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Suggested Citation:

Wilson, Samuel M. "Washington's Relations to Tennessee and Kentucky." *The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications* 5 (1933): 3-21.

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1933, BY THE

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WASHINGTON'S RELATIONS TO TENNESSEE AND KENTUCKY*

BY SAMUEL M. WILSON

This year of grace, which marks the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, and upon which we have just entered, will be signalized by magnificent, multitudinous, and diversified celebrations throughout the United States and the world, designed to commemorate the natal day of the greatest of Americans and to revive our knowledge and appreciation of his character, his service to mankind, and his worth as a man.

After the somewhat artificial and formal fashion of the period in which George Washington fulfilled his destiny, the portraits drawn of him in his later life and those which appeared in profusion in the years following his death, were characterized by an austerity of excessive veneration in the mind of the artist, and the true personality of "The Father of His Country" was concealed, if not distorted, by an air of remoteness.

No American was ever more perfectly endowed with native nobleness and dignity, but modesty bordering upon diffidence and a total absence of affectation were also prominent traits of his character, and nothing could have been more foreign to his wish than that, to his contemporary or future fellow-countrymen, he should be represented as a detached, unapproachable, and bloodless mortal, possessing and exhibiting the attributes of divinity. Washington in the role or posture of a demi-god is not only unnatural and unbecoming to the man, but it is precisely the posture and the role in which he, above all others, would have refused to exhibit himself. Artists and biographers of an earlier age have too often done Washington an injustice and his fellow-men a disservice; but happily, more recent views and estimates have tended to correct the false impressions created by the extravagant worship or sycophantic adulation of these over-zealous devotees.

*This address was delivered at the annual banquet of the Society at the Andrew Johnson Hotel in Knoxville, January 8, 1932.

It is not the purpose of this paper to provide or to attempt to provide a new or full-length portrait of Washington which shall be true to life and which might serve to place the man in a faultless perspective; but an exposition of a single aspect of his many-sided nature and of his variform activities in the early West, which illustrate that single aspect, may not be useless in helping us to form a just and more reasonable and more satisfying notion of what this greatest of Americans was like. Hence this paper is offered as a slight contribution toward a more comprehensive and adequate treatment of the subject.

Let me begin by reminding you of the familiar bonds by which the sister states of Kentucky and Tennessee are linked to the life of Washington. During his first term as President, and on the 4th day of February, 1791, Washington signed the act of Congress by which Kentucky was granted admission to co-equal fellowship in the Federal Union. This act became effective on June 1, 1792. In his second term as President, on June 1, 1796, Washington signed the act of Congress admitting Tennessee into the Union upon an equal footing with the original States.

These were not the earliest official dealings of our first President with either of the twin states, for, in the case of Kentucky, Washington had, on the 29th of September, 1789, signed and issued on Honorable Harry Innes a commission constituting him the Judge of the United States Court for the District of Kentucky, and, in the case of Tennessee, on August 7, 1790, Honorable William Blount, one of the "Signers" of the Federal Constitution, who, as a delegate from North Carolina, had served and associated with Washington in the famous Convention of 1787, received his commission, duly signed by the President, as Governor of the "Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio". North Carolina, as you know, did not ratify and adopt the Constitution until December 22, 1789, several months after the new government had gone into operation. In the first year of the new national government, North Carolina passed an "Act for the purpose of ceding to the United States of America certain western lands therein described", and, in conformity with one of the provisions of this act, a deed to the United States, in the words of the cession act, was executed on February 25, 1790. On the 2nd of April, of the same year, the deed of cession was accepted by Congress in an act, which Washington, as President, signed, and a supplementary act of May 26, 1790, he also signed, and an ordinance for the government of the ceded territory was passed on August 7, 1790,

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which he likewise signed. Doubtless other transactions of an official character were negotiated between Tennessee, both as territory and as state, and the first President of the United States, as there were other official transactions between him and Kentucky, both as dis- trict and as state, but the instances here mentioned will suffice to show how early and immediate were the contacts of Washington with both Tennessee and Kentucky during his tenure of the office of Chief Magistrate of the Republic. If he was not, in strictness, the father of these first-born political sovereignties of the early West, at least he presided as accoucheur at their births and god- father at their christening. Quite fittingly, therefore, the first cele- bration of Washington's birthday in Tennessee appears to have been held in Knoxville on February 22, 1793, on which occasion, we are told, the only toast drunk was: "Health and long life to the President!"

It is, of course, quite well known that the eyes of Washington, as a youth, were turned intently toward the west. Some years be- fore he attained his majority, he entered the service of his great and good friend, Lord Thomas Fairfax, as a surveyor and, in the course of that service, explored, surveyed, and mapped considerable tracts of wild land on the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge and across that range westward as far as the foot-hills of the Alle- ghenies. As successor to his brothers, Lawrence Washington and Augustine Washington, he became a co-partner in the famous Ohio Company of Virginia, which was originally projected in 1748, and, about 1763, he joined in forming another land company, the Missis- sippi Company of Associates. On behalf of himself and others of his comrades of the French and Indian War, he sought to make good the bounty warrants for military service, which had been pledged in 1754 by Governor Dinwiddie to the volunteers in the Virginia regiments as an inducement to enlistment, and which were confirmed by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763. Wash- ington had not yet reached his twenty-second birthday, when, in 1753, he was despatched by the royal governor of Virginia to carry important messages to the French commandant at Fort Le Boeuf, on the upper waters of the Allegheny River, near the present Water- ford, Pennsylvania. Captain Christopher Gist, who accompanied him as pilot on this dangerous mission (with Jacob Van Braam, an old Dutch friend of the Washingtons, as interpreter), had previously visited the Ohio Country as agent and scout for the Ohio Company of Virginia, and no doubt from Gist, Washington obtained his first authentic and dependable account of the region bordering the Ohio

River. His report of this mission was published in 1754, both in this country and in England. From boyhood to old age, Washington was constantly lured by the West and his interest was intelligent, sympathetic, and lasting.

