Oration.

John T. Hogeboom

Hudson, NY
1876

CORRESPONDENCE.

HUDSON, N. Y., July 7, 1876.

HON. JOHN T. HOGEBOOM :

Dear Sir :—The Committee on Orator and Reader of the Centennial Celebration in this city on July 4th, inst., have to request your permission to have printed the admirable address delivered by you on that occasion.

Trusting that you will yield to our desires, and as well to those of your then numerous auditors, we beg that we may hear from you at your earliest possible convenience. With kind regards, we are, dear sir,

Very Truly Yours,

J. T. WATERMAN,
EDMO. CHAS. GETTY, } *Committee.*
H. MURPHY,

GHENT, July 13, 1876.

GENTS :—Believing that the purpose intended to be reached by a Centennial Address, as being historic in character, will be promoted by compliance with your request, I herewith transmit a copy of the address referred to.

I only wish that time and better opportunity had been afforded to have made it more worthy of the occasion.

With great respect, and in the bonds of fraternal patriotism, I remain,

Very Truly Yours,

JNO. T. HOGEBOOM.

To the Committee of Arrangements on the Centennial Celebration at Hudson, July 4th, 1876.

Centennial Oration.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SEVERAL COMMITTEES HAVING IN CHARGE THE FESTIVITIES OF THE OCCASION :—It would be waste of time to make any apology to you for the imperfect manner in which I am about to discharge the duties of the office which you in your partiality constrained me to accept. You, at least, will appreciate the impossibility of collecting and properly collating the historical incidents of the county, within the very limited space of time accruing since the acceptance of your invitation. Various causes have also intervened, interfering with the application on my part so necessary for the proper execution of the duties of the historian. I extended an invitation to the citizens of the county to send me such matters as they deemed important, and I would undertake to arrange them in some chronological order, but the time has been too short for me to have received any aid from that source. In accordance, however, with the invitations extended, I shall expect, at the close of this address, to have my efforts in your behalf supplemented by written and oral statements made by other citizens present, and whose acquisitions are greater than my own in this regard. For the immediate occasion I have no doubt such manner of their presentation will prove more interesting, because secured directly from the original contributors.

The invitation is therefore renewed, that such presentation will be made of any incidents which shall not be given, or imperfectly rendered, in the rude and broken sketch I shall give you. All will be gratefully accepted as being of interest to ourselves, while many may prove of sufficient importance to be rescued from the obliterating influence of time, and be permanently incorporated into the general history of the country. With these expectations of valuable assistance, I shall proceed with my humble offering.

Friends and Fellow Citizens of my native County: We have met so often that I have no apology to render you. You have a right to command me, and whether prepared or unprepared, impaired or unimpaired in health, the little I have to give is at your service. I shall never be able satisfactorily to repay the obligations which your kindness has imposed upon me.

Your Committees have properly made the arrangements for the manner of celebrating the day, as the same is being had in every city, hamlet and village of the land. The time and the surrounding circumstances conspire to render far more than usual importance to this day in our national calendar. *One hundred* years ago, out of the prolific, courageous and patriotic minds of our forefathers, this Nation was born. The birth of a Nation; the aggregations of millions of individualities, constituting in civil structure a living personality of the human race, to survive, it may be, the ordinary mutations of time, usurping the habiliments of immortality, living on through the ages a self-sustaining, procreating, sentient, vitalized organization of merged humanity, untouched, uninfluenced by the corroding power of mortal death, to become one of the members of the family of nations, the few grand divisions of the human race, is in itself an event to warrant commemoration; and all nations have agreed that the day of its occurrence should be set apart from all the rest of the year, as one of pecular observance on the part of their respective citizens. In the order of nature, in which "a thousand years are but as a day," the one hundredth year has no special significance; but in the human notations of time, centuries are the great historic measures, and the centennial days are augmented an hundred-fold. There are, besides, peculiar circumstances which lend additional import to the day at this time, and make the observance and the manner of it appropriate.

The Nation has just emerged from a most unhappy, dreadful and desolating civil war. The wounds of its conflict are yet unhealed. The gangrene of hate and revenge still lingers with ill-concealment among some of its diseased members. Nations, like individuals of the race, come into the world through pain and suffering and are prepared for the activities of maturity through much tribulation only. This Nation was subjected to a great trial when it was born, and struggling to stand upon its feet with independence. It was subjected to a minor trial in its childhood in the war of

1812, before its harsh mother would consent wholly to release her assumed authority over it. It has lately had the third, not to establish its majority, but to demonstrate to universal acceptance, ITS RIGHT TO LIVE.

The jury of the world has pronounced its verdict. The representatives of all Nations are here at this time to approve the judgment of the *Court of last resort*, and it *shall stand forever!* Glory be to God! by the contributions of patriotic hearts, and the offerings of willing hands, the Nation lives.

The Congress of the United States have unanimously recommended, and the people of all parties and conditions of men, approved the manner of celebrating this day. In compliance with those recommendations, we are here joining with the outpouring of the people everywhere, to renew our allegiance to our common country in mutual pledges to maintain and defend for all time its government, and to express our individual attachment and loyalty to that symbol of the Nation's authority, THE DEAR OLD FLAG. Thrice honorable now as it waves in the heavenly canopy, with its constellation undimmed and undiminished, bearing no dark stain upon its escutcheon, and no sinister stripes upon its bars; a flag which shall float, proudly swinging to the breeze, never more over aught but the free.

Intending to give that prominence to the historic character of the celebration contemplated, I shall proceed to give you such records and incidents as I have collected for the occasion, confining myself in detail to such as are local to the county, and referring to matters of general history as may appear to be necessary to explain or connect them. I shall not stop to inquire into the claims, now pretty satisfactorily established, of the hardy Northmen having discovered this continent, and even having planted prosperous colonies upon it five centuries before the voyage of Columbus; or follow the explorations of those who succeeded the latter. Neither is it to our purpose to comment upon the evidence, historical and geological, which are conjointly tending to establish the fact, that this continent, which in modern history has been named "The New," is in reality the older; long ages the first, to have risen above the waves which still submerged the rest of the earth, and was clothed with verdure, and received the first inhabitants—both animals and man—which became progenitors to

the future races extinct, and surviving of all the living which came afterwards.

Leaving all this vast field, so full of interest, and more remotely connected with our history, we will come down to our immediate territory, and the comparative recent record of events, linking themselves strictly with the history of the county.

On the eightheenth day of August, 1609, a small vessel, carrying on its stern, in Dutch letters, the name of *Half Moon*, of less than a hundred tons burthen, commanded by Hendrick Hudson, and manned by about twenty seaman, half Dutch and half English, dropped its anchor in the river, nearly opposite to where the City of Hudson now stands. The vessel was fitted out by the Dutch East India Company, and sailed under the flag of the United Netherlands. All the discoveries made by the vessel accrued, of course, to the benefit of the nation whose flag it bore. Hudson himself, although in the employ of the Dutch, was English born and reared, and had probably been in some capacity with Sebastian Cabot in his previous explorations on the American coast. The English are then entitled to some share in the honor, at least, or the discoveries made by Hudson, while in fact through subsequent immigration and occupation the English people have shared largely in the benefits which accrued. Hudson was the first navigator of the later period of discovery to have entered the New York harbor, and the first, certainly, of historic times, who had entered the mouth of the magnificent river which now so appropriately bears his name.

