government for the Old Northwest, Congress was obliged to formulate at the same time a national policy of colonial administration. The region for which Congress was legislating was now a national domain, and new precedents must therefore be established. The two most significant precedents established were first, a guarantee to the settlers of all the personal rights which they had enjoyed at home, and second, the

new

new settlements would be organized as states and admitted into the Union on a basis of equality with the older ones. This provision for statehood was a measure of far-reaching consequence, for it assured not only loyalty to the Union on the part of the people, but established a precedent in the march of the American population across the continent.

The Ordinance, adopted July 13, 1787, went into operation during the following year. In the meantime the Constitution of the United States had been framed and ratified, and the new government of the United States began operating in 1789. What, if any, changes were necessary in the government of the Northwest Territory under the Ordinance of 1787 after the new Constitution became effective? We need go no further than the Constitution itself for an answer to this question; for it distinctly provides that all engagements entered into before its adoption shall be valid. Yet under the Ordinance the Governor of the Territory was appointed by Congress; and he made his reports directly to that body. Some change in that regard was now essential. On August 7, 1789 Congress passed, and the President approved, an act which so far amended the Ordinance as to give the President the power of appointment, and to authorize the Governor to report directly to him rather than to Congress. Such an amendment was necessary in view of the change in the form of the National Government. In other respects the Ordinance of 1787 and the Constitution of the United States are in

complete harmony, though each was formed by a different body. The Ordinance guarantees the establishment of new states, and for their admission into the Union as soon as certain stipulated preparatory stages have been completed, while the Constitution confers upon Congress the power to govern territories, and to admit new states into the Union. Thus the two documents supplement each other; they are antagonistic at no point with respect to principles. Lacking the Ordinance, the Constitution, insofar as its provisions relative to territories and new states are concerned, would have been inadequate.

It is plain, therefore, that the contribution made by the Congress of the Confederation, in framing and adopting and putting into execution the Ordinance of 1787, was one of the most fundamental that any representative body in America has ever made. It fixed and fastened upon the American system a type of administration for territories that was to make the United States unique.

Clarence E. Carter
Clarence E. Carter,
Editor, Territorial Papers.

Vineyard Spanish 6/7/36

THE SITUATION OF THE TERRITORY AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION

Page 7
Paragraph 1
Hutchins
Topographical
Description
Reprinted
from original
ed. of 1778.
Cleveland,
1904. Page
77.
Michigan
Pioneer
and Histori-
cal Society,
Pioneer Collect-
ions III, 12.

Rich as was this "pleasant, fruitful and healthy country" in the fertility of its soil, in the resources of its forests, and the ores of its mines; watered as it was by deep rivers and broad lakes; and endowed by a prodigal Nature with scenery of great beauty; it was them, essentially, a wilderness. From the British had the thirteen federated American states wrested this domain; but, as the Hon. Charles

I. Walker has pointed out "at the commencement of the American Revolution, there was not a settlement of English origin within this whole territory, and its entire population, other than Indians, did not probably exceed 5,000." (It is an irresistible impulse to note, parenthetically, that to-day the population of this area exceeds 25,000,000.) But the American statesmen at the close of the Revolution were faced with the urgent necessity of providing not only an adequate territorial government for its administration but also of discovering the most effective encouragement for its rapid development; the more especially since the British in the north and the Spanish in the lands west of the Mississippi were constant threats to its security and allegiance.

No one understood the dangers implicit in this geographical division better than did General Washington, himself. Upon his return from an interrupted journey into the western country (in which he had gone as far as Pennsylvania) he wrote to Governor Benjamin Harrison of Virginia on the 10th of October, 1784, a long letter in the course of which he said:

Ford
I
407 ff.

... "I need not remark to you, Sir, that the flanks and rear of the United States are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones too; nor how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together by indissoluble bonds, especially that part of it, which lies immediately west of us, with the middle States. For what ties, let me ask, should we have upon those people? How entirely unconnected with them shall we be, and what troubles may we not apprehend, if the Spaniards on their right, and Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing stumbling-blocks in their way, as they now do, should hold out lures for their trade and alliance? What, when they get strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive (from the emigration of foreigners, who will have no particular predilection towards us, as well as from the removal of our own citizens), will be the consequence of their having formed close connexions with both or either of those powers, in a commercial way? It needs not in my opinion, the gift of prophecy to foretell." ...

Ohio
Archaeological and
Historical Quarterly
XXXIII,
111-175.

There was, then, a demand for the establishment of an enlightened government in the recently acquired territory. Indeed, as early as April, 1783, Timothy Pickering, distinguished officer of the Revolution, had prepared a plan for the creation of "a new State westward of the Ohio", which would be settled by the veterans of the War for American Independence. This plan, however, proved abortive.

Works
IV
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On March 1, 1784, a Congressional Committee, headed by Thomas Jefferson, reported a plan for "the temporary Government of the Western territory", which should "only continue in force in any state until it shall have acquired 20,000 free inhabitants, when, giving due proof thereof to Congress, they shall receive from them authority with appointments of time and place to call a Convention of representatives to establish a permanent Constitution and Government for themselves". It created new states and even went so far as to provide them with names: Sylvania, Michigania, Cherronesus, Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Illincia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelisipia.

Ibid
275 ff.

This report did not satisfy the requirements of the Congress, and on March 22, 1784, Mr. Jefferson, for his committee, introduced another plan for "a temporary government of the Western territory," - of which Paul Leicester Ford has written that "next to the Declaration of Independence (if indeed standing second to that), this document ranks in historical importance of all those drawn by Jefferson; and, but for its being superseded by the 'Ordinance of 1787,' would rank among all American State papers immediately after the National Constitution." Certainly no further evidence

is needed of the recognized importance of the Northwestern Territory to the new republic than the genius devoted to its concerns by Thomas Jefferson.

Journals
of Conti-
nental
Congress
L.C. ed.
XIV, 619-
622
passim.

Like its predecessor of March 1, Mr. Jefferson's second ordinance provided the machinery of government for "the territory ceded or to be ceded by individual states to the United States." It will be recalled that four states, Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, had claims to the western lands; and that Maryland, seeing in the Northwest Territory a threat to her sovereignty and influence, had insisted on its being placed under the control of the national government as a condition precedent to ratifying the Articles of Confederation. As early as May 21, 1779, the Maryland delegates in the Continental Congress had laid before that body their instructions which, deplored the selfishness of "those states, who are ambitiously grasping at territories, to which in our judgment they have not the least shadow of exclusive right," and had declared

"We are convinced policy and justice require that a country unsettled at the commencement of this war, claimed by the British crown, and ceded to it by the treaty of Paris, if wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen states, should be considered as a common property, subject to be parcelled out by Congress into free, convenient and independent governments, in such manner and at such times as the wisdom of that assembly shall hereafter direct. Thus convinced, we should betray the trust reposed in us by our constituents, were we to authorize you to ratify on their behalf

the confederation, unless it be farther explained: We have coolly and dispassionately considered the subject; we have weighed probable inconveniences and hardships against the sacrifice of just and essential rights; and do instruct you not to agree to the confederation, unless an article or articles be added thereto in conformity with our declaration": ...

As a consequence Congress on the 6th of September, 1780, passed an

Act in which it was "earnestly recommended to those states, who have claims

Journals
L. of C.
ed.
XVII,
807.

to the western country, to pass such laws, and give their delegates in Congress such powers as may effectually remove the only obstacle to a final ratification of the articles of confederation; and that the legislature of Maryland

be earnestly requested to authorize their delegates in Congress to subscribe the said articles."

No little interest attaches to this circumstance when it is con-

Works,
Ford ed.
IV, 249-
250.

sidered that on the very day (March 1, 1784) that Mr. Jefferson offered his first plan for the temporary government of the Northwest Territory, there was laid before the Congress, a proposed deed of cession which he had also prepared and which contained these words:

Journals
L. of C.
ed. XXVI,
113-116
passim.

To all who shall see these presents, we ... the underwritten delegates for the Commonwealth of Virginia, in the Congress of the United States of America, send greeting.