Turning for a moment from consideration of the evidences of Washington's own liking for the West and his repeated projects and journeys in that direction, let us note how Tennessee and Kentucky responded to these overtures and the inveterate fondness for the "Western Waters" which they betokened.

First among all the states, Virginia, it is believed, first honored the name of Washington by applying it to that huge country which originally embraced the major portion of Southwest Virginia and lay adjacent to what was shortly afterwards known as Washington county, North Carolina, since divided into numerous counties of lesser size, within the jurisdiction of Tennessee. Washington county, Virginia, was created December 6, 1776, out of Fincastle county, at the same time that Montgomery and Kentucky counties were formed from the same imperial domain. It was the merest accident that the county which then acquired the name of Kentucky did not receive instead the name of Washington, and, if that had occurred, there can be little doubt that it would have been retained as the permanent designation of the entire region embraced within the limits of the parent county, and the state of Kentucky would to-day be the state of Washington, and the state by that name on the Pacific coast would have borne a different name. The state of Washington, I may here remark, owes its name to a Kentuckian. Before becoming a state of the Union, in 1889, it was organized as a territory by an act of Congress passed March 2, 1853. At that time one of the Representatives in Congress from Kentucky was Honorable Richard H. Stanton. While the act was under consideration and before its passage, it was proposed therein to call the new territory "Columbia", but, upon motion of Judge Stanton, the name Columbia was stricken out and that of Washington substituted.

Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina were not far behind Old Virginia in creating new counties on their westernmost frontiers by the name of Washington.* Having lost the name in

* My friend, Judge Samuel C. Williams, the eminent jurist and historian of Johnson City, Tennessee, has pointed out that, in 1776 and previous to the creation of a Washington county by Virginia or any of the other American commonwealths, the Watauga Association, of East Tennessee, had petitioned the government of North Carolina for recognition as a constituent political appendage of the Old North State and a legal subdivision thereof under the name of "Washington District". This, it seems, was the first time the name of Washington was ever proposed as a designation for any civil or political establishment.

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1776, almost by chance, Kentucky did not begin to boast a Washing-
ton county in her midst until the year 1792, but Washington coun-
ty, created in that year out of Nelson county, was the very first
of the new counties formed by Kentucky after it became a state.
Seven years previously, however, the picturesque and historic little
town of Washington was laid out in what was then a part of Bour-
bon (now Mason) county, Ky., and in the following year (1788)
it was regularly constituted as a town by the General Assembly of
Virginia.

Washington county, formed from parts of Wilkes and Burke
counties, was established by North Carolina in November, 1777. Like
its contemporary counties in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania,
the mighty and majestic county of Washington, North Carolina, of
almost illimitable extent when originally created, has been dwarfed
by repeated dismemberment, until it now retains but a fraction of
its primitive lordly dimensions and political sway. But with
Jonesboro (originally Washington Court-House) left to it as its
ancient county seat and hallowed as that town and vicinity are by
indissoluble association with the deeds and memory of Tennessee's
beloved hero, the renowned John Sevier, Washington county, Ten-
nessee, preserves a pre-eminence and prestige which are immortal.
In 1784, the District of Morgan was divided and the counties of
Washington, Sullivan, Davidson, and Greene were constituted the
"District of Washington", with appropriate judicial tribunals and
functionaries.

The formation and activities of the enterprising Transylvania
Company, which, in March, 1775, consummated at Fort Watauga a
colossal bargain or treaty with the Cherokee, injected a new and
formidable factor into the beginnings of both Tennessee and Ken-
tucky, and, therefore when the pioneer founders and foster-fathers
of Kentucky set about establishing a school of learning in the back-
woods of Virginia, they not unnaturally adopted the name of
"Transylvania" for this infant school, not in 1780, when the institu-
tion was first launched, but three years later, in 1783, when it was
reorganized and renewed efforts were put forth to set it in mo-
tion. The pioneers of education in East Tennessee were apparent-
ly more forward in their devotion to the name of Washington, how-
ever, for their first institution of collegiate grade, which owes its
paternity to that capable and consecrated servant of God and man,
Rev. Samuel Doak, was gratefully called "Washington College"
at the date of its incorporation, on July 8, 1795, by the government
of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio. The

long-standing controversy over the question as to whether "Father" Doak's "Washington College" or Kentucky's "Transylvania Seminary" was the very first institution of higher learning west of the Allegheny Mountains, possibly admits of contradictory solutions, depending not so much upon divergent viewpoints as upon the varying tests or criteria which may be applied to the problem. Some one has lately said, quite sapiently, that "the more esoteric geometries are logical artifices", and so it may be that our answers to the much-debated question of priority hinge, in the final analysis, upon the "logical artifices" we employ in support of the preferred hypothesis.