Here, so near the spot at which we now stand, was his first landing upon its banks; a circumstance which, being noted, led to the designation also of Hudson to the city which was built upon the site of his first landing. The banks of the new-found-land were already swarming with the hardy fishermen of France. Spain and Portugal were searching in Central and South America for the precious metals and diamonds, while gratifying the lust of the Church in conquest, and allaying her conscience with an occasional conversion by torture of heathen taken captive. Holland and England, the then leading commercial nations of Europe, were vying with each other in the efforts to receive advantage in trade through Western discovery, by wresting from the Latin nations the long held monopoly of Western conquest.

England reviewed the traditions of the Sagas, and laid claim to all or most of North America upon the proofs furnished of previous discovery and colonization. The little nation of the United Netherlands, which had rescued her dwelling place from the possession of the seas, compacted by the thirty years war with Philip of Spain, had greatly enlarged her marine as an arm of military service in her defence, was at this time far in advance of England in the extent and enterprise of her commerce.

In her protracted struggle for independence, against the pretensions of Philip, her people had become educated in the doctrines of political liberty. They had practically learned that the battles of Philip were inspired by the Church, and the shackles of superstition bursting asunder in the conflict, religious freedom became to them the divine inspiration. The intellect of the Nation, unshackled, sprung into unusual activity and vigor. The best minds of other nations were attracted within her borders, and Holland rose pre-eminently high for intellectual culture and the wide dissemination of education among its people. Political and religious liberty were bearing their legitimate fruits. Happiness and prosperity, such as the world had never seen before, was enjoyed by its people. All industries flourished. The ships built in defence of her liberties, now plowed the seas in the service of commerce, and vast and gigantic enterprises were put into successful execution.

Here we stop for one reflection upon the incidents of American history as they pass before us for review.

What would have been the present condition of North America; what its present civilization, and what its influence upon the destiny in the race, had the Latin nations only succeeded in obtaining a permanent foothold, as they once attempted, upon the soil of the United States, and lured as they afterwards were, to Southern regions by the stories of the natives, who sought to get rid of them, of the treasures which lay beyond? We have no reason to doubt that it was fortunate, not only for the present, but for all future time, that the Teutonic element of the race was at an early period so widely spread over this portion of the continent.

Holland and England shared with the rest of Europe the delusion, which was not expelled after the lapse of more than a century from the discovery of Columbus, that these Western shores were only the Eastern boundery of that fabled land which held

the treasures of the world. The central object of exploration was to find around these shores, or through them, a passage to that fabulous land, to become the road of a prosperous commerce. In the search of such a passage, Hudson was employed, and the express written orders of his vessel to this end were the sailing directions of his vessel. It will never cease to be the marvel of history, how enlightened nations have persisted in the search of that Northwest passage, and made for so many centuries their gallant but unprofitable fight with the glaciers and icebergs of that desolate region. When commerce relinquished the contest, science assumed it and holds it yet, as one of her most barren fields of exploration.

Hudson wrestled with his little vessel a long while with the icebergs of those Northern seas before he turned his prow to a more hospitable climate, and then only to escape a mutiny of his crew. He even pretended to the supercargo or agent of the company on board with him that he was in search of such a passage when he entered the harbor of New York, and its ebb and flow of tide was noted as evidence, and at first accepted, of the presence of the strait which was to constitute the long-sought passage. It is quite probable, however, that Hudson had by this time, if not before, the delusion dispelled from his own mind, and the project of obtaining such a passage had been in reality abandoned by himself. Doubtless he was actuated, nevertheless, by the honorable ambition of useful discovery, and this was sufficient to impel him, while turning the delusion of others to valuable account. His intercourse with the Indians, soon after entering the harbor, through which he obtained large quantities of valuable furs in exchange for articles of only trifling value in the estimation of the markets of Europe, could not but have brought to him the suggestion of commercial advantage. He probably foresaw, what his employers upon his return were so quick to appreciate, the profits of trade with the people of the country which he had discovered.

It was this element, underlying the Dutch colonization or occupation of America, and which was far more characteristic of it than of any other, that I wish especially to notice, and that will lead me into more extended consideration of its history than I had intended, or which would be otherwise appropriate.

We will briefly recur to the incidents of Hudson's first voyage from the entrance of the harbor and return.

At nightfall on the 3d of August, the *Half Moon* anchored within the shelter of the harbor. On the 4th a boat's crew was landed at Coney Island. On the 6th a boat was sent out which penetrated the Narrows and entered "the Kills," the channel on the western side of Staten Island, which, on its return at night, was assailed by arrows from the shore, and one of the crew killed and two others wounded. After a week passed in exploration in the lower bay, and in friendly trade with the natives, the intention was formed of ascending the river. On the 11th of August, anchorage was made at the upper end of New York Island. Here the natives crowded about the vessel in their canoes "making great show of love," and bringing corn and tobacco. On the 14th the vessel anchored "where the Catskills approach nearest the river," and "very loving people and very old men" came aboard to greet the wandering crew. On the 18th Hudson came ashore at this place. He was received by a very old chief, who seemed to be a chief of great power and possessions, who gave to Hudson and his companions a royal reception. He showed them great stores of Indian corn and other provisions. When Hudson declared his intention of leaving for his vessel, the Indians pressed him to remain, and to convince him of their friendly intentions, brought their arrows before him, and breaking them cast them into the fire. Hudson, however, had too much at stake to forget his prudence, even under such protestations, and he and his companions returned the same day to the vessel. The next day they reached the present site of Albany.

While lying here waiting for his boats, he entertained the natives at a feast on board his vessel, at which wines and strong drinks were dispensed. On this occasion we have the first account of the Indian experience of drunkenness. One of their number, an old chief, became thoroughly intoxicated. His people at first thought him bewitched, and they plied their magic arts to overcome the enchantment of the stranger. It was the old story over again, of a trial of prowess between the gods of different people. When the chief, however, came to recover, under the operations of nature, and expressed his real delight of the experiences of his debauch, the ignorant natives paid great honor to the stranger, and the interview was closed by an *oration*, the highest compliment an

Indian can display. It was the new born love of the fire-water probably which led that chief down the river when the vessel started, watching its progress, and anticipating at night its advance, which enabled him to visit it again four days afterwards in the vicinity of where Catskill now is, and was at once recognized as the bewitched chief.

After lying four days, and sending out boats as far North as where the present village of Half Moon is, Hudson turned the prow of his vessel for his final return.