[Whereas the general assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, at their sessions begun on the 20th day of October, 1783, passed an act, entitled "An Act to authorize the delegates of this State in Congress, to convey to the United States in

Congress assembled, all the right of this commonwealth, to
the territory northwestward of the river Ohio" ...

Now therefore know ye, that we the said Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee, and James Monroe, by virtue of the power and authority committed to us by the act of the said general assembly of Virginia before recited, and in the name, and for and on behalf of the said Commonwealth, do by these presents convey, transfer, assign, and make over unto the United States in Congress assembled, for the benefit of the said states, Virginia inclusive, all right, title and claim, as well of soil as of jurisdiction, which the said Commonwealth hath to the territory or tract of country within the limits of the Virginia Charter, situate, lying and being to the northwest of the river Ohio, ...

New York had relinquished her claims as early as 1782, Massa-

Jameson
Dictionary
of U. S.
Hist. 1894
p. 463
chusetts was to follow Virginia in 1785, and Connecticut was to complete the cession in 1786. Thus it was that Mr. Jefferson's plans for the

government of the northwest began with reference to "territory ceded or to be ceded by individual states to the United States."

Aside from this the two plans differed widely. The ordinance proposed by Mr. Jefferson on March 22, 1784, contained provisions for the

Works,
Ford
IV
275-280
passim.
Jefferson's
Draft.

division of the territory into "distinct states", whose settlers might either "on their own petition, or on the order of Congress, receive authority from them with appointments of time & place for their free males

of full age, within the limits of their state to meet together for the purpose of establishing a temporary government, to adopt the constitution and laws of any one of the original states, so that such laws nevertheless

shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary legislature; & to erect, subject to a like alteration, counties or townships for the election of members for their legislature". Further, it provided that this temporary government should continue in force only until such time as one of the states should acquire a population of 20,000 free inhabitants, when authority would be granted for the calling of a convention of representatives for the purpose of establishing a permanent Constitution and Government. It stipulated, however, that the states so created must "forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America;" that persons, property and territory must be "subject to the Government of the United States in Congress assembled, & to the articles of Confederation in all those cases in which the original States shall be so subject;" that they must pay "a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted," which should be "apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule & measure, by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States;" that their governments must be republican in form; that no person holding an hereditary title should be eligible for citizenship; and "that after the year 1800 of the Christian era^y there should be

"neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the sd [said] states,
otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been
convicted to have been personally guilty."

one
Under this proposal any of the new states should, when the number
of its free inhabitants reached that of the "least numerous of the thirteen
original states ... be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the
United States on an equal footing ... provided nine States" should "agree ...
according to the reservation of the 11th of the articles of Confederation."
It even went so far as to provide that as soon as a new state should have
established temporary government it should have the right "to keep a sitting
member in Congress," who might participate in debate, but who would be denied
authority to vote.

These articles would be "formed into a charter of compact" and
would "stand as fundamental constitutions between the thirteen original
states and each of the several states now newly described, unalterable but
by the joint consent of the United States in Congress assembled, & of the
particular state within which such alteration is proposed to be made."

It concluded by declaring "that measures not inconsistent with the

principles of the Confedn. [sic] & necessary for the preservation of peace
& good order among the settlers in any of the said new states until they
shall assume a temporary Government as aforesaid, may from time to time be
taken by the U. S. in C. assembled."

Journals,
Library
of Cong.
gress, XXVI, Richard D. Spaight, the antislavery clause was stricken out. In the days
p. 247

Debate on the proposal began April 19th when, on the motion of
Ibid. Friday, April 23, 1784, it was passed with only one state, South Carolina,
279 voting in the negative.

B. A.
Hinsdale:
The Old
Northwest

N.Y.,
1888,
p. 266

Nevertheless, with all its merits, this Ordinance failed to
provide the cardinal need of the western country — a territorial govern-
ment under which settlement could take place and prosperity could obtain.

For three years it remained a nullity, and then was voided by the Ordinance
of 1787.

ll
Henning's
Statutes
... of
Virginia
328

Nevertheless, it left the Northwest Territory, definitely, the
heritage of the nation; this rich country could no longer be regarded as a
mere source of revenue by any one or any group of States, but was, in the
phrase of Virginia's Act of 1784, to "be considered as a common fund for the

use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become members of the confederation or ~~federal~~ alliance of the said states".

To provide for the Territory a form of government, and to arrange for the disposition of its soil was now in the lay of Congress. And here we should stop, for a moment, to admire -- and with our admiration to convey our reverence for -- the singularly wise and far sighted dispositions which Congress made of these two problems. For we must remember that the Congress of the Confederation was no longer the Continental Congress brought together by the patriotic urge of the fight for life and liberty that was the Revolution. Times had changed between 1776 and 1787. The several States, jealous each of its own prerogatives, were no longer willing to make the sacrifices for the Union which the Revolution had required, without greater compensations from unity than the Articles of Confederation ensured. The times were ripening for a new and closer form of union - that which should be elaborated in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. And with the passage of the crisis of the Revolution, and with the decay of the Confederation it was to be expected that a less forceful, less well-known group of men should take, in Congress, the places of Hamilton, Jefferson, the ~~Adamses~~.

and Franklin. Of the eighteen delegates in Congress who passed the great Ordinance of 1787, few have any place in history.* That this body should have enacted, therefore, such legislation as the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Ordinance of 1787 has always aroused the admiration -- and the reverence -- of commentators. The historian Bancroft, speaking particularly of the latter Ordinance, remarks

George
Bancroft:
History of
the United
States of
America ...
New York:
D. Appleton
and Co.,
1888, vol.
6, p. 277.

Before the Federal Convention [for the framing of the Constitution] had referred its resolutions to a committee of detail, an interlude in Congress was shaping the character and destiny of the United States of America. Sublime and humane and eventful in the history of mankind as was the result, it will not take many words to tell how it was brought about. For a time wisdom and peace and justice dwelt among men, and the great Ordinance, which could alone give continuance to the Union, came in serenity and stillness. Every man that had a share in it seemed to be led by an invisible hand to do just what was wanted of him; all that was wrongfully undertaken fell to the ground to wither by the wayside; whatever was needed for the happy completion of the mighty work arrived opportunely, and just at the right moment moved into its place.

Between the enactment on April 23, 1784, of Thomas Jefferson's plan of government for the Territory and the passage of the Ordinance of July 13, 1787, no less than three attempts were made by Congress to provide a definitive territorial government. It thus happened that the problem of

* Hinsdale: Op. cit. p. 277. "As we look over the list we are surprised to see how few of them have any place in history ... the Old Congress was not now what once it had been."

the disposition of the land reached a satisfactory determination before

Journals of the Continental Congress, L. C. ed. vol 28, disposing of Lands in the Western Territory" passed by Congress on May 20, p. 375-381

1785. Of this Ordinance Theodore Roosevelt said:

Having got possession of the land, Congress proceeded to arrange for its disposition, even before providing the outline of the governmental system for the States that might grow up therein. Congress regarded the territory as forming a treasury chest, and was anxious to sell the land in lots, whether to individuals or to companies. In ~~1785~~ it passed an ordinance of singular wisdom, which has been the basis for all our subsequent legislation on the subject.

Theodore Roosevelt:
The winning
of the west.
N. Y.: G. P.
Putnam's sons,
[1920] vol. 3,
p. 24-25.

This ordinance was another proof of the way in which the nation applied its collective power to the subdual and government of the Northwest, instead of leaving the whole matter to the working of unrestricted individualism, as in the Southwest ... Instead of making each man survey his own land ... with the certainty of producing endless litigation and trouble, Congress provided for a corps of government surveyors ... It provided further for a known base line, and then for division of the country into ranges of townships six miles square ... The basis for the whole system of public education in the Northwest was laid by providing that in every township lot No. 16 should be reserved for the maintenance of public schools therein.

And the historian of "The Old Northwest" adds this tribute:

Hinsdale:
Op. cit.
p. 260-262.

With all its defects, this ordinance was perfection itself compared with the old colonial methods; ... the first settlers and their descendants have the greatest reason to be grateful to the old Congress for saving them from such confusion as Virginia suffered to come upon Kentucky ...