If the digression may be permitted, the case, nevertheless, when fairly analyzed, it seems to me, may be stated thus: A seminary or school of elementary instruction in Kentucky was definitely provided for by the Virginia Assembly in May, 1780. This Act recited:

"It being the interest of this Commonwealth always to promote and encourage every design which may tend to the improvement of the mind and the diffusion of useful knowledge even among its most remote citizens whose situation a barbarous neighbourhood and a savage intercourse might otherwise render unfriendly to science", there is appropriated 8,000 acres of escheated lands, within the County of Kentucky, "as a free donation from this Commonwealth for the purpose of a publick school or seminary of learning; to be erected within the said county as soon as the circumstances of the county and the state of its funds will admit."

At about the same time, it is said, Samuel Doak opened a private school of his own in the Holston settlement, at or near the confluence of the Watauga with the Holston. A private school was opened at Lexington, Kentucky, at about the same time, by John McKinney, popularly known as "Wildcat" McKinney, and instruction had been given by Joseph Doniphan at Boonesborough and Ann Poage McGinty at Harrodsburg even before this. John Filson taught in Lexington in 1782, and, in the same year, Isaac Wilson, of Philadelphia College, established the Lexington Grammar School. The "Seminary" for Kentucky, projected by Virginia in 1780, did not get under way immediately, and in May, 1783, a new act of incorporation was passed, by which the name "Transylvania Seminary" was, for the first time, affixed to the embryonic nursery of science and literature. The work of the seminary was not actually organized until November 4, 1784, when pupils were

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question as to whether "Father" Kentucky's "Transylvania Seminary" of higher learning west of the mountains of contradictory solutions, different viewpoints as upon the various solutions applied to the problem. Some have said that "the more esoteric geometry" may be that our answers to the problem hinge, in the final analysis, upon the support of the preferred

case, nevertheless, when it is stated thus: A seminary or academy was definitely provided in 1780. This Act recited: "The Commonwealth always to encourage which may tend to the diffusion of useful knowledge among the citizens whose situation and savage intercourse might be a hindrance", there is appropriate, within the County of Washington from this Commonwealth a school or seminary of learning in each county as soon as the state of its funds will

Samuel Doak opened a private school on settlement, at or near the Holston. A private school was established at about the same time, by "Wildcat" McKinney, and in 1780 Doniphan at Boonesborough even before this. John Doniphan, in the same year, Isaac Doniphan, projected by Virginia immediately, and in May, 1783, by which the name "Transylvania" was affixed to the embryonic work of the seminary was in 1784, when pupils were

received and grammar school instruction was regularly provided "near the dwelling" of "Father" David Rice, in Lincoln county, not far from the present city of Danville. Thence forward, with only occasional and temporary intermissions, the work of Transylvania had gone on until this day. It remained a "Seminary" from 1780 until 1798, when it was consolidated with "Kentucky Academy" and transformed into "Transylvania University". "Commencements" were held and students were graduated, but no collegiate degrees appear to have been conferred by Transylvania prior to 1799.

Rev. Samuel Doak's private school of 1780 or thereabouts was incorporated by the legislature of North Carolina in April, 1783, as Martin Academy. Two years later, i. e. in 1785, a second charter, we are told, was obtained from the legislature of the ephemeral state of Franklin. Then, after the lapse of a decade, Martin Academy became Washington College, whose proud boast it is that it was "the first school in Tennessee and the first literary institution in the Mississippi Valley". Now, a possible though somewhat tenuous distinction in favor of Transylvania may be this: that it was the first institution of higher learning west of the Alleghenies, for, although Washington College was west of a portion of the Alleghenies, it was hardly westward of the outermost ridges of that broad range of mountains. Then, too, Transylvania was some two hundred miles nearer the majestic Father of Waters, the great waterway of the mid-continent, than Washington College. Neither Washington College nor Transylvania Seminary antedated English grammar schools in Western Pennsylvania and French schools at Detroit and Saint Louis, beyond the Mississippi; and Spanish schools at New Orleans, in the Mississippi Delta, certainly flourished some years before the English schools of "Father" Doak on the Holston, of Ann Poage McGinty at Harrodsburg, of Joseph Doniphan at Boonesborough, of John McKinney, at Lexington, and of "Father" Rice, at Crow's Station or Danville, came into existence.

More vital distinction between the Transylvania Seminary foundation of May, 1783, and the Martin Academy foundation of April, 1783, are to be found in three significant facts, viz., Martin Academy was, in effect, declared a private school, whereas Transylvania Seminary was denominated a public school; no endowment was provided for Martin Academy, whereas Transylvania Seminary was substantially endowed in 1780 and this endowment was increased in 1783; Martin Academy, like its prototype, Liberty Hall Academy, in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, was given no power to

confer degrees, whereas the collegiate status of Transylvania Seminary was explicitly set forth in the amendatory act of May, 1783. This last point may be better brought out by comparing the grant of powers in the respective charters. Thus, in the act creating Martin Academy, it is provided that its president and trustees "shall have, hold, exercise and enjoy all the powers, authorities and privileges which the president and trustees of Liberty Hall, in the county of Mecklenburg, possess and are invested with by virtue of said Act for their incorporation, passed the 9th day of May, 1777". Turning to this last-mentioned act, we find it provides that the president and trustees, or a majority of them, shall be authorized "to give Certificates to such students as shall leave the said Academy, certifying their literary Merit, and the Progress they shall have made in useful knowledge, whether it be in learned Languages, Arts or Sciences, or all of them". The language of the Transylvania Seminary charter of May, 1783, on the other hand, is much more pretentious, and unmistakably defines the "Seminary" as an institution of higher learning and of collegiate grade. Section X of the Act reads as follows:

And be it further enacted, That the said trustees shall, once at their stated session in every year, and again on any convenient time, either on or before their second stated session in the same year, in the presence of as many gentlemen of liberal education as may choose to attend, cause all the students in the said seminary to be carefully examined by the professors and masters of the same, on the several branches of learning which they have respectively studied, that the fidelity of the teachers, and the diligence of their pupils may appear; and at the second stated session aforesaid, the president in open assembly shall, as has been accustomed in like cases, confer by diploma, signed by the president and any five or more of the trustees, the degrees of Bachelor or Master of Arts, upon all such students, if such there be as the said trustees, with the concurrence of a majority of the professors shall adjudge to have merited the honors of the seminary, by their virtue and erudition; and at the same time confer any honorary degrees which, with the like advice, shall be adjudged to other gentlemen on account of special merit.

The "Act for the Union of the Transylvania Seminary and Kentucky Academy", of December 22, 1798, by which Transylvania University came into being, does not in any way alter or enlarge

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collegiate status of Transylvania Seminary, the amendatory act of May, 1783, brought out by comparing the grant charters. Thus, in the act creating that its president and trustees enjoy all the powers, authorities and trustees of Liberty Hall, in which and are invested with by virtue of the act, passed the 9th day of May, 1783, in the act, we find it provides that a majority of them, shall be authorized to admit students as shall leave the said Academy, and the Progress they shall have made in learned Languages, Arts and Sciences. The language of the Transylvania Seminary, on the other hand, is much more definite in the "Seminary" as an institution of the collegiate grade. Section X of the Act

That the said trustees shall, in every year, and again on or before their second stated session, in the presence of as many gentlemen as may choose to attend, cause all diplomas to be carefully examined and of the same, on the several sessions they have respectively studied, and the diligence of their students, and the second stated session aforesaid, shall, as has been accustomed, by diploma, signed by the president and trustees, the degrees be conferred, upon all such students, if they shall, with the concurrence of the trustees, shall adjudge to have merited the same by their virtue and erudition; and any honorary degrees which, shall be adjudged to other gentlemen

Transylvania Seminary and Kentucky, 1798, by which Transylvania Seminary is not in any way alter or enlarge

the collegiate powers theretofore vested in Transylvania Seminary, but simply recognizes, retains, and perpetuates those powers. It is said the first college exhibition in the western country was held on the 17th October, 1796, at Washington College, and that degrees were conferred, in that same year, upon two graduates of this institution. As yet, no evidence has been found by the writer that Transylvania Seminary ever conferred any academic degree by diploma regularly granted prior to 1799. Potentially, therefore, Transylvania preceded Washington College, but in practice the Tennessee institution holds the lead.

For myself, however, the question of primacy in point of time possesses but slight interest. I am far more interested in the kindred forces which, operating at practically the same period and under like conditions in the life of the several frontiers, produced contemporaneously, if not simultaneously, substantially the same results. There is glory enough for all concerned, and I may be permitted to say that the friends and admirers of Old Transylvania rejoice in the glow of the golden morning and the splendor of the brilliant noon-tide which have shone upon the pathway of Washington College from its genesis to its full-orbed maturity. Not in a spirit of unseemly rivalry or ill-natured contention, but in the spirit of true magnanimity, we wish to see these two noble institutions maintain their splendid traditions and expand their usefulness, while exchanging mutual felicitations and forever cherishing mutual good will. Amity and reciprocal concessions may not positively settle ancient controversies or banish rivalry, but they will moderate debate, compose differences and lead to united and harmonious and beneficent service in the cause of education and universal enlightenment.

The limits of the hour will not permit extended reference to Washington's intimate connection with Indian affairs as related to Tennessee, and more especially to the Cherokee and Chickasaw of Tennessee. Nor is it necessary, for the purposes of this address, to enumerate the occasions on which the advice or intervention of Washington was sought by those arch-patriots among the pioneers of the "Western Waters", who looked with disfavor on the intrigues which went on both in Tennessee and Kentucky in the interest of Spain or France or, finally, of Great Britain. The story of the so-called "Spanish Conspiracy", as it affected Kentucky and Tennessee, has been rehearsed at full length by various writers, and the "French Enterprise", engineered by Citizen Genet, has likewise received due attention at the hands of historians both of Tennessee and Kentucky. With respect to the Genet episode, Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, the gifted

chronicler and interpreter of Tennessee's earliest annals, has displayed his insight and candor by remarking that "the intrigue of M. Genet was successful in unveiling, rather than in producing, a spirit of serious disaffection on the part of the people of the West with the Federal Administration". Washington was not only keenly interested in all that went on in relation to these abortive movements of a restless and unruly element, but through his personal and official contacts with friends in Kentucky and Tennessee, he kept himself constantly advised concerning them, and yet he preserved his wonted balance and clear-headed sense of proportion, and frankly sympathized with, even where he could not approve, the grievances and complaints of the restive borderers. Of the soldiers who had served with Washington, on the Braddock campaign or under him in the Continental Army, many veterans, both officers and privates, settled in Kentucky and Tennessee after the close of the Revolution.