We have no occasion to follow the vessel further on its downward trip. On her return to Holland, trading vessels were soon dispatched in considerable numbers to this country. They were commanded, and generally owned, wholly or in part, by their commanders, who were termed "skippers," that is, shippers. The more enterprising, either by themselves or in association with others, established trading posts along the river. Some of the old Dutch families along the river are descendants of these skippers, who afterwards settled here. Three years after the voyage of Hudson, Henry Christiansen built a fort and trading post upon an Island near Albany, which he called Fort Nassau, and which has suggested the name to one of the present towns of Rensselaer.

Adrian Block, in a vessel built upon Manhattan Island, coasted along the Sound, discovered the Connecticut River, threaded the New England coast as far as Nahant beach, and marked it as the limit of the Dutch possessions northward and boundary of New England. The island now known as Rhode Island he discovered and named Roode Island—since corrupted in English orthography out of the original signification which is *red*. So one of the New England States came to bear the Dutch name of Red Island.

The Netherlands very soon took formal possession of the river and adjacent possessions. The river came to be called the Mauritius, in honor of the Stadtholden, a name it bore many years.

Trading settlements were established all along its banks from New York to Albany, and while we find no record of it, I have no doubt one was early and among the first located here, at this first landing of Hudson, where such large stores were shown him, and a country then populous with those who practiced to a considerable extent the arts of husbandry. Settlements also soon followed on the Sound. Connecticut river, and along the shores

and inlets of New Jersey, extending as far as the banks of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers.

On the 11th of October, 1614, only five years after the discovery of the Hudson river, the trade had attracted so much attention at home that a large Commercial Company in imitation of its Eastern prototype, "The Dutch East India Company," was formed and chartered by the States General, styled "The New Netherland Company," for trading purposes with the Dutch possessions in America. The name of New Netherlands was given to the territory lying between New France and Virginia. This company was to last three years. During this time the trade greatly enriched the proprietors, and through the wealth acquired they were enabled the more effectually to continue the monopoly of it. The results obtained, stimulated the desire to protect more permanently their interests. By their influence acquired, they were enabled to obtain a charter for a still more extended company, which became the great power into whose hands was entrusted the future colonization of Dutch America.

This second company was styled by the act of incorporation, the Dutch West India Company, and was chartered in 1621. It was a vast monopoly, founded in the selfish interests alone of trade, protracted and concentrated even by the very limitation of its existence, which was to continue for the period of twenty-two years. Here was the great political mistake of Holland, and but for which her influence upon American affairs would have been much more considerable than it became. Handing over her vast possessions upon this continent, greater than the territory which constituted her home, to a soulless monopoly having no interests in the future beyond the twenty-two years, and to be devoted wholly to the acquisitions by which its treasury was to be enriched. No Dutch vessels not owned by the Company were allowed to visit the territory. Supreme political power was given to the Company to establish what governments it pleased; to appoint Governors, constitute Courts and principalities, providing for the trial of all civil and criminal issues, and to determine the occupation and distribution of the soil for any or all purposes whatever. The Company was literally made lord paramount of the soil, from which all titles, benefices and offices proceeded, the government at home yielding all sovereignty over its possession and occupancy to a chartered Company, with the right of assignment or conver-

sion to such persons or parties as it pleased. Holland, herself, happy at home, and contented with the acquirement of her liberties, the freest and most enlightened government in the world; a republic among monarchies; her people jealous of their own freedom, religious, personal and political, acquired by sacrifices unparalleled, having paid more and risked more for their independence and liberty than any people known in history, handing over a continent to the heartless tyranny of a corporation. It is one of the anomalies in the experiences of mankind. Holland, at home, hospitable, generous and charitable to all who asked in the name of liberty, protection; she was an asylum for the oppressed and persecuted of the world. The early colonists of New England who sought these shores finally as a safe haven for the enjoyment of their religious rights undisturbed, found their first asylum in Holland, by whose people they were received with cordiality. It was only a portion of the flock of their pastor, Robinson, who came over in the *May Flower*.

It must be conceded, however, that the directors of this company were men of more than ordinary character for ability, sagacity, and withal of great honesty and probity of purpose. Still, the instincts of trade must of necessity be selfish. The affairs of the company were generally administered so far as the pecuniary interests of the stockholders were concerned intelligently and honestly. The company grew opulent upon its revenues, and while a source of commercial prosperity to the people at home, by the various industrial interests it helped to support, it was petted and popular. Its directors becoming a power in the state, began to entertain political projects which they hoped to carry out without exciting the hostility of the government, or awakening the jealousy of the people. These projects were to be realized in the new continent, by founding for themselves lordships and principalities, upon its new and yet unoccupied territory, conferred by authority of the franchises of the company, which they themselves administered. The directors issued what became known as the "memorable charter of privileges and exemptions" in the year 1629, eight years after the formation of the company itself, and the grant of extraordinary powers by the government. The power by its own charter was complete, and its authority to confer the charter of "privileges and exemptions" could not be disputed. Among other things it conferred upon any stockholder of the company who should obtain by

purchase from the Indians with permission of the company, and plant a colony of fifty individuals upon it, possession of sixteen miles frontage upon the river bank upon one side, or eight miles upon each, and conferring upon him the rights of seigniory, erecting the territory into a manor of which he was to be lord or patroon, with power supreme as grand baron over all the possessions and the inhabitants thereof.

The feudal system overthrown and abolished in Europe by the first uprising of the spirit of freedom, was to be re-instated here in its most absolute and revolting form. Here, at least, where thousands of acres could be purchased with a basketful of trinkets, or a deed obtained by fraud or forgery, from ignorant dupes who could be used to personate some authority, "the original proprietor of the soil" might set up some lawful pretense to the authority of lordship. He owned his ships; he hired his colonists and paid them for immigrating; he gave them a dwelling place and allotted them farms, and took from them an acknowledgment of title; what right had they to complain, or deny his pretensions? They had bound themselves for the payment of rent, some menial service, performance of military duty when required by their lord; but all this was for their common protection, to be sure. The lord reserved the right at his own will and pleasure of establishing courts and the government of the manor, wholly to himself; but this came from the Company, and the tenants had no business with it. Mines and minerals, flatsom and floatsom, and seats of water power which he might require or desire to reclaim was his; but they took only so much grant as he was pleased to confer of his own right absolute, and as honest men, faithful tenants, they had no right to murmur.

These were brief provisions, and to the point. All that these ambitious Directors desired was accomplished. The Directors who had been in the secret had obtained real or pretended sales from the Indians, and were ready to have them confirmed. Their ships were loaded, and in many instances on the ground with their immigrants. Many of the most important trading posts of the company were monopolized by these greedy Directors. All the land above Fort Orange itself was occupied by the lord of the manor, who proceeded upon *his* charter to take the whole trade of the locality into his hands. The business of the company was prostrated. Other stockholders who sought to obtain like privileges to

compensate them for their loss of revenue, found they were too late; all feasible ground was occupied. This led to a storm at home which came near sweeping away the whole fabric of monopoly. The Dutch, proverbially good grumblers, found in these overreached and disappointed stockholders, among every class of citizens, a goodly company of grumblers. The directors who had control, seeing all was endangered, patched up a compromise. Many of these lords consented to renounce to the company for the benefit of the stockholders their privileges, the company paying liberally for their investments, and all were deprived nominally of their privileges of trade with the Indians. The lord of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck and some few others retained their estates, while agreeing to refrain from rivalry with the agents of the company, in trade. This latter agreement became easily evaded, and it was; and the trade of the patroons enriched their manors and gave them the means of still further, through the promotion of immigration and settlement, of strengthening themselves in their franchises.