... The dedication to the support of public schools of lot No. 16 in every township was a far-reaching act of statesmanship that is of perpetual interest. It was the first and greatest of the long series of similar dedications made by Congress to education; and the funds de-

original
rived from the sale of these / "school lands" are the bulk
of the public-school endowments of the five great States
of the Old Northwest.

The scene was now laid: on the one hand lay a smiling expanse of
forest and prairie inviting settlement, offering limitless encourage-
ment to every agricultural and industrial pursuit -- where the pioneer,
the empire builder of that day,

Plotted sites of future cities, traced the easy grades
between 'em;

Rudyard
Kipling:
The Explorer.
In his Verse,
inclusive
edition .. 1934,
p. 120.

Watched unharvested rapids wasting fifty thousand
head an hour;
Counted leagues of water-frontage through the axe-ripe
woods that screen 'em --
Saw the plant to feed a people -- up and waiting
for the power!

-- and on the other hand, in the older settlements along the eastern

seaboard, a rapidly increasing number of veterans, eager to try their

Hinsdale:
Op. cit.,
p. 268.

fortunes in a new country, and to redeem in the black soil of the "bottom
lands" their worthless certificates of payment for Revolutionary services.

And now Congress had at last provided a means for disposing of those lands,
and was eager that they be filled with settlements in order that the terri-
tory might the more easily be held against a threatening foreign encroach-
ment. One thing still was wanting: a plan of territorial government

which should assure those settlers in their new homes the same rights of citizenship for which they had fought in their original colonies. It was thus when, in 1787, the Ohio Company of Associates, formed with the express view of "the conversion of those old final certificates into future homes, westward of the Ohio", renewed to Congress its plea made during the previous year for a grant of land in payment of military services, the thought of Congress, in suspension for so long a time upon this subject, instantly crystallized, and in the surprising interval of four days, July 9 - July 13, 1787, conceived and enacted a plan of government for the Northwest Territory, the celebrated Ordinance of 1787. Of it one historian has said:

No act of American legislation has called out more eloquent applause than the Ordinance of 1787. Statesmen, historians, and jurists have vied with one another in celebrating its praises. In one respect it has a proud pre-eminence over all other acts of legislation on the American statute-books. It alone is known by the date of its enactment, and not by its subject-matter. It was more than a law or statute. It was a constitution for the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio. More than this, it was a model for later legislation relating to the national territories; and some of its provisions, stand among the greatest precedents of our history.

B. A. Hinsdale
The Old Northwest ... N. Y.,
1888, p. 276-277

Of the Ordinance a President of the United States has declared:

Theodore
Roosevelt:
Op. cit.,
p. 33-34.

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In truth, the Ordinance of 1787 was so wide-reaching in its effects, was drawn in accordance with so lofty a morality and such far-seeing statesmanship, and was fraught with such weal for the nation, that it will ever rank among the foremost of American state papers, coming in that little group which includes the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, Washington's Farewell Address, and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and Second Inaugural. It marked out a definite line of orderly freedom along which the new States were to advance. It laid deep the foundation for that system of widespread public education so characteristic of the Republic and so essential to its healthy growth. It provided that complete religious freedom and equality which we now accept as part of the order of nature, but which were then unknown in any important European nation. It guaranteed the civil liberty of all citizens. It provided for an indissoluble Union, a Union which should grow until it could relentlessly crush nullification and secession; for the States founded under it were the creatures of the nation, and were by the compact declared forever inseparable from it.

The Ordinance fills but three pages in small type in the U. S.

1 Stat. 51 Statutes at Large, and is contained in only about three thousand words.

In this brief document, however, are comprehended a covenant, a compact, a constitution - a plan of government which embodies the chief sanctions of those political, civil, religious, and educational achievements which have been the crowning and unique glory of our American civilization. It provides the scheme of government: a governor, assembly, council, territorial secretary, judiciary and military; their method of appointment and responsibility; provisions for supply-

ing the want of present law in the territory, for representation in Congress, and for the formation of new States to be admitted into the Union "on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever". And then come six articles, comprising "articles of compact between the original States, and the people and States" of the Territory, to "remain forever unalterable". They guarantee to all religious freedom, ^{as was previously noted} the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and trial by jury. They declare that "Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged". They make the navigable waters of the Territory forever free. They enjoin good faith toward the Indians. Anticipating the Constitution, they guarantee the inviolability of contracts. Finally, they make the Territory forever "free soil", excluding therefrom slavery or involuntary servitude.

I quote from a speech made by Daniel Webster more than one hundred years ago, and not one whit less true today than on the day when it was delivered. There are, unfortunately, few pieces of legislation, the bene-

ficient effects of which can be felt over so long a period of time:

Daniel Webster:
First speech
on Foote's
Resolution,
in the U. S.
Senate, Jan.
20, 1830. From,
Works, Boston,
1864, vol. 3,
p. 263-264.

At the foundation of the constitution of these new Northwestern States lies the celebrated Ordinance of 1787. We are accustomed, Sir, to praise the lawgivers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus; but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787 ... It fixed forever the character of the population in the vast regions northwest of the Ohio ... It impressed on the soil itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than freemen ... We see its consequences at this moment, and we shall never cease to see them, perhaps, while the Ohio shall flow.

Such are the salient features of the Americanization, by conquest and by law, of the Territory whereon we now stand. Today, the virtues of good government, the wealth, civilization and happiness of a prosperous land, all cast back an added aura of glory upon that intrepid Conqueror to whose memory we devote this day.

R. G. Thwaites:
How George Rogers Clark won the Northwest ...
1905, p. 72.

We are indebted to George Rogers Clark for a series of military achievements nowhere, all conditions considered, excelled in the proud annals of American heroism; and for a glowing inspiration to patriotic endeavor, that will never die so long as our youth are instructed in the history of the land.

From Governor Me Nutt.

Extended Notes for Dedication of
George Rogers Clark Memorial at
Vincennes, June 7

(For convenience, put in the first person)

In view of the day and the occasion, I may well begin with a text. I could choose no better one than the account which George Rogers Clark wrote for George Mason of the beginning of the famous march which ended in the victory which is here commemorated: "We were conducted out of town by the inhabitants [of Kaskaskia] and Mr. Gibault, the priest, who, after a very suitable discourse to the purpose, gave us all absolution and we set out on a forlorn hope indeed. . . . I cannot account for it but I still had inward assurance of success; and never could when weighing every circumstance, doubt it."

The enterprise, which thus began, comes down to us through the intervening century and a half, as an example of military genius, courage, endurance, and leadership worthy of perpetual remembrance.

In the year 1778 the cause of the American Revolution was in desperate straits. Nowhere did it present a darker picture than in this western country. Settlers in the region south of the Ohio claimed by Virginia, threatened with the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the Indians, witnesses of the burning cabins and mangled bodies of neighboring families, were fleeing back across the mountains. The English held all the region northwest of the river and were in a fair way to hem the Americans between the mountains and the sea. The three log forts which alone remained in Kentucky were harassed almost daily, and

their fall seemed inevitable. There were brave men and women in those forts. There were Indian fighters, famous in their day, known to history and legend; but none was able to stem the tide of savage fury.

Then, against the dark background, stood forth the tall young Virginian, George Rogers Clark. Out of despair and destruction, he brought concerted action. He went back to the capital of Virginia, and by his persuasiveness and persistence, he secured the organization of Kentucky as a county, and also military supplies. Basset as were the Governor and the Council with the difficulties and distress east of the mountains, they could not deny the flashing challenge of the young frontiersman, "that if a country were not worth protecting, it was not worth claiming." Even organization and supplies, however, were not effective against the widely scattered and lightninglike stabs of the English and the Indians from across the Ohio.

With a flash of genius and with painstaking care, the twenty-six year old leader conceived and carried out a campaign which must ever rank as one of the brilliant masterpieces of military strategy. Breaking down resistance born of caution, and overcoming insurmountable difficulties in gathering an army and supplies from a constantly threatened frontier, he organized and led his fighting forces into the enemy's country. With information carefully gathered and with rapid, skillful action, he took possession, by surprise and without resistance, of Kaskaskia and the other towns of the Illinois country. Clark's magnetic personality and his advance information of the alliance between the

United States and France made the French inhabitants henceforth his ardent supporters. The Indians he overcame by nonchalance and sheer bravado. They might easily have annihilated his little army had not his ~~sodlike~~ form and demeanor and his courage, beyond fearlessness, won such respect, that they never thereafter made an attack when he was present.