The intervention of the General Government to allay the hostility and arrest the periodical incursions of the Indian tribes north of the Ohio into the Kentucky and Tennessee country, the organization of boards of war and the embodying of troops for the protection of the two states, the efforts to pacify the Southern tribes and the negotiation of treaties with the Choctaw, Creeks, Chickasaw, and Cherokee, which went on with slight interruption between 1789 and 1795, all took place during the administration of Washington as President, and these and other relevant activities, both civil and military, excited the personal solicitude and received the constant watchcare of this faithful guardian of American rights and liberties. The successive expeditions of Generals Harmer, Scott, Wilkinson, St. Clair, and Wayne, all originated directly or indirectly with the War Department of the United States, and Washington, as Commander-in-Chief, was responsible for the orders that brought these campaigns of retaliation and conquest into being. The winning of the Battle of the Fallen Timber, (otherwise known as the Battle of the Rapids of the Maumee or Miami of the Lakes,) by "Mad" Anthony Wayne, on August 20, 1794, virtually ended the perennial Indian menace and the Treaty of Fort Greenville, consummated on August 3, 1795, released the harassed settlers of Tennessee and Kentucky from further serious molestation by the red-skinned savages of the Northwest.

After his retirement from the Presidency and when once again he was free to enjoy the repose of Mount Vernon and to turn his thoughts unreservedly to his own private affairs, we find Washing-

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ton renewing his connection with the western country. Even be-
 fore he had left the Presidency, traces of his reviving interest are
 discoverable. Thus, under date of January 17, 1795, Washington
 wrote from Philadelphia to one Charles Morgan, then a resident
 of Washington County, Pennsylvania, as follows:

Your letter of the 26th of November came safe (but
 not expeditiously) to hand.

I hope Colo. Cannon has, long ere this, surrendered to
 you, *all* the papers respecting my business, which are in
 his possession; together with a full and complete state-
 ment of what is due to me either from the tenants, or
 from himself, up to the period of your taking the manage-
 ment of it yourself, and that you will be able without fur-
 ther procrastination or difficulty, to collect the amount of
 what may be found due to me from both.

As I am more inclined to sell than to rent the lands I
 hold on the Western waters, and giving leases, although
 for a short term, may be a hindrance to the former. I
 would have you rent from year to year *only*.—I have no
 doubt of obtaining what I ask for the tract in Washington
 Cty. (County), (giving credit)—viz—four dollars an acre;
 the number of full-handed emigrants that are pouring into
 this country from all quarters owing to the disturbed
 state of Europe—and the quantity of money brought
 by them, and sent over by others, to be vested in lands
 have given an astonishing start to the price of this article.
 If therefore I do not sell soon on the terms I have just
 mentioned I shall raise my price.

If I do not sell my lands on the Ohio & Great Kan-
 hawa in a lump—or at least by whole tracts, they will
 not be sold *at all*, *by me*.—These will fetch me fifty pr.
 Ct. more at this time than I could have sold them for
 two years ago.

Charles Morgan, to whom the above letter was written, was prob-
 ably a son or near relative of General Daniel Morgan, under whom
 he served as a soldier during the Revolution. He also served un-
 der General George Rogers Clark on the Illinois and Wabash
 campaigns. With his brother, John Morgan, who seems to have
 been killed by the Indians prior to the year 1780, Charles Morgan
 came to Kentucky with Captain Hancock Lee, the surveyor for
 the Ohio Company of Virginia, in May-June, 1775. As heir-at-law

of his brother John, Charles Morgan applied for and was granted, on January 28, 1780, by the Virginia Land Commissioners, a certificate for a pre-emption of 1,000 acres of land in the District of Kentucky "on account of marking & improving the same in the year, 1776, lying on the most easterly branch of Stoner's Fork of Licking Creek (River), near the head thereof, including a Spring known by the name of John Morgan's Spring & a Cabin". Charles Morgan came to Kentucky, after the close of the Revolution, it seems, and settled in Clark county, purchasing a large body of land on the Kentucky River, at the mouth of Howard's Lower Creek. His experience qualified him for the duties of a land agent, and doubtless he was recommended to Washington for this appointment by General Morgan. Charles Morgan was one of the party who accompanied Washington from Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) on his voyage down the Ohio, in October, 1770. Under date of October 20, 1770, Washington notes that "We embarked in a large Canoe with sufficient store of provisions and necessaries and the following persons (besides Dr. Craik and myself) to-wit: Captain (William) Crawford, Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, *Charles Morgan*, Daniel Reardon, a boy of Captain Crawford's, and the Indians who were in a canoe by themselves". Writing to Presley Neville, of Pittsburgh, from Philadelphia, on June 16, 1794, relative to his lands in Pennsylvania, particularly those on Miller's Run of Chartier Creek, Washington said:

Inclosed is a blank power, authorizing Mr. Charles Morgan, or any other with whose name you shall fill it, to collect the rents arising from my land in Fayette and Washington counties in this State, together with such arrearages as may be due for the preceeding years, if any there be. Another blank is also left, which I pray you to fill up with the percentage to be allowed as a compensation for the trouble and expense of collection. The inducements to this are, first, because I do not recollect what Colonel Cannon (i. e. Col. John Cannon, the founder of Cannonsburg, Pa.,) has been allowed for his services; and, secondly, because there is no invariable allowance established, places and circumstances varying it.