The dissensions, however, brought in a flood of light upon those underhand transactions of the directors, and made known to the people at home the odious character of its "charter of privileges and exemptions" in the grants of political power to the patroons. The latter, as well as the directors, became so unpopular at home, that fearing the indignation which they had excited, they awaited for a more fitting opportunity the full exercise of their franchises. To be sure, the patroons had literally the power to establish all the courts within their respective districts. No tenant, or person who had taken a deed from his lord, or member of the family of such tenant, could leave the service of or absent himself from the manor, without written consent from the patroon; and every such person traveling without a pass, was liable to the infliction of incarceration and penalties. To avoid public clamor, they had suspended the exercise, in some measure, of their odious political and social power; but they were more than usually active in evading with the company their compromises of trade. The pecuniary affairs of the company suffered, and were languishing, and the common stockholders demanded a reform in the management. The storm was again renewed, and this time the general commercial interests of Holland intervened, and wrenched from the company itself its monopoly of privileges in trade. A formal con-

sent was given to the company, and approved by the States general, by which free competition in trade was opened to all the world, subject only to the payment of a small duty to the government; and the directors and council of the New Netherlands were required to furnish to every new comer into the colonies, as much land for his occupation as his means would warrant, or he and his family could cultivate. Here was a provision of free lands for free men, enforced by the government upon a monopoly which had sought to prostitute the whole soil of the territory to the tyranny and vassalage of feudalism. From this time colonization greatly prospered. The free and hospitable habits of the people, with the free privileges enforced, attracted immigration from all parts of the world. Many Quakers and Baptists, and others of more liberal religious faith, left the intolerable religious tyranny of the puritan colonies of New England, and sought a dwelling among the Dutch colonists. The descendants, whose ancestors thus colonized, are among us now, forming almost isolated townships of English origin.

We shall have occasion to refer only to one of these manors more in detail, as affecting the interests of our county more directly. The Manor of Rensselaerwyck, as he himself styled it, was established by an enterprising worker of precious stones, by the name of Killian Ransler, or Van Rensselaer as the name came afterwards to be spelled, and in more modern times pronounced. In 1630, a few months after the issue or proclamation of the charter of privileges and exemptions, he became possessed of an immense tract of land on the west bank of the river in the vicinity of Albany, and including its site. This tract was subsequently added to by other purchases on both sides of the river, including territory now occupied by the counties of Albany, most of Rensselaer and a large part of Columbia. The title to these lands was subsequently confirmed and enlarged after the country went under the dominion of Great Britain, with whose government at this time these franchises were more in consonance. Had the country not passed but remained in possession of the Dutch, it is quite probable that after the expiration of the commercial company and its influence, that the monopolies established by it would have been wholly abrogated. The English government was only too ready to accept the terms of surrender imposed in the treaty, that all titles, grants or possessions flowing out of the authority of previous occupancy, should

inure and be confirmed by the government receiving possession. The English took formal and permanent possession under the treaty in 1674. The English further extended the policy of these grants of manors, which had been inaugurated under the commercial monopoly, and in 1684 a patent was issued to lands in this county to Robert Livingston, confirming the Indian deed of 2,000 acres executed by four native Indians, two males and two females.

Subsequently he very humbly petitioned for three hundred acres more, designated as Taghkanic, because "the lands heretofore granted proves much contrary to expectation, very little being fit to be improved." In answer to this petition, 200 acres only were granted. Finally, and without any proof apparently of any subsequent purchase from the Indians, or expressed other consideration, a patent was issued, known in the county record as *The Dongan* Patent. This was dated the 22d of July, 1686.

The lands as have been established by surveys confirmed subsequently by adjudication of the Courts of this State, contained within the lines of the charter, comprise over 160,000 acres of land, lying in the present towns of Ancram, Clermont, Copake, Gallatin, Germantown, Livingston and Taghkanic. The decision of the courts, based upon possession and statutory confirmation, was probably correct; yet it is due to history to say that there cannot be any reasonable doubt, but that the slender grant of the two thousand acres, and the insignificant one of the two hundred of Taghkanic, were so described artfully in the survey by metes and bounds of Indian designation, so as to be made to include by boundaries subsequently proved by oral testimony, to include all this vast domain. A tract of six thousand acres was subsequently purchased by the English government, and bestowed in fee upon refugees from Germany, and who, by military employment to the English crown,* were subjects of its bounty. This tract is new included, with some additions, in the present town of Germantown. Their descendants constitute much the larger part of the present inhabitants of the town, and are an industrious, frugal, intelligent and respectable population.

The *Dongan Patent*, as appears from the records, received a full confirmation by royal authority, in the year 1715.

After the Revolution, these Patent Estates, of which there were several distributed through the eastern portion of the State, remaining appanages of the British Crown, came to be looked upon with

great disfavor by the tenantry and inhabitants of their vicinity. Certainly, they were not consistent with the principles of our institutions, nor in harmony with the ideas of the people. Most of the proprietors, and especially the descendants of Robert Livingston, had taken sides in favor of the Revolution, and the government of the State, notwithstanding considerable local opposition, confirmed the title to the lands in the proprietors, but abolished all the feudal vestiges which attended them.

As a part of the history of the county I cannot well pass over without some brief sketch, of what is remembered as the Anti-Rent excitement.

This was an outgrowth of the discontent which had been smouldering, but not extinguished, among the tenantry, and naturally growing out of the fermentation of ideas which the Revolution itself had engendered. It would have been better had the State at first taken possession of these lands and made an equitable settlement with the proprietors of the manors, and thus extinguished these incongruous estates. The State, however, was poor and exhausted from the contests made in behalf of liberty. and the statesman of that day consented to let matters take their own course, in this, as in reference to the institution of slavery, so much larger a subject, trusting to natural causes to bring about the gradual removal of them.

As early as 1791, formidable combinations were made in this county to dispossess the manor lands, both of the Van Rensselaer and Livingston estates. At that time Cornelius Hogeboom, the grandfather of the late Judge Henry Hogeboom, was killed by an organized band while executing process as Sheriff of the county; and his brother, my grandfather, was appointed in his stead to complete the execution of process.