With what unconquerable energy, with what inspiring leadership, and with what grim determination George Rogers Clark met the supreme crisis of the war in the West, I need not recite in this historic city of Vincennes and in the presence of this memorial which is eloquent with reminders of them. Colonel Henry Hamilton, the British Commander of the Northwest, had come down from Detroit and seized and fortified Vincennes. Fort Sackville, on this very spot, not only made Clark's position at Kaskaskia untenable, but would afford in the summer of 1779 a base for vigorous operations which would expel the Americans from the interior of the continent. Clark's desperate resolution to save himself and the West by a midwinter march and an attack by riflemen upon the fort, manned by the King's own regiment, equipped with cannon, marked the heroic measure of the man. With such contagious faith, with such superhuman endurance, he led his men through the wilderness and through miles of drowned lands, frequently breast-deep in the icy waters of a February flood, that "they really began to think themselves superior to other men and that neither the rivers nor the seasons could stop their progress." I know of no singlefeat in the War of the American Revolution more inspiring in the surmounting of protracted hardships, unless it be Benedict Arnold's expedition through

the Maine wilderness against Quebec. And how different the outcome of the two! Clark's genius won the victory which Arnold and Montgomery could not achieve. When Hamilton, in the little log church, predecessor of yonder church of St. Francis Xavier, agreed to surrender, the West was saved for the United States.

Such was the achievement of George Rogers Clark and the frontiersmen of the American Revolution which the city of Vincennes, the state of Indiana, and the United States have united in commemorating. This is a memorial of brave adventure, of confidence founded in strength, of faith which overcame all obstacles. It is a memorial to that divine spark, that spirit by which men partake of the divine spirit, which makes them not passive creatures of blind destiny nor helpless figures of a merely material world, but creators, sharing in the work of the great Creator; Recognizing in their service of worship as they left Kaskaskia, the over-ruling providence of God, George Rogers Clark and his men, Virginian and French alike, were inspired to open paths in the boundless wilderness, to breast the current of swollen rivers, to brave the terrors of savage warfare, to win the heart of the continent for the new-born republic of the western world. I hope that this memorial will renew that inspiration in the souls of all who look upon it. The world will never be beyond the need of courage, of faith, in the face of difficulties, of resolution. Memorials of the past will be of little value unless they hold before succeeding generations the example of the men and the achievements they commemorate.

The recognition of religion at the beginning of the campaign, the success of which is here commemorated, has been continued in the fundamental laws and in the principles of government which have been set up. This recognition has not been a mere formality, nor, on the other hand, has it meant a religion established and dictated by the state. From the first, religion was looked upon as the free and voluntary turning of man toward God in the manner indicated by one's own enlightenment and conscience. To the French inhabitants, who feared that their new Protestant leaders would forbid their ancient Catholic worship, Clark declared that all religions would be tolerated in America. It was a Catholic priest who officiated before the whole army as it departed from Kaskaskia. The great Ordinance of 1787, which established the territory northwest of the River Ohio^{and of which I shall say more presently}, provided that "no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or his religious sentiments in the said territory."

This/compact explicitly includes the assumption that religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind. This fundamental principle has been preserved. All people .e., here as elsewhere in the United States, free to worship God in their own way and are entitled to the respect of their neighbors in so doing. The teaching and the profession of religion have continued to be potent factors in the maintenance of good government and the happiness of the people.

This is not a memorial to George Rogers Clark alone, brilliant as was his achievement, virile and attractive as he was. In the Act of Congress authorizing it, and creating the Commission to construct it, it is designated as "a permanent memorial commemorating the winning of the Old Northwest [as well as] the achievements of George Rogers Clark and his associates in the War of the American Revolution." By the capture of Fort Sackville a measure of security was promised along the rivers of the west. Settlers poured into Kentucky. The English government before the end of the war was persuaded that it could not hold this region. Its cession to the United States in the Treaty of Paris was one of the most momentous items in that Treaty. It gave to the United States thousands and thousands of square miles of fertile land. There was access to it along the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers and along the Great Lakes. The Wabash River, flowing past this memorial, was a long-established trade route through its heart. More than a fifth of the wealth of the nation is to be found in its numerous cities, its rich farms, its mines, and its quarries. It opened the way to regions beyond the Mississippi. It is not too much to say that it made the United States more than an Atlantic-seaboard country; It made it a great continental nation.

In the distracting days of the confederacy following the Revolutionary War, when forces of disunion were strong and the federal government was weak, the possession of this great region by the thirteen states in common was one of their strongest bonds of union. Even when men despaired of the permanence of the confederation, they steadfastly regarded the territory northwest of the Ohio River as a common possession.

With this great land of promise before them, they could not envisage the abandonment of their union.

In the great Ordinance of 1787, they drafted provisions for its government which for the first time set out authoritatively the principles upon which the United States was to develop. They provided for the formation of additional states, they provided for an increasing measure of self-government, they provided for universal education. The reading of this great document, next to the Constitution of the United States itself, perhaps the most important in our history, is depicted on the wall of this memorial. Without that Ordinance, the victory here would have been far less significant than it was.

The Conquest of the Northwest affords also a significant precedent for the historic and present relation between the individual states and the federal government. I need not remind you that the conquest was the enterprise of the state of Virginia alone; that George Rogers Clark was commissioned by Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, and that his original army were the troops of that state and of its county of Kentucky. Regardful of the Union of States, however, the army took the oath of allegiance, and the Continental Congress was never lost sight of in the background.

Virginia itself, recognizing its inability to govern permanently that wild and farflung region, and acting also in the interests of the federal government, deeded the territory to the general government. How wisely that government administered its trust in the Northwest Territory and in the formation of the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, is one of the great chapters of American history. Nor need I remind this audience

how loyal the sons of the Old Northwest have been to the Union. From this region came the president who guided the United States safely through the greatest crisis of the Union, and the two generals, Ulysses S. Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman, who led their armies in this crisis to victory.

The Conquest of the Old Northwest, and the states formed from it, bring home the fact that the true perspective of our American Government is not to be found in questions of states' rights but in the consideration of state and national responsibilities, duties, and opportunities. As in the beginning, so now, there is no conflict between national and state ideals nor interests. The state and the national government mutually support each other. Each does what it can best do and neither, on any technicality, can afford to leave the right thing undone. Virginia, in its occupation of the great rivers of the West and its cession of the Northwest to the United States, promoted the general welfare, as much as did those in the historic convention in Philadelphia who formulated the Constitution for the United States.

There is another suggestion in this memorial which I hope will not be overlooked. It commemorates the free spirit of our American pioneers. It honors those who opened new paths for civilization. It is a tribute to the spirit of adventure which is not content with things as they are, but seeks ever larger and larger fields of human endeavor.

Those men were not bound and cramped by traditions, nor hemmed in by pettiness of any sort, racial nor political.

In front of the nearby church is the statue of Father Pierre Gibault, representative of the French, who ~~helped~~ in the eighteenth century settle^d in the Wabash and Mississippi valleys, and who gave their allegiance heartily to the United States and to the principles for which it stood. Over by the river is the statue of Francis Vigo, of Italian birth, continuing in the Mississippi Valley the contribution which his earlier compatriot had made in the discovery of the New World. There were Spanish forces, also, battling with Clark against the enemies of the Union. In this free land of the West, Virginians, Kentuckians, French, Italians, Spanish, all became Americans. They were American pioneers. They have left for us the abiding incentive to remain always a nation of pioneers, looking and working hopefully toward the future.

VINCENNES SPEECH

Draft

Events of history take on their due proportions when viewed in the light of time. With every passing year the capture of Fort Vincennes, more than a century ago and a half ago when the thirteen colonies were seeking their independence, ^{and more} assumes greater permanence ~~and~~ significance.