In this letter to Presley Neville, Washington gives vent to a sense of disillusionment with respect to his land ventures in the West, saying: "From the experience of many years, I have found distant property in land more pregnant of perplexities than profit". It became necessary later to resort to litigation to oust stubborn

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gman applied for and was granted, Virginia Land Commissioners, a certain number of acres of land in the District of Kentucky, improving the same in the year, 1796, a branch of Stoner's Fork of Lick Creek, head thereof, including a Spring, Morgan's Spring & a Cabin". Charles Morgan, near the close of the Revolution, it seems, was purchasing a large body of land on the banks of Howard's Lower Creek. His duties of a land agent, and doubtless his recommendation for this appointment by the Virginia Land Commission, Morgan was one of the party who accompanied Lord Pitt (Pittsburgh) on his voyage to the West Indies in 1770. Under date of October 17, 1770, he writes: "We embarked in a large Canoe with our arms and necessaries and the following persons: myself, Captain (William) Harrison, William Bell, William Harrison, Charles Harrison, and the crew of Captain Crawford's, and the crew of the ship themselves". Writing to Presley in Philadelphia, on June 16, 1794, relative to the land on Miller's Run of

authorizing Mr. Charles Morgan to purchase the name you shall fill it, to the land in Fayette and Washington, together with such arrears of the preceding years, if any there be left, which I pray you to fill up, as allowed as a compensation for the collection. The inducement I do not recollect what it was, but Cannon, the founder of the settlement, allowed for his services; and, as a variable allowance established, varying it.

Washington gives vent to a full expression to his land ventures in the course of many years, I have found more of perplexities than profit". From litigation to oust stubborn

squatters from these Miller's Run lands. Washington made a visit in person to these lands in September, 1784. On June 1, 1796, he sold the entire tract, containing by survey 2, 813 acres, to his local agent, Matthew Richie. At that time it appears it was already subdivided into thirteen farms.

Although, in his letter to Morgan, of January 17, 1795, Washington manifested no disposition to acquire any more lands in the Ohio Valley, we know from indisputable records that this is precisely what he did in the closing years of his life. The land-hunger, with which Americans everywhere were possessed, remained a ruling passion with Washington even unto death. In fact, but a little more than a year before his death, Washington concluded a purchase from General Henry ("Light-Horse Harry") Lee, of "Stratford", Westmoreland county, Virginia, by a deed bearing date November 5, 1798, of two tracts of land in Kentucky, one of 3,000 acres and the other of 2,000 acres. The original contract for these lands was made on December 9, 1788, some ten years before the final consummation of the trade. These lands were valued by General Lee at 500 pounds or 600 pounds, and Washington gave in exchange for them a valuable thoroughbred stallion, called "Magnolia", which General Lee immediately shipped to South Carolina. The lands were located on Rough Creek, a tributary of Green River, and were thought to be valuable for the iron ore which they contained, but the deposits subsequently proved to be disappointing.

Filson's "Map of Kentucke" of 1784, which had been dedicated by the cartographer to "His Excellency George Washington, late Commander in Chief" of the Continental Army, and with which Washington was no doubt quite familiar, bore witness to the presence of an "Abundance of Iron Ore" in the locality drained by the waters of Rough Creek. But with his usual prudence, Washington was not disposed to proceed headlong with his bargain, and in 1797, through a personal examination of the lands by General Alexander Spotswood, he sought to acquire explicit information as to their situation and value. From Spotswood's report, Washington seems to have been impressed with "the general good quality of the land" and the fact, (as he himself records it,) that "there is a valuable Bank of Iron Ore thereon", and the schedule attached to his will, in which these comments occur, also mentions the important fact that Rough Creek, "a branch of Green River affords ample water for Furnaces and forges". As a matter of fact, from a very early day, iron has been more or less successfully mined and smelted in

that section of Kentucky which embraces the Washington lands in Grayson county, but there is no evidence as yet discovered to show that any ore, of merchantable quantity or quality, was ever extracted from the deposits of the mineral on these particular lands. They are now and have always been used mainly, if not exclusively, for agricultural purposes, and no town of any size or consequence has ever been built within their boundaries. Washington still owned them at his death, and they passed under provisions of his last will.

In the month of June, 1795, while the Federal Government was still located in Philadelphia, Rev. James Blythe, as agent for the "Kentucky Academy", solicited and obtained a donation for the infant institution of \$100.00 in cash from President Washington, as did from Vice-President John Adams and several other dignitaries of the national government, and a number of prominent private citizens. The original parchment subscription list, bearing the faded and now undecipherable autograph of President Washington, is still preserved among the archives of Transylvania University at Lexington. It is recorded that the President received Dr. Blythe with great courtesy and expressed his warm interest in the cause of popular education. By Doctor Blythe's report, he collected as the result of his canvass for funds in the East, in the summer of 1795, a total of \$2,000 in cash and about an equal amount in value of books.