Great dissatisfaction was again renewed about 1840 among the tenantry of all the Manor counties, and conventions, by delegates, were held in this part of the State, designated as Anti-Rent conventions. The excitement at this time took on, for the first, a political character, and made itself felt in the State conventions of the parties, but more particularly in the local political action. Anti-Rentism either made its own nominations, or threw its influunce on the side which seemed most willing to assist it, in its fight against the landlords. This was soon accompanied by the organi-

zation of quasi military companies, partially armed and officered, affecting to imitate the Indians, "the original proprietors of the soil." The worst and most dangerous feature of these organizations was that of *dressing in disguise*, which gave comparative impunity to violations of the law, and encouragement to outrages on the part of individuals, which were only calculated to bring discredit upon the cause. Political demagogues were found ready to fan the flame of excitement, and to ride into political importance upon its surging waves.

While Silas Wright was Governor, during his first term he was obliged, as Chief Magistrate, to interfere in behalf of the public peace, in the county of Delaware. This made him obnoxious to the *Anti-Renters*, and becoming a candidate for re-election in 1846, opposed by John Young, received their hostility. Young was endorsed by them, and large assemblies were gathered in this and adjoining counties, organized by a central nucleus of men dressed in disguise, armed and under military discipline, addressed by political orators who were willing to compromise themselves and the administration of the State, with the undisguised attempt to pull down authority to the level of the mob.

It was a lamentable presentation of American politics. What was more so, it was made to succeed, in so far as the Anti-Rent vote determined the result of the election for Governor. John Young received nearly the combined vote of all the tenantry of the Manor counties of Albany, Rensselaer, Columbia, Greene, Ulster, Delaware, Schoharie, Montgomery, Herkimer, Otsego and Oneida, and was elected Governor of the State under pledges which were to be fulfilled. It will be recollected by many persons here present, probably, that in that campaign of 1846, a meeting was organized at Copake Flats by some 1,500 persons, dressed in disguise, and surrounded by a large concourse of citizens.

This meeting was publicly addressed, in sight and hearing of all the people, by the late Judge Harris, of Albany, surrounded by these disguised and armed men, who escorted him to and from the grounds in military honor. It is not pleasant to allude to these things, but the truth of history should be vindicated for the benefit of posterity, so far as possible, while the living witnesses remain, no matter whom it touches or what parties it affects.

It will be good for those who under more or less excusable excitement of the hour, committed mistakes, and just to those who

sought by proper means to allay the storm, by the application of timely and appropriate remedies; and serve as a lesson for future statesmen, to remove in time, institutions calculated to awaken the jealous instincts of the people, and to arouse animosity among the class composing it. I have notes in my possession of Judge Harris' speech on that occasion. Sufficient to say, that in it John Young was pledged with great particularity of statement, that in the event of being elected, he would open the prison doors to all convicts who had been convicted of any offences against the laws, no matter of what character, growing out of so-called Anti-Rentism, and that they, as patriotic citizens whose conduct in defence of the rights of the people was to be commended, should be restored to good citizenship. These pledges were fulfilled to the letter.

As the knowledge of these excesses came to be generally understood throughout the State, and sober reflection came to those engaged in them, a revulsion of public sentiment or rather modification of it, took place. Laws were passed against public disguises, and steps taken more vigorously to enforce the laws, with remedial legislation, having in view the gradual removal of the causes upon which the excitement was founded.

Now, after a calm survey of this history of the Anti-Rent excitement, it will be admitted that while the violations of law cannot be justified, and that much of the excesses of outlawry must be gravely condemned, there still remains a great deal to mitigate and to some extent excuse the persons who were subjects of the excitement.

Whatever was the legal aspect of the titles to those manors, the tenantry well knew from their history, they had cost their proprietors but little, and had been, according to American ideas, improperly obtained and erroneously confirmed. They saw that it was, after all, the work of their hands, by which these estates had become valuable as a source of revenue to their holders; who, while rioting in luxury and extravagance upon their estates or spending the avails abroad, were really undermining and obstructing the prosperity of the districts they occupied. Their own travels across these districts and adjoining country, gave opportunity for comparisons of the visible signs of prosperity.

Happily these patents have about faded away. The Livingston Manor no more exists as a plague spot upon the free domains of

the county. The descendants of Van Rensselaer have squandered their estates in litigation as well as in improvidency, and the Manor and Lordship of Rensselaerwyck has become, also, a thing of the past.

It will be impossible under our present Constitution and Laws to return to any such estates. All lands are declared to be allodial, and all permanent leases for agricultural purposes prohibited in the future.

Although my time is being rapidly exhausted, I must not neglect to make a brief allusion, also, to an institution located in the county, and almost peculiar to it. I refer to the Society of Shakers located in Mt. Lebanon, in the north-eastern part of the county. They are, indeed, as they claim to be, a *peculiar people.*

Ann Stanley, whose maiden name was Ann Lee, is regarded as the founder of the sect, and accepted by her followers as the second incarnation of the spirit Christ; Jesus of Nazareth being the first. She was born in Manchester, England; leaving her husband, coming to regard the marital relations with increasing repugnance, she, in company with Jane and James Wardley, a couple of original Quakers, who had become infatuated with the early Quaker practice of "labor in the spirit," and carried it in the estimation of their neighbors, to an extravagant and ridiculous excess. She became, finally, imprisoned as a disorderly person, and while incarcerated was visited by the spirit of Christ; with which, from that time to her death, she became corporeally possessed. Subsequently she claimed to be, and by the members of the Society accepted as, the Christ Mother, and they always speak of her by the affectionate appellation of *Mother Ann.*

In 1774, she, with eight others, came to this country and settled at Niskeuna, then in the wilderness. Here they remained excluded from the world for three or four years, and attracting but little observation. The egotism of devotion, however, had prospered in their seclusion, while the power of entertaining familiar spirits, and of prophecying, was assumed by them. They emerged into the world the apostles of a new dispensation. This county, and the adjoining county in Massachusetts of Berkshire, became the principal theatre of their manifestations. Their exercises, conducted often in the most public and exposed places in the public streets, was a sort of dance, accompanied by a syllabilic chant, weaving of

the body, and fanning up and down of the hands, and concluding with one or more of the company practicing spinning with great velocity about upon one foot. This latter was really a wonderful performance, and attracted often a considerable crowd of spectators. The whole exercises were declared to be the labors of the spirits, and the concluding spinning of the individual, so far magical and beyond all natural performances, proof of the spiritual presence. These exercises were concluded sometimes, or interlarded with exhortation and expostulation.