The first grave danger as the War of the Revolution progressed, lay in the effort of the British, with the Indian allies, to drive a wedge from Canada through the Valley of ^{Long Lake} ~~Michigan~~ and the Valley of the Mohawk, to meet the British frigates from New York at the head of navigation on ^{in 1777} the Hudson River. If this important offensive had been successful, New England would have been cut off from the States lying to the south, and by holding the line of the Hudson the British, without much doubt, could have conquered first one half and then the other half of the divided colonies.

The defeat and surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga is definitely recognized as the turning point of the Revolution.

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The other great danger lay not in the immediate ~~defeat~~ ^{of} the colonies, but rather in their ⁱⁿability to maintain

themselves and grow after their independence had been won. Records show that the British planned a definite hemming-in process, ~~marking~~ whereby the new nation would be strictly limited in area and in activity to the territory lying south of Canada and east of the Alleghany mountains. Towards this end they conducted military operations on an important scale west of the Alleghanies, with the purpose, at first successful, of driving back eastward across the mountains all those Americans who, before the Revolution, had crossed into what is now *Ohio and Michigan and Indiana and Illinois and Kentucky and Tennessee.*

In the year 1778 the picture of this western country was dark indeed. The English held all the region northwest of the Ohio, and their Indian allies were burning cabins and driving fleeing families back across the mountains south of the river. Three regular forts were all that remained in Kentucky, and their fall seemed inevitable. Then, against the dark background, stood forth the tall young Virginian, George Rogers Clark. Out of despair and destruction ~~had~~ he brought concerted action. With a flash of genius the 26 year old leader conceived a campaign - a brilliant masterpiece of military strategy. Working with the good will of

the French settlers, and overawing the Indians by sheer bravado, he swept through to Kaskaskia and other towns of the Illinois country.

But the menace of the regular British forces remained. Colonel Henry Hamilton, the British Commander of the Northwest, had come down from ~~the~~ Detroit and seized and fortified Vincennes. Fort Sackville, where we stand today, made Clark's position untenable. His desperate resolution to save his men and the Northwest by a mid-winter march ~~in~~ and an attack by riflemen on a fort manned by the King's own regiment and equipped with cannon, marked the heroic measure of the man.

It is worth repeating the story that ~~the~~ famous winter march began at Kaskaskia with a religious service. To Father Pierre Gibault, and to Colonel Frances Vigo, a patriot of Italian birth, next to Clark himself, the United States is indebted for the saving of the Northwest territory.

And It was in the little log church, predecessor of yonder Church of Saint Frances Xavier, that Colonel Hamilton surrendered ~~the~~ Vincennes to George Rogers Clark.

It is not a coincidence that this service in dedication of a noble monument takes place on a Sunday morning. Governor McNutt and I, aware of the historic relationship of religion to this campaign of the Revolution, and to the later Ordinance of 1787, have understood and felt the appropriateness of today.

Clark had declared at Kaskaskia that all religions would be tolerated in America. Eight years later the Ordinance of 1787, which established the territory northwest of the Ohio River, provided that "no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or for religious sentiments in the said territory".

And the Ordinance went on to declare that "religion, Morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged". It seems to me that one hundred and forty-nine years later the people of the United States in every part thereof, could reiterate and continue to strive for the principle that religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the

happiness of mankind.

Today religion is still free within our borders: it must ever remain so.

Today morality means the same thing as it meant in the days of George Rogers Clark, though we must needs apply it to many, many situations which George Rogers Clark never dreamt of. In his day among the pioneers there were jumpers of land claims and those who sought to swindle their neighbors, ^{though} They were poor in this world's goods and lived in sparsely settled communities. Today among our teeming millions there are still those who by dishonorable means ~~disk~~ ^{have} to obtain the ~~name~~ of their unwary neighbors. Our modern civilization must constantly protect itself against moral defectives whose objectives are the same but whose methods are more subtle than their prototype of a century and a half ago. We do not change our form of free government when we arm ourselves ^{with} ~~by~~ new weapons against new devices of crime and cupidity.

Today as in 1787, we have knowledge; but it is a wider knowledge.

During the past week I have travelled through many States; and as I have looked out in the daylight hours upon the country

countryside of Tennessee and Alabama and Arkansas and Texas and Oklahoma, I have tried to visualize what that countryside looked like a short century and a half ago. All of it was primeval forest or untilled prairie, inhabited by an exceedingly small population of nomadic Indian tribes, untouched by white man's civilization. In most of this vast territory, as here in the Middle West, nature gave her bounteous gifts to the new ~~white~~ settlers and for many long years these gifts were received without thought for the future. Here was an instance where the knowledge of the day was as yet insufficient to see the dangers that lay ahead. Who even among the second and third generation of the settlers of this virgin land gave heed to the future results that attended the cutting of the timber which denuded the greater part of the watersheds? Who among them gave thought to the ~~inevitable~~ tragic extermination of the wild life which formed the principal article of food of the pioneers? Who among them had ever heard the term "sub-marginal land" or worried about what would happen when the original soil played out or ran off to the ocean? Who among them were concerned if the market price ~~for the moment~~ for ~~sheep~~ justified the over-grazing of pastures, or a

temporary boom in the price of cotton or corn tempted them
to forget that rotation of crops was a farming maxim
as far back as the days of ancient Babylon? Who among them
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Because man did not ~~know~~ ^A in those older days, we have
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of us, the living, to restore to nature many of the riches we
have taken from her in order that she may smile once more
upon those who come after us.

George Rogers Clark did battle against the tomahawk
and the rifle. He saved for us the fair land that lay between
the mountains and the Father of Waters. His task is not done.
^ATough we fight with weapons unknown to him, it is still our
duty to continue the saving of this fair land. May the Americans
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Because man did not have our knowledge in those older days, we have wounded nature and nature has taken offense. It is the task of us, the living, to restore to nature many of the riches we have taken from her in order that she may smile once more upon those who come after us.

George Rogers Clark did battle against the toma-hawk and the rifle. He saved for us the fair land that lay between the mountains and the Father of Waters. His task is not done. Though we fight with weapons unknown to him, it is still our duty to continue the saving of this fair land. May the Americans who, a century and a half from now, celebrate at this spot the three hundredth Anniversary of the heroism of Clark and his men, think kindly of us for the part we are taking today in preserving the nation.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 8, 1936

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. EARLY:

C-O-R-R-E-C-T-I-O-N

On page 11, line 19, of draft of Vincennes speech which I gave you this morning, correct the first date to 1785 so that the line will read : "as the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Ordinance of 1783 has always aroused the" etc.

W.D.H.

William D. Hassett

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A CORRECTION FOR THE VINCENNES SPEECH

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JL

SUGGESTED DRAFT FOR VINCENNES SPEECH

MR. CHAIRMAN, FRIENDS:

The events of history take on their due proportions only when viewed in the light of time. We are here today to commemorate an event which took place more than a century and a half ago when the Thirteen Colonies were engaged in the struggle with the Mother Country out of which our Nation was born.

From the vantage ground of 1936 we can obtain a clear perspective of the importance of the capture of Fort Sackville in 1779. We can, therefore, now assess that event in its due relationship to other events and thus determine the place to which George Rogers Clark is entitled in American history. And we shall find that Clark added a domain of imperial proportions to the seaboard colonies then struggling for independence. By his capture of Fort Sackville from the English he made Vincennes "the Key to the Northwest". It insured that the Mississippi River and not the Allegheny Mountains would be the western boundary of our country when full nationhood should finally be achieved and recognized.

An indisputable law of history is recognized in the saying: "How much it matters into what times even the best of men are born." Let us take a backward glance at the time in which George Rogers Clark came upon the scene and reconstruct the setting for the drama in which he played the leading role -- a role which was to affect profoundly all of our history even to this day. We shall find that the name of Clark is linked for all time with our first achievement in national expansion.

In the year 1778 the cause of the American Revolution was in desperate straits. Nowhere did it present a darker picture than in this western country.

Settlers in the region south of the Ohio claimed by Virginia, threatened with the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the Indians, witnesses of the burning cabins and mangled bodies of neighboring families, were fleeing back across the mountains. The English held all the region northwest of the river and were in a fair way to hem the American between the mountains and the sea. The three log forts which alone remained in Kentucky were harassed almost daily, and their fall seemed inevitable. There were brave men and women in those forts. There were Indian fighters, famous in their day, known to history and legend; but none was able to stem the tide of savage fury.