As is well known, General Washington refused to accept any pecuniary or other emoluments for his services in the War of the Revolution, and, while many other officers and privates were granted bounty lands for such services, Washington resolutely abstained from profiting by any such gratuity. To his nephew, Lieutenant George Washington, however, a warrant, No. 135, was issued by the Commonwealth of Virginia, on February 20, 1783, for 2,666 & 2-3 acres, "in consideration of his services for three years as a Lieutenant in the Virginia Line". The full name of this young soldier was George Augustine Washington. He managed the Mount Vernon estate for Washington during the latter's second term as President. His record may be found in Saffell's *Records of the Revolutionary War*, in Eckenrode's *List of Revolutionary Soldiers of Virginia*, and in Heitman's *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army, During the War of the Revolution*. He died in February, 1793, and, in the division of General Washington's lands on the Great Kanawha River, the heirs of Lieutenant George A. Washington, who are expressly mentioned in Washing-

embraces the Washington lands in evidence as yet discovered to show quantity or quality, was ever extracted on these particular lands. They were used mainly, if not exclusively, for lands of any size or consequence has been made. Washington still owned lands under provisions of his last

While the Federal Government was in the hands of James Blythe, as agent for the land, he obtained a donation for the land from President Washington. The claims and several other dignitaries of the number of prominent private citizens, bearing the faded signature of President Washington, is still in the possession of Pennsylvania University at Lexington. President received Dr. Blythe with interest in the cause of population. In the summer of 1795, a report, he collected as the result of an equal amount in value of

Washington refused to accept any of his services in the War of the Revolution. To his nephew, Lieutenant, a warrant, No. 135, was issued in Virginia, on February 20, 1783, for his services for three years. The full name of this man was George Washington. He managed the division of General Washington during the latter's second term. He was found in Saffell's *Records of the War of the Revolution*. The division of General Washington, the heirs of Lieutenant Washington, were mentioned in Washing-

ton's will, were allotted lot No. 12, containing 1,180 acres. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that when the patent for Washington's lands on the Great Kanawha, embracing 10,999 acres, was issued to him, on December 15, 1772, they lay in what was then Fincastle county, Virginia, (created out of Botetourt in February, 1772, to commence December 1, 1772,) which wide-spreading county, at the time, also included all of Kentucky. Other members of the Washington family also became interested at an early day in Kentucky lands.

In the Public Library, at Lexington, Kentucky, hangs a large oil painting, representing the Washington family group at Mount Vernon. This beautiful canvas is by the artist, Henry Inman, who copied it from the original well-known painting by Edward Savage. The Savage painting, now belonging to Mr. Thomas B. Clarke, was exhibited, in 1929, in the collection of famous portraits gathered by the Virginia Historical Society at "Virginia House", the home of Mr. Alexander W. Weddell, in Richmond, Virginia. The reproduction by Inman is owned by Mr. George B. Clay, of Lexington, Kentucky, who is a grandson of the Honorable Henry Clay, and it has an interesting history. This is revealed in a letter, written by the donor, Mr. James C. Johnston, a North Carolinian, to Henry Clay in 1844, and which reads as follows:

Edenton, N. Ca., 24 July, 1844,

My dear Sir:

I have employed Mr. Inman, an American artist of New York, to make a painting of the Washington Family, which I have not seen, but am informed is finished in a handsome style. It accompanies this letter.

May I beg the favor of you to present it with my best respects to Mrs. Clay as a mark of the high esteem I have for her character, particularly as the Patroness of Domestic Industry, while you are its great Patron.

I present this painting to her because I think there is a great similarity in her character to that of Mrs. Washington, who remained at Mount Vernon and attended to General Washington's domestic affairs while he was fighting to establish the Independence of our Country. So Mrs. Clay has devoted herself to your concerns at 'Ashland' while you have been fighting with the greatest mental energy to *preserve that independence*. But for Washington we might still have been colonies of Great Britain,

and but for you we should certainly have been her tributaries—and while, Sir, I esteem you more worthy to fill the seat of that great man as President than any successor he has had, so I know no one more worthy the place of Mrs. Washington than Mrs. Clay.

If she shall think the Painting worthy a place at 'Ashland', I shall be truly gratified and highly honored by its acceptance.

Here it may not be amiss to remind you that Lucretia Hart Clay, the wife of Henry Clay, was a daughter of Colonel Thomas Hart and his wife, Susanna Gray, daughter of Colonel John Gray, of North Carolina. Barbara Gray, the mother of Governor William Blount, was of the same family, and Governor Blount and Mrs. Clay were in consequence near cousins. In honor of Governor Blount, then governor of the Territory of the United States South of the River of Ohio, which later became the state of Tennessee, Blount College, chartered by the territorial legislature on September 10, 1794, was so named. It was, as you well know, the forerunner of the present University of Tennessee. Greeneville and Blount colleges, both chartered in 1794, antedated Washington College as colleges, but not as literary institutions. The "Kentucky Academy", by the way, which in 1798 was merged with "Transylvania Seminary", was chartered on December 12, 1794. The Blount Papers will, doubtless, furnish many proofs of the intimate official relations and frequent correspondence between President Washington and Governor Blount during the period when Tennessee occupied a territorial status. Many such indirect contacts are revealed in the manuscripts of Colonel David Henley, in the Calvin Morgan McClung Collection of the Lawson McGhee Library, here in Knoxville.