They frequently became subjects of rude mirth to boys and idle men who were collected to observe their performances, and looked upon by the staid portion of the community as more or less crazy, and regarded generally with feelings commingled of disgust and compassion. Well, this is the experience at first of all religious reformers. They were frequently complained of as disorderly persons and warned to desist, and in some instances were put under temporary restraint. But they were undoubtedly sincere, whether crazy or not; and violent restraint only seemed to fan their fanaticism. They went on *shaking* the more at what they declared to be the interference of the devil. The public curiosity tired of their practices, and, left to itself, the excitement died out, and the apostles passed out from public observation. However, in 1792, a violent and spasmodic religious revival broke out in New Lebanon, under the lead of Joseph Meacham, a local Baptist preacher. The slumbering embers of the preceding fanaticism had, probably, something to do with supplying the heat of the prevailing excitement. The out-going swarm of spirits, which the agitation had driven from the old hive, found in the vicinity an unoccupied one, and straightway pitched into it without much seeming questioning of its form. It was ready-made, at least, and that was worth something to these ardent workers. The founding of the New Lebanon Society, as now organized, was the result. Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright, of Berkshire, became the first dual head of the Society. The Society has been, for the most part, as such societies have always been, and are likely to be in its earliest stages—its own historian, and very little is recorded of its early faith and practice. There are, however, traditions among the inhabitants, and observations resting even in the recollections of many citizens with whom I have conversed personally, not at all favorable to the pretensions of a Divine Mission. This *outer* tes-

timony, if accepted by others, must yet be taken with that allowance of coloring opposition imparts. It is quite probable that the early opinions of the Shakers were much less defined than at present, which has since become sublimated under the influence of more extended culture and experience of their intelligent and educated leaders. The one leading feature of their early creed, however, remains entirely unchanged in practice, however it may be modified in the theory upon which it is based—the absolute celibacy and non-intercourse of the sexes. The existence of the Society has been maintained by its outward accession; and these, of course, constitute the only means of its perpetuity.

The conversion of adults has been very inconsiderable, and nearly all its accessions have been derived through the system of apprenticeship to minors. The courts of the State have sustained the legality of its practice in this respect. It is worthy of observation that a society depriving itself of the natural means of perpetuity, has yet been enabled to perpetuate itself by such abnormal and precarious means. It would seem that this end could have been secured only through the most vigilant and intelligent administration, commending itself to public favor. This the Society of Shakers has certainly for the most part secured. During all the period of its existence it may be truly said of it that no class of religionists exists which has made self-denial any part of its creed, which has conformed its practices among all its members more nearly to its professions of belief. A harmless, industrious, virtuous and truly religious people, they must be accepted to be, as they now exist, shown in all their practices as far as known in their internal administration and their intercouse with the world. Their business success as manufacturers of householding articles, and collectors of seeds, &c., has been in large measure made to depend upon their honesty and the reputation acquired in the community by never allowing, in their business dealings, any departure from its requirements. The Central Society must number about 500 persons of all ages, and the outlying societies probably as many more.

I have reserved brief space for reference to the settlement of the shiretown of the county and your own beautiful city.

Its territory was originally embraced in the old town or district of Claverack, and this location, until the city of Hudson was projected, was known as Claverack Landing. I think I have before

said that this site was among the earliest settled upon the river. We have no certain proof when it received its original name of Claverack, or by whom conferred. There is still some dispute about the real origin of the name or its original signification, which it seems desirable to clear up. Having some familiarity with the Dutch language, and a pretty extensive acquaintance with the local traditions of the Dutch inhabitants, I hope to be able to do this to the satisfaction of all who may esteem it a matter of interest. Klaverack literally rendered in English is *Clover-reach.* This would be pronounced precisely as the old Dutch inhabitants pronounced Claverack, and which pronunciation may be frequently heard among the people of the vicinity to-day. Klaveracker is the regular Dutch word used to signify *clover-field.* The soil of this region has always been famous for its indigenous white clover, growing in great abundance upon its partially cultivated surfaces. At the first visit of Hudson the Indians showed him large provisions of Indian corn, proving that they must have had large fields for its cultivation. They had no system of rotation of crops artifically, and it is well known that their habits of cultivation was to leave grounds after long usage to be recuperated by natural causes. Their manner of cultivating corn was, besides, peculiar. The ground was raised in hillocks, becoming by continued accessions, several feet, sometimes, in height. Upon the top of these only the corn was planted, leaving the spaces intervening and the sides of the hillocks uncultivated. These would become naturally sodded with clover, a grass which endures and thrives under pressure from treading. The field so occupied would in the early part of the season, and before covered with the shading corn, be in a condition precisely to make the most display of its whitened clover. It would be extremely natural that its exposed fields in view of the river would have early derived the appellation of Claverack. The name was so early in use that the circumstances surrounding its bestowment have not been maintained, and consequently must have been given while the land was yet in the possession of the Indians.

The territory of this county was found containing a large population of Indians, and much of its rich bottom-lands along the Claverack, and as far up as the valley of the Squampaumic, was without timber upon it, and used by the Indians for their corn-fields and sites of their populous villages. The well preserved traditions of the earlier white inhabitants, as well as of the Indians,

concur in locating many of those ancient fields, and their sites are still pointed out by those who had become familiar with the local traditions. I have frequently heard discussions of these matters between Judge John I. Miller and my father while living, and know that he entertained a different theory in regard to the origin of the name. He supposed it might have been derived from Klauff and acht, numeral adjective eight. The difficulty of this theory consists in finding the terms and circumstances of this name so derived. Where are the eight distinctive cliffs which a seaman or a stranger would accept as distinctive or descriptive of the locality? Besides, cliff cannot be translated into the Dutch language as Klauff. The Dutch word for cliff is klip. There is no such regular formed word in the Dutch language found in the dictionaries as Klauff. The word most resembling it is kluft, allied to, and only another form of the word kloof, or, in English, clove, crevice or cleft. Klauff compounded with wijk, signifying refuge or retreat, signifies a parish—that is, a retreat or refuge cut off from the world. The original Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon form of the word clove, signifies a club. Clover is named from the club-shaped flower; as clove is the Dutch name for a spice, which name is adopted by other nations deriving their spices through the original Dutch commerce.

The suit of clubs in cards is called and spelled Klaver. Judge Miller was certainly entitled to be accepted as pretty good authority on the subject of the traditional history of the county, yet his theory upon this matter is altogether too fanciful and far fetched to stand the test of a rigid analysis. I have never found any respectable authority to agree with him. It seems to me the orthography of the name is entitled, upon the evidence given, to be placed now beyond the reach of dispute.

Claverack was organized as a District in 1772, even before the organization of the county, which was in 1786. Claverack may be accepted as the original hive of the county from which its population and much of the surrounding counties has sprung. As early as 1716, we find by its records, the Dutch Church was organized at Claverack, and a building for its service was erected. Here the Dutch language was preached for more than a century. The records of this Church form the best and nearly only records of the early settlers. As nearly all the population belonged to the Church, they are valuable as furnishing a pretty general history of

the births, deaths and marriages of the inhabitants. My own name appears among the first of these records, and among the founders of the Church.

In 1783, Thomas Jenkins, a merchant of the city of Providence, united with others of that city, Nantucket and Martha's Vinyard in forming an association for the purpose of "establishing a commercial settlement;" and, after fixing upon Claverack Landing as a site of their future city, made a purchase of lands sufficient for that purpose. At that time the place had two stores, each with a sloop attached, for freighting; a usage which the city has maintained in its freighting business ever since. One of these stores was kept by Peter Hogeboom, and the other by John Van Alen, whom, I believe, (from our family records,) was a cousin.