Then, against the dark background, stood forth the tall young Virginian, George Rogers Clark. Out of despair and destruction, he brought concerted action. With a flash of genius and with painstaking care, the twenty-six year old leader conceived and carried out a campaign which must ever rank as one of the brilliant masterpieces of military strategy. Breaking down resistance born of caution, and overcoming insurmountable difficulties in gathering an army and supplies from a constantly threatened frontier, he organized and led his fighting forces into the enemy's country. With information carefully gathered and with rapid, skillful action, he took possession, by surprise and without resistance, of Kaskaskia and the other towns of the Illinois country. Clark's magnetic personality and his advance information of the alliance between the United States and France made the French inhabitants henceforth his ardent supporters. The Indians he overcame by nonchalance and sheer bravado. They might easily have annihilated his little army had not his godlike form and demeanor and his courage, beyond fearlessness, won such respect, that they never thereafter made an attack when he was present.

With what unconquerable energy, with what inspiring leadership, and with what grim determination George Rogers Clark met the supreme crisis of the war in the West, I need not recite in this historic city of Vincennes and in the presence of this memorial which is eloquent with reminders of them. Colonel Henry Hamilton, the British Commander of the Northwest, had come down from Detroit and seized and fortified Vincennes. Fort Sackville, on this very spot, not only made Clark's position at Kaskaskia untenable, but would afford in the summer of 1779 a base for vigorous operations which would expel the Americans from the interior of the continent. Clark's desperate resolution to save himself and the West by a midwinter march and an attack by riflemen upon a fort, manned by the King's own regiment, equipped with cannon, marked the heroic measure of the man.

With such contagious faith, with such superhuman endurance, he led his men through the wilderness and through miles of drowned lands, frequently breastdeep in the icy waters of a February flood, that "they really began to think themselves as superior to other men and as persons whom neither floods nor seasons could stop". When Hamilton, in the little log church, predecessor of yonder church of St. Francis Xavier, agreed to surrender, the West was saved for the United States.

In an account which Clark sent to George Mason of the beginning of the famous march which ended in the victory which is here commemorated, he wrote: "We were conducted out of the town by the inhabitants (of Kaskaskia) and Mr. Gibault, the priest, who, after a very suitable discourse to the purpose, gave us all absolution and we set out on a forlorn hope indeed;-- for our whole party with the boat's crew consisted of only a little upwards of two hundred".

We must in this solemn commemoration pay our tribute to the devoted French of the Ohio valley who, under the leadership of their priest, Father Pierre Gibault, contributed so essentially to the success of Clark's expedition. John Law in his history of Vincennes says that to Gibault, "next to Clark and Vigo the United States are indebted for the accession of the States comprised in what was the original North-Western Territory, than to any other man".

The enterprise which Clark led comes down to us through the intervening century and a half as an example of vision, military genius, courage, endurance and leadership worthy of perpetual remembrance. This is a memorial of brave adventure, of confidence founded in strength, of faith which overcame all obstacles. It is a memorial to that divine spark, that spirit by which men partake of the divine spirit, which makes them not passive creatures of blind destiny nor helpless figures of a merely material world but creators, sharing in the work of the great Creator.

The recognition of religion at the beginning of the campaign, the success of which is commemorated, has been continued in the fundamental laws and in the principles of government which were subsequently established. This recognition has not been a mere formality, nor on the other hand, has it meant a religion established and dictated by the state. From the first, religion was looked upon as the free and voluntary turning of man toward God in the manner dictated by his own enlightenment and conscience. Clark had declared at Kaskaskia that all religions would be tolerated in America. It was a Catholic priest who officiated before the whole Army as it departed from

Kaskaskia. The great ordinance of 1787 which established the territory northwest of the Ohio River and of which I shall say more presently, provided that "no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or his religious sentiments in the said territory".

This compact explicitly includes the assumption that religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind. This fundamental principle has been preserved. All people are here as elsewhere in the United States, free to worship God in their own way and are entitled to the respect of their neighbors in so doing. The teaching and the profession of religion have continued to be potent factors in the maintenance of good government and the happiness of the people.

I desire in this presence to reaffirm my adherence to a declaration of principle which I made publicly in the grand old state of Indiana last year:

In the conflict of policies and of political systems which the world today witnesses, the United States has held forth for its own guidance and for the guidance of other nations if they will accept it, this great torch of liberty of human thought, liberty of human conscience. We will never lower it. We will never permit, if we can help it, the light to grow dim. Rather through every means legitimately within our power and our office, we will seek to increase that light, that its rays may extend the farther; that its glory may be seen even from afar.

Every vindication of the sanctity of these rights at home; every prayer that other nations may accept them, is an indication of how virile, how living they are in the hearts of every true American.

The peace treaty which ended the Revolutionary War, confirmed to the United States the vast area later to be organized by the Congress of the Confederation as the Northwest Territory. At the time of its cession to the United States, this great domain was an unbroken wilderness. But it was from

the first big with promise for the future. In this free land of the West, settlers from the seaboard states, French, Italian, Spanish, all became Americans. They were American pioneers. They have left for us the abiding incentive to remain always a nation of pioneers, looking and working hopefully toward the future.

Rich as was this "pleasant, fruitful and healthy country" in the fertility of its soil, in the resources of its forests, and the ores of its mines; watered as it was by deep rivers and broad lakes; and endowed by a prodigal Nature with scenery of great beauty; it was when Clark took possession, essentially, a wilderness. From the British had the thirteen federated American states wrested this domain; but, as Charles I. Walker has pointed out "at the commencement of the American Revolution, there was not a settlement of English origin within this whole territory, and its entire population, other than Indians, did not probably exceed 5,000". (It is an irresistible impulse to note, that to-day the population of this area exceeds 25,000,000 and that out of the vast domain which Clark gave the struggling nation were carved the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and a portion of Minnesota.) But the American statesmen at the close of the Revolution were faced with the urgent necessity of providing not only an adequate territorial government for its administration but also of discovering the most effective encouragement for its rapid development; the more especially since the British in the north and the Spanish in the lands west of the Mississippi were constant terrors to its security and allegiance.

No one understood the dangers implicit in this geographical division better than did General Washington, himself. Upon his return from an interrupted journey into the western country (in which he had gone as far as Pennsylvania) he wrote to Governor Benjamin Harrison of Virginia on the 10th of October, 1784, a long letter in the course of which he said:

... "I need not remark to you, Sir, that the flanks and rear of the United States are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones too; nor how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together by indissoluble bonds, especially that part of it, which lies immediately west of us, with the middle States. For what ties, let me ask, should we have upon those people? How entirely unconnected with them shall we be, and what troubles may we not apprehend, if the Spaniards on their right, and Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing stumbling-blocks in their way, as they now do, should hold out lures for their trade and alliance? What, when they get strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive (from the emigration of foreigners, who will have no particular predilection towards us, as well as from the removal of our own citizens), will be the consequence of their having formed close connexions with both or either of those powers, in a commercial way? It needs not in my opinion, the gift of prophecy to foretell..."

There was, then, a demand for the establishment of an enlightened government in the recently acquired territory. Indeed, as early as April, 1783, Timothy Pickering, distinguished officer of the Revolution, had prepared a plan for the creation of "a new State westward of the Ohio", which would be settled by the veterans of the War for American Independence. This plan, however, proved abortive.

On March 1, 1784, a Congressional Committee, headed by Thomas Jefferson, reported a plan for "the temporary Government of the Western territory", which should "only continue in force in any state until it shall have acquired 20,000 free inhabitants, when, giving due proof thereof to

Congress, they shall receive from them authority with appointments of time and place to call a Convention of representatives to establish a permanent Constitution and Government for themselves". It created new states and even went so far as to provide them with names: Sylvania, Michigania, Cherronesus, Acsemisipia, Metropotamia, Illinoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelisipia.