I can cite but two examples to illustrate what I mean by "indirect contacts". At my request, the secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society has kindly brought to this meeting a contemporary printed copy of the Holston Treaty of July 2, 1791, concluded by Governor William Blount with the Cherokee Nation of Indians, together with Washington's proclamation of November 11, 1791, announcing the ratification of the treaty. Writing to General Henry Knox, Secretary of War, on August 5, 1792, Washington, with that rare wisdom he always displayed, said:

I wish Governor Blount may have been able to terminate the conference which he was to have had at Nashville about the 25th of last month with the Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws, to the mutual advantage and satisfac-

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tion of all the parties concerned; but the difficulty of de-
ciding between lawless settlers and greedy land speculators
on one side, and the jealousy of the Indian nations and their
banditti on the other, becomes more and more obvious ev-
ery day; and these, from the interference of the Spaniards,
if the reports we have be true, and other causes, which are
too evident to require specification, add not a little to our
embarrassments.

A tribute to Washington, even more personal and impressive than
the naming of Washington College in his honor, was paid him by
Tennessee's redoubtable "Nolichucky Jack". In token of his admira-
tion for the great soldier who was "first in war" as he was "first
in peace", General John Sevier, to demonstrate that he was, more
than all else, "first in the hearts of his countrymen", named his
first son by his second marriage to "Bonny Kate" Sherrill, George
Washington Sevier. This son, born on February 1, 1782, before
the last guns of the Revolutionary conflict had ceased reverberat-
ing, called his first-born child and eldest son, George Washington
Sevier. And, not to be outdone in loyalty to "Harry of the West"
by the distinguished North Carolinian who had compared Clay to
Washington, George Washington Sevier, the elder, named his
eleventh child and youngest son, Henry Clay Sevier, in honor of
Kentucky's favorite son.

From first to last, Washington was the land surveyor, *par excel-*
lence. An illustration of this will be found in a letter he wrote to
James Overton, in September, 1796, with respect to his appoint-
ment as surveyor general of the Northwest Territory. James Over-
ton was a member of that family of Overtons, which has been not-
ably prominent in both Tennessee and Kentucky from the earliest
times. This letter, the original or duplicate of which is now owned
by a resident of Lexington, Kentucky, reads as follows:

Philadelphia 12th Sept., 1796.

Dear Sir:

By a recurrence to the Acts of the last Session of Con-
gress, you will find one for disposing of the ungranted
lands No. Wt. of the Ohio;—and for appointing a Sur-
veyor General for the purposes therein mentioned;—and
you may have heard, that Mr. De Witt who was Geog-
rapher to the Army at the close of the War, after the de-
cease of Mr. Erskine, and at present the Surveyor General
of the State of New York, (a man of profound knowledge

in mathematics, and sufficiently skilled in astronomy,) was nominated to that office, and has declined the acceptance of it.

It is yet vacant;—and you have been mentioned to me as a Gentleman to whom it might be acceptable.

Without taking then a circuitous rout to ascertain this fact, I shall apply immediately to yourself, for information;—and will frankly ask, because I am sure you will candidly answer (if the appointment should meet your wishes) whether your knowledge in mathematics, practical surveying, and so much of astronomy as is useful to a skilful exercise of the latter, for discovering the Latitude, Meridian, &c., now are, or easily could be made familiar to you.—These questions are propounded because affirmative qualifications are essential.

As the season & circumstances begin now to press for an appointment and as my continuance here, and the road I shall travel back to Virginia (for the purpose of returning with my family for the winter) are somewhat uncertain, I request the favor of you to put your answer to this letter under cover to the Secretary of State, who will be directed to open it and to fill up the blank Commission which I shall deposit in his office with your name, if you are disposed to accept it;—or with that of another Gentleman who is held in contemplation, if you do not.—You may if it is not too troublesome, address a duplicate to me at Mount Vernon, to remain in the Post Office at Alexandria, until called for.

Many of Washington's collateral relatives have lived in Kentucky; some are living there now. Honorable George Washington, a member of this family, was a delegate from the county of Campbell to the last constitutional convention of Kentucky, held in 1890-91, and was temporary chairman of that Convention. Heirlooms and keepsakes associated with the life and person of Washington are still religiously preserved in the families of his Kentucky kindred. No doubt the same may be said of many Tennesseans.

The present survey of Washington's contacts with Tennessee and Kentucky of necessity leaves much to be supplied. Important and illuminating incidents, as yet unknown to the writer or unmentioned herein, will doubtless be recalled by the reader, and

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office with your name, if you
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tion, if you do not.—You may
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others of equal significance will be developed by research. If
this imperfect exposition of the subject should lead to a more ex-
haustive, circumstantial, and satisfying narration of all the verifi-
able facts which attest the close relations of General Washington
with the two states immediately concerned, the result cannot be
other than most instructive and gratifying. Tennessee and Ken-
tucky, as was happily observed by one of Washington's successors,
Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, while possessing distinctive charac-
teristics peculiarly their own, are more nearly alike than either is
like any of the other states of the American Union; and it is not
strange to find that Washington himself looked upon these pioneer
commonwealths as virtually twin-born.

Brining my paper to a close, let me venture the remark that, if
in this year of the Washington Bi-Centennial, with its world-wide
commemorations, a benediction could be pronounced upon the United
States of America by their first President, I incline to think the
words he might utter would take form somewhat like Charles Han-
son Towne's "Prayer for the Old Courage":

Brave soldiers of the spirit, guard ye well
Mountain and fort and massive citadel:
But keep ye white forever—keep ye whole
The battlements of dream within the soul!