There was a grist mill, also, in what was later called Spaulding's Hollow, owned and occupied by Peter Hogeboom. The ground for a cemetery, thus early selected, and comprising the original grounds of a portion of the present cemetery, was bestowed upon the city, as a free gift, by Van Alen. A plat of this was immediately set apart for exclusive occupation of the Quakers—showing the character of the inflowing population expected, and to be provided for by the founders.

On the 22d day of April, 1785, the city received its Act of Incorporation, under the name of Hudson, and has since been known only by that name. Its charter was the third in order of time of the State. As some evidence of the expectations of its founders, the act of incorporation embraced a territory large enough for a city of a million of inhabitants. Its boundaries upon the River was: upon the north, the mouth of the Kinderhook creek; on the south, the northern line of the town of Livingston. The city limits, however, have since been reduced by the incorporation of the towns of Stockport and Greenport from its territory.

The site of the city, placed at the head of ship navigation, and one of the earliest settlements on the river, backed by a fertile country already far more populous than any territory contiguous, and holding forests filled with the finest ship timber, as well as material for all descriptions of deal and lumber; with the expectation of transferring the whale fisheries to it, and making it also a place for the building, not only of its own ships, but of the commerce of the country, it is not to be wondered that these large

calculators made such ample provision for the future wants of the city they were founding. These expectations have only been, in part, realized. The transfer of the whale fisheries was not accomplished. The arm of the sea was too long and tortuous for the passage of ships eager for exit to the fishing grounds, or anxiously waited for by their owners on return. In much later years an attempt, when other sources of commercial prosperity had been relinquished, was made to build up here the business of fitting out vessels for the whale fisheries; but the supply of whales was diminishing, and the far northern Pacific were the fields only which contributed a fair return for the skill and capital invested, and this in turn was soon abandoned.

The use of coal in smelting furnaces has, in modern times, opened probably the most productive source of prosperity to the city. Coal must be supplied from the river, and the beds of limestone, being close at hand, make it more convenient to bring the ore to the coal than the coal to the ore, taking into account the shipping of the product of manufacture. With the rich ore beds of such great variety, useful for mixing, lying within easy reach of a network of railroads traversing the country, Hudson is probably destined to rank high in the future for the character and extent of its iron manufacture.

I must now close this historical sketch, with the expectation of its being enlarged by the other contributions awaiting us.

An apology is due for the hasty manner in which my task has been performed. From the large material before me, I have been in hesitation mostly where to select and where to abridge. The annals and traditions of Columbia county would furnish sufficient matter for a voluminous and interesting history.

It had been my intention to give some biographical sketch of the many eminent men who have been born and reared in the county; but, to do anything like justice to the subject, would be traversing a wide field in itself. No other county in the State, not even the populous county of New York nor any other of the Union, have given to the history of the country a list of more honorable or conspicuous names. Our neighboring county of Berkshire, larger and more populous and also early settled, disputes with Columbia county the precedence. Her list of literary names is certainly more extensive. I have left this part of our history unap-

proached in the hope that some abler pen, and less employed for other purposes, would find profitable employment upon it. I have alluded to it now more as a source of encouragement to the rising generation, who see that so many of our great names are fading away and their places remaining unfilled. We cannot prosper alone on the mere reputation of the past, nor demand even honorable distinction for the deeds of those who have gone before us. But the blood which supplied the brains and nerved the arms of those giant men is still among us coursing the veins of their posterity. While walking with due humility in the paths they trod, conscious of our own shortcomings, we may yet, pointing to their great example, seek to stimulate the young among us to more diligent preparation, more earnest work, more sincere devotion, more laudable ambition to reach the goal of honorable success. May God prosper all individual efforts to such end, and that even the gray hairs among us be yet lifted with proud satisfaction that Columbia intends to reclaim her high position in the future.

And now, dear friends, I feel that I have kept you long enough; but it seems to me some consideration is due to subjects of a general nature, affecting the common interests of our beloved country, and especially connecting themselves with the occasion which has brought us together.

All the citizens of the county have been invited to participate in this anniversary. Who would like to be left out, or who feels that he has no right to be here? We come as to a festival, to enjoy with each other, not only the immediate pleasure of the occasion, but chiefly to rejoice in the contemplation of the inestimable blessings of liberty, secured to us by the protection of our common government. All parties, all sexes and conditions are represented here, and we shall not question the sincerity of each other, nor question each others purpose in coming. The people of the whole country are standing before its altars to-day, in devout and jubilant devotion. What is the common sentiment pervading these masses of men, women and children, moving them with such unity in the pursuit of one common object? IT IS THE LOVE OF COUNTRY. A profound sentiment of the human heart actuating mankind in all ages, and under all circumstances to the performance of the noblest deeds recorded in history.

It will be profitable, at this time, to analyze this sentiment, that we may the better understand its manifestations, and our grounds of confidence based upon it, in the future.

While the mere craniology of phrenology may not be wholly accepted, all modern writers have come to regard phrenology in its psychological aspects, as a true philosophy of mind. By it the emotions are grouped into two grand divisions, the higher and the lower. We will have to consider only the higher: They are the love of God as the author of our being; the love of our fellow men; the love of offspring or anxiety for posterity, and the love of home or country; which latter in the phraseology of political economy or social science has received the designation of patriotism. This group of moral emotions constitutes the basis of all excellence in moral character, and by which alone is rendered possible the progress of the human race. Take either from the human mind and man would fall at once from his high estate into the lowest depth of depravity, beneath the position of the groveling brutes. So conspicuously important are the qualities of mind founded upon these emotions that the people of all ages have agreed in confering honor and homage upon those in whom they were more than ordinarily manifested. Not the least among these qualities has patriotism been regarded. The maintenance of the State is the security of all other rights and social blessings, and, accordingly, He who designed man for the position he occupies, has wisely provided that the sentiment of patriotism should be most generally diffused. More than any other virtue it has been vigorous in its manifestations and most widely and publicly esteemed.

On the other hand, all nations and tribes and people under all conditions of civilization have concurred in bestowing abhorrence and contempt upon the traitor. Benedict Arnold, although a brave soldier, and in many respects conceded to have been an excellent type of manhood, will probably live as long in American history as George Washington; the one a subject of hate and scorn, the other of esteem and veneration. This love of country must be understood as apart from and not dependent upon merit in the subject of attachment. We love our country because it *is* our country. If we are conscious of its merit, we shall love it the more. Because we love it, we shall seek to make it better.

There is another characteristic about patriotism, which should not be overlooked. It is a maxim as old as civilization that "virtue brings its own reward." It was not difficult for the disciples, trained in the practice and observance of virtue, to comprehend the saying of their master, "it is far better to give than to receive."

While we meet here to-day to glorify our country, we still more glorify ourselves in the consecration, so that, out of the abundance of our awakened desires, we are ready to declare, "though we die, the nation may live." The mother who clasps her infant to her breast, in that act glorifies herself by vivifying the sentiment which becomes to her a source of infinite blessedness, while serving to strengthen and encourage her through all the trials in the sacred task of protecting and cherishing the subject of her affections. He who performs devotion to the Divine Author, can not be said as conferring glory upon God, but is thereby himself sanctified and lifted into the region of holiness. He who practices fidelity to his friend or kindness to his fellow being, indeed serves another, but glorifies himself through the manifestation of an exalting virtue. The practice of patriotism, like every other virtue, ennobles and blesses its possessor. The man who withholds from his country the service which is its due, commits a wrong. Crimes are defined to be offences against the well being of society. What contributes to the benefit of society is a virtue, and the contrary is a vice. Virtue and crime cannot otherwise be defined. With a definition so distinct and clear, the path of duty is always a plain one and leaves no opportunity for subterfuge. He, who through spleen or hatred, seeks to avoid the obligations of patriotism, may, possibly, (and such is one of the lamentable fatalities of crime,) deceive himself, but he will fail to deceive any body else.

Patriotic citizens! I am here to-day at your invitation, in the performance of a serious duty. Speaking for you and in your name, I should illy discharge that duty on this occasion, if I failed to utter the words of soberness and truth. I have described to you the groups of the higher emotions of our nature, and without which, there can be no excellence of moral character. The one upon which the sentiment of patriotism is founded is ranked among the most important of these emotions. Under any ordinary circumstances the obligations of the citizen are sufficiently evident; under present circumstances those obligations are greatly augmented.

The nation has already been engaged in one of the most devastating civil wars known to modern history, and has by contribution of unparalleled patriotism suppressed a gigantic rebellion intended for the overthrow of the Government and the dissolution of the Union. It is the duty of all citizens to contribute as far

as possible the means and measures conducing to peace and harmony, and the restoration of the relations of confidence and friendship.

This can be obtained only through a correct appreciation and recognition of the issues upon which the war was inaugurated. All attempts for any purpose whatever, to re-open those issues or to awaken in the public mind apprehensions as to the future, should be firmly resisted and suppressed. True kindness, as well as prudence, requires that all the misunderstanding or attempts at evasion should be at once corrected. If there be sores still festering upon the body politic, *cauterization*, and not *poulticing*, is the only remedy against further ulceration.

The precise status of all questions which entered into the war, must be accepted by every citizen. We are not called upon to forget—we could not if we would—the history of our conflict. A complete understanding and recognition of the present situation can only be had by a knowledge and remembrance of the causes which led to the war, and the spirit and purpose of the parties engaged in it. One thing, it will be important always to remember. *The nation demands that the war shall not be fought over again for the settlement of any of the questions which entered into it.* In all our progress of civilization no substitute has been found for the "wage of battle." Public war is regarded as a dreadful alternative. War between nations is terrible, but civil war adds accumulated horrors and brings far more desolation in the track of its devastating armies. Christian civilization has wrought out at last, however, one means of robbing war of its most terrible character. All writers upon international law, concur that while war may not be dispensed with, that when prosecuted with a distinct and defined purpose to the end, the final result must be accepted as a conclusive determination of the questions in dispute. All civilized nations have come to this agreement. A surrender is acknowledged as the highest and most solemn form of adjudication. The true soldier does not break his parol of honor. Before this law of war was generally accepted, extermination of opposing forces was the only guaranty of a conclusive settlement and security for the future. Never has a war been inaugurated with a more clearly defined purpose, and the issues submitted been more distinctly presented and understood by both parties than the late war of the rebellion. The declaration of war by the States in rebellion, the

proclamation of the Confederate Constitution with its peculiar provisions, and the arguments given to the world in formal State papers, upon which hostilities were to be justified on the one side, and on the other the purpose to maintain national supremacy over all the States and the preservation of the Union, and the employment of the means necessary for the accomplishment of that object have placed this subject out of the reach of controversy. Discussion and debate of those issues crowned in the thunders of war were remanded to a continuing silence under capitulation, and cannot be revived with the restoration of peace. The Union soldiers who stacked their arms and marched home with empty hands to resume their vocations of peace, did so with hearts confiding in the pledges of an honorable foe. All men, embued with the sentiments of honor, not only did then, but have continued ever since to accept and abide by the results of the war. The brave soldiers who fought and won, and paid so dear a price for victory, must not be insulted now with any attempt to rob victory of its just rewards.

Those who mingled in the bloody contests of battle, learned, perhaps, the meaning of the war and the significance of a surrender. The long continuance of the war, with its necessary incidents, brought combatants into relations which enabled them to understand each other fully. The very negroes who, as slaves, had been treated with contempt, fighting as they did, valiantly for their freedom, compelled the respect, and enforced, as soldiers, the recognition of their manhood. Through the smoke of battle was discovered the brotherhood of race; and the despised Yankee, the hated rebel, and the down-trodden negro, rose in mutual esteem to a plane of equality. When the clouds of war lifted at last from the field of conflict, the soldiers did not fail to recognize a common manhood. We shall not question now that among the rebel soldiers, patriotism was a fervid sentiment. It would belie all history, and be a slur upon human nature itself to suppose that any great number of men can be found under any circumstances uninfluenced by the sentiment of patriotism. Besides, great armies are not held by the mere force of discipline to the accomplishment of such results as were achieved by the forces of the rebellion. Deluded or undeluded masses of men, held together for months and years to battle for a cause, cannot be sustained without an earnest conviction of principle and exaltation of sentiment. Patriotism, like any other

emotion of our nature, may be mistaken in the selection of its proper object, and yet not be materially diminished in its strength or activity. The result of the war has been the removal of that mistaken object of affection, and the sentiment remaining returns to the proper object of devotion. The leaders and instigators of the rebellion, whose love of country for the time was stifled by the love of lust and power of domination over their fellow men, have, in the Providence of God, had the object of their mad ambition removed forever beyond the reach of unhallowed desire. Four millions of men, through vassal futilage of generations may be held in bondage. Four millions of men, having once tasted the fruits of freedom, can never be driven back into bondage.

All men accept the first consummation of the charter of American liberty so devotedly prayed for by all its disciples ever since the imperishable principles were declared by its great apostle. The victims of a debasing vassalage have been remanded to the possession of their inalienable rights; the badge of degradation removed from the brow of honest labor, and the slave-holding class released from bondage of sin, fast undermining the morals of the age, are relieved from a burden of maintenance which hung like an incubus over all the territory of slavery, repressing population, forbidding immigration, depressing the education of the masses, and retarding the prosperity of the State. The intelligent slave-holders everywhere express themselves gratified by the providential deliverance of slavery. The leaders of the rebellion profess to accept the inevitable and faithfully to abide by all the results of the war. With but very few exceptions they have, with apparent alacrity and cheerfulness, subscribed to the iron-clad oath of allegiance, and the Nation has graciously accepted their solemn protestations of renewed loyalty. It would be uncharitable to say that this is all a hollow mockery. Oh, no! Honor among men, as well