This report did not satisfy the requirements of the Congress, and on March 22, 1784, Mr. Jefferson, for his committee, introduced another plan for "a temporary government of the Western territory," - of which Paul Leicester Ford has written that "next to the Declaration of Independence (if indeed standing second to that), this document ranks in historical importance all those drawn by Jefferson; and, but for its being superseded by the 'Ordinance of 1787', would rank among all American State papers immediately after the National Constitution". Certainly no further evidence is needed of the recognized importance of the Northwestern Territory to the new republic than the genius devoted to its concerns by Thomas Jefferson.

Like its predecessor of March 1, Mr. Jefferson's second ordinance provided the machinery of government for "the territory ceded or to be ceded by individual states to the United States". It will be recalled that four states, Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, had claims to the western lands; and that Maryland, seeing in the Northwest Territory a threat to her sovereignty and influence, had insisted on its being placed under the control of the national government as a condition precedent to ratifying the Articles of Confederation. As early as May 21, 1779, the Maryland delegates in the Continental Congress had laid before that body

their instructions which, deplored the selfishness of "those states, who are ambitiously grasping at territories, to which in our judgment they have not the least shadow of exclusive right".

As a consequence Congress on the 6th of September 1780, passed an Act in which it was "earnestly recommended to those states, who have claims to the western country, to pass such laws, and give their delegates in Congress such powers as may effectually remove the only obstacle to a final ratification of the articles of confederation; and that the legislature of Maryland be earnestly requested to authorize their delegates in Congress to subscribe the said articles".

New York had relinquished her claims as early as 1782, Massachusetts was to follow Virginia, in 1785, and Connecticut was to complete the cession in 1786. Thus it was that Mr. Jefferson's plans for the government of the northwest began with reference to "territory ceded or to be ceded by individual states to the United States".

Aside from this the two plans differed widely. The ordinance proposed by Mr. Jefferson on March 22, 1784, contained provisions for the division of the territory into "distinct states", whose settlers might either "on their own petition, or on the order of Congress, receive authority from them with appointments of time & place for their free males of full age, within the limits of their state to meet together for the purpose of establishing a temporary government, to adopt the constitution and laws of any one of the original states, so that such laws nevertheless shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary legislature; & to erect, subject to a like alteration, counties or townships for the election of members for their legislature".

Further, it provided that this temporary government should continue in force only until such time as one of the states should acquire a population of 20,000 free inhabitants, when authority would be granted for the calling of a convention of representatives for the purpose of establishing a permanent Constitution and Government. It stipulated, however, that the states so created must "forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America; that persons, property and territory must be "subject to the Government of the United States in Congress assembled, & to the articles of Confederation in all those cases in which the original States shall be so subject"; that they must pay "a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted", which should be "apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule & measure, by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States; that their governments must be republican in form; that no person holding an hereditary title should be eligible for citizenship; and "that after the year 1800 of the Christian era", there should be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the [said] states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty".

Debate on the proposal began April 19th when, on the motion of Richard D. Spaight, the Antislavery clause was stricken out. In the days that followed other changes and amendments were made; and finally, on Friday, April 23, 1784, it was passed with only one state, South Carolina, voting in the negative. Notwithstanding all its merits, this Ordinance failed to provide the cardinal need of the western country -- a territorial government under which settlement could take place and prosperity could obtain. For three years it remained a nullity, and then was voided by the Ordinance of 1787.

Nevertheless, it left the Northwest Territory, definitely, the heritage of the nation; this rich country could no longer be regarded as a mere source of revenue by any one or any group of States, but was, in the phrase of Virginia's Act of 1784, to "be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become members of the confederation or federal alliance of the said states".

To provide for the Northwest Territory a form of government, and to arrange for the disposition of its soil was now in the lap of Congress. And here we should stop, for a moment, to admire -- and with our admiration to convey our reverence for -- the singularly wise and far sighted dispositions which Congress made of these two problems. For we must remember that the Congress of the Confederation was no longer the Continental Congress brought together by the patriotic urge of the fight for life and liberty that was the Revolution. Times had changed between 1776 and 1787. The several States, jealous of its own prerogatives, were no longer willing to make the sacrifices for the Union which the Revolution had required, without greater compensations from unity than the Articles of Confederation ensured.

That this body should have enacted, therefore, such legislation as the Land Ordinance of 1785⁵ and the Ordinance of 1787 has always aroused the admiration -- and the reverence -- of commentators. Theodore Roosevelt declared:

"In truth, the Ordinance of 1787 was so wide-reaching in its effects, was drawn in accordance with so lofty a morality and such far-seeing statesmanship, and was fraught with such zeal for the nation, that it will ever rank among the foremost of American state papers, coming in that little group which includes the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, Washington's Farewell Address, and Lincoln's Emancipation

Proclamation and Second Inaugural. It marked out a definite line of orderly freedom along which the new States were to advance. It laid deep the foundation for that system of widespread public education so characteristic of the Republic and so essential to its healthy growth. It provided that complete religious freedom and equality which we now accept as part of the order of nature, but which were then unknown in any important European nation. It guaranteed the civil liberty of all citizens. It provided for an indissoluble Union, a Union which should grow until it could relentlessly crush nullification and secession; for the States founded under it were the creatures of the nation, and were by the compact declared forever inseparable from it."²

The Ordinance fills but three pages in small type in the U. S. Statutes at Large, and is contained in only about three thousands words. In this brief document, however, are comprehended a covenant, a compact, a constitution - a plan of government which embodies the chief sanctions of those political, civil, religious, and educational achievements which have been the crowning and unique glory of our American civilization. It provides the scheme of government: a governor, assembly, council, territorial secretary, judiciary and military; their method of appointment and responsibility; provisions for supplying the want of present law in the territory, for representation in Congress, and for the formation of new States to be admitted into the Union "on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever".

And then come six articles, comprising "articles of compact between the original States, and the people and States" of the Territory, to "remain forever unalterable". They guarantee to all religious freedom, as was previously ⁿvoted, the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and trial by jury. They declare that "Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary

to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged". They make the navigable waters of the Territory forever free. They enjoin good faith toward the Indians. Anticipating the Constitution, they guarantee the inviolability of contracts. Finally, they make the Territory forever "free soil", excluding therefrom slavery or involuntary servitude.

Daniel Webster said that he doubted "whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787...It fixed forever the character of the population in the vast regions northeast of the Ohio... It impressed on the soil itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than free men..We see its consequences at this moment, and we shall never cease to see them, perhaps, while the Ohio shall flow."

Such are the salient features of the Americanization, by conquest and by law, of the Territory whereon we now stand. Today, the virtues of good government, the wealth, civilization and happiness of a prosperous land, all cast back an added aura of glory upon that intrepid Conqueror to whose memory we devote this day.

The Ordinance of 1787, confirming Clark's conquest by establishing the relationship between the individual states and territories and the federal government, set a precedent which assumed paramount importance when the new nation reached another stage in its western expansion with the purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 and thereafter in the onward march across the central plains and over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.

In raising this noble memorial to George Rogers Clark we have commemorated the free spirit of our American pioneers. It honors those who opened new paths for civilization. It is a tribute to the spirit of adventure which is not content with things as they are but seeks ever larger and larger fields of human endeavor.

STATEMENTS FILE

En route from Fort Worth, Texas,
to Vincennes, Indians,
June 13, 1936.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

As I leave the two sister centennial states -- Arkansas
and Texas -- I want to express to all the thousands who
have been our hosts the grateful appreciation of Mrs. Roosevelt
and myself.

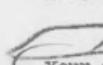
Yours very sincerely,
Your receptions have been most generous. You, one and
all, have made us very happy.

Miss Shannon

June 13, 1936.
En route from Fort Worth,
Texas, to ~~Memphis~~ Vincennes,
Indiana.

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Your receptions have been most generous.

DEDICATION

George Rogers Clark Memorial

Vincennes, Indiana

Sunday, June 14, 1936

PROGRAM

9:30 A. M.

Arrival of President Roosevelt on Memorial grounds.

Presiding officer: Hon. D. Frank Culbertson, Chairman of Executive Committee George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission.
Flag Raising Ceremony "Star Spangled Banner"
Battery D, 139th Field Artillery Band.

Song—"On the Banks of the Wabash"
National Champion Glee Club, American Legion Auxiliary.

Invocation.....Bishop Joseph E. Ritter
Address of Welcome—Hon. Paul V. McNutt, Governor State of Indiana
DEDICATORY ADDRESS

The President of the United States, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

10:30 A. M.

"Back Home Again in Indiana"
"America" National Champion Glee Club, American Legion Auxiliary
Francis Vigo Address.....Charles L. Barrie, Esq.
Introduced by Col. Robert Moorehead, State President of S. A. R.
Address.....Miss Bonnie Farwell, State Regent D. A. R.
Message from the Mayor of Mondovi.....Dr. Bruno Roselli
Address.....His Excellency, Royal Italian Ambassador, Augusto Roselli
Benediction.....The Rev. Charles W. Whitman

11:30 A. M.

Dedication of Memorial statue of Father Pierre Gibault, on the plaza at the Church of St. Francis Xavier.
Procession—Altar Boys Clergy and Prelates
"Star Spangled Banner"
"Marseillaise"
Combined Choirs of three hundred voices on the steps of the Old Cathedral
Address.....Most Rev. J. H. Schlarman, D. D. Ph. D. J. C. D.
Blessing of Statue.....Most Rev. J. E. Ritter, D. D.
Hymn—"Te Deum"

Proceeding the formal program at the memorial a concert by the 139th Field Artillery Band, American Legion Drum Corps and Legion Auxiliary Glee Club.

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STATEMENTS FILE
Shorthand By Kanner

March 28, 1968.

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① $\sin \theta = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$

Oklahoma, I have tried to visualize what that countryside looked like a short century and a half ago. All of it was primeval forest or untilled prairie, inhabited by an exceedingly small population of nomadic Indian tribes, untouched by white man's civilization.

In most of this vast territory, as here in the Middle West, nature gave her bounteous gifts to the new settlers, and for many long years these gifts were received without thought for the future. Here was an instance where the knowledge of the day was as yet insufficient to see the dangers that lay ahead.

Who, even among the second and third generation of the settlers of this virgin land gave heed to the future results that attended the cutting of the timber which denuded the greater part of the watersheds?

Who, among them, gave thought to the tragic extermination of the wild life which formed the principal article of food of the pioneers?

Who among them had ever heard the term "sub-marginal land" or worried about what would happen when the original soil played out or ran off to the ocean?

Who among them were concerned if the market price for livestock for the moment justified the over-grazing of pastures, or a temporary boom in the price of cotton or corn tempted them to forget that rotation of crops was a farming maxim as far back as the days of ancient Babylon?

Who among them regarded floods as preventable?

Who among them thought of the use of coal, or oil, or gas, or falling water as the means of turning their wheels and lighting their homes?

Who among them visualized the day when the sun would be darkened as far east as the waters of the Atlantic by great clouds of top soil borne by the wind from what had been grassy and apparently imperishable prairies?

Because man did not have our knowledge in those older days, we have wounded nature and nature has taken offense. It is the task of us, the living, to restore to nature many of the riches we have taken from her in order that she may smile once more upon those who come after us.

George Rogers Clark did battle against the tomahawk and the rifle. He saved for us the fair land that lay between the mountains and the Father of Waters. His task is not done. Though we fight with weapons unknown to him, it is still our duty to continue the saving of this fair land. May the Americans who, a century and a half from now, celebrate at this spot the three hundredth Anniversary of the heroism of Clark and his men, think kindly of us for the part we are taking today in preserving the nation.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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CONFIDENTIAL

VINCENNES, INDIANA, JUNE 14, 1936

CAUTION: The following address of the President is released
for publication in editions of all newspapers
appearing on streets not earlier than 10:30 A.M.
Central Standard Time, today.
PLEASE SAFEGUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

STEPHEN EARLY
Assistant Secretary to the President.

Events of history take on their due proportions when viewed in the light of time. With every passing year the capture of Vincennes, more than a century and a half ago when the thirteen colonies were seeking their independence, assumes greater and more permanent significance.

(1) The first grave danger as the War of the Revolution progressed, lay in the effort of the British, with their Indian allies, to drive a wedge from Canada through the Valley of Lake Champlain and the Valley of the Mohawk, to meet the British frigates from New York at the head of navigation on the Hudson River. If this important offensive in 1777 had been successful, New England would have been cut off from the States lying to the south, and by holding the line of the Hudson, the British, without much doubt, could have conquered first one half and then the other half of the divided colonies. 1/1 - L

The defeat and surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga is definitely recognized as the turning point of the Revolution.

The other great danger lay thereafter not in the immediate defeat of the colonies, but rather in their inability to maintain themselves and grow after their independence had been won. Records show that the British planned a definite hemming-in process, whereby the new nation would be strictly limited in area and in activity to the territory lying south of Canada and east of the Alleghany mountains. Towards this end they conducted military operations on an important scale west of the Alleghanies, with the purpose, at first successful, of driving back eastward, across the mountains all those Americans who, before the Revolution, had crossed into what is now Ohio and Michigan and Indiana and Illinois and Kentucky and Tennessee.

In the year 1778 the picture of the western country was dark indeed. The English held all the region northwest of the Ohio, and their Indian allies were burning cabins and driving fleeing families back across the mountains south of the river. Three regular forts were all that remained in Kentucky, and their fall seemed inevitable.

Against the dark background, stood forth the tall young Virginian, George Rogers Clark. Out of despair and destruction he brought concerted action. With a flash of genius, the 26-year old leader conceived a campaign - a brilliant masterpiece of military strategy. Working with the good will of the French settlers, and overawing the Indians by sheer bravado, he swept through to Kaskaskia and other towns of the Illinois country.

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C. L. M.

But the menace of the regular British forces remained. Colonel Henry Hamilton, the British Commander of the Northwest, had come down from Detroit, seized and fortified Vincennes. Fort Sackville, where we stand today, made Clark's position untenable. His desperate resolution to save his men and the Northwest by a mid-winter march and an attack by riflemen on a fort manned by the King's own regiment and equipped with cannon, marked the heroic measure of the man.

It is worth repeating the story that the famous winter march began at Kaskaskia with a religious service. To Father Pierre Gibault, and to Colonel Francis Vigo, a patriot of Italian birth, next to Clark himself, the United States is indebted for the saving of the Northwest territory. And it was in the little log church, predecessor of yonder Church of Saint Francis Xavier, that Colonel Hamilton surrendered Vincennes to George Rogers Clark.

It is not a coincidence that this service in dedication of a noble monument takes place on a Sunday morning. Governor McNutt and I, aware of the historic relationship of religion to this campaign of the Revolution, and to the later Ordinance of 1787, have understood and felt the appropriateness of today.

Clark had declared at Kaskaskia that all religions would be tolerated in America. Eight years later the Ordinance of 1787, which established the territory northwest of the Ohio River, provided that "no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or for religious sentiments in the said territory."

And the Ordinance went on to declare that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." It seems to me that one hundred and forty-nine years later the people of the United States in every part thereof, could reiterate and continue to strive for the principle that religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind.

Today religion is still free within our borders: it must ever remain so.

Today morality means the same thing as it meant in the days of George Rogers Clark, though we must needs apply it to many more situations which George Rogers Clark never dreamt of.

In his day among the pioneers there were jumpers of land claims, those who sought to swindle their neighbors, though they were poor in this world's goods and lived in sparsely settled communities. Today among our teeming millions there are still those who by dishonorable means seek to obtain the possessions of their unwary neighbors. Our modern civilization must constantly protect itself against moral defectives whose objectives are the same but whose methods are more subtle than their prototypes of a century and a half ago. We do not change our form of free government when we arm ourselves with new weapons against new devices of crime and cupidity.

Today, as in 1787, we have knowledge; but it is a vastly wider knowledge.

During the past week I have travelled through many states; and as I have looked out in the daylight hours upon the countryside of Tennessee and Alabama and Arkansas and Texas and

Oklahoma, I have tried to visualize what that country-side looked like a short century and a half ago. All of it was primeval forest or untilled prairie, inhabited by an exceedingly small population of nomadic Indian tribes, untouched by white man's civilization."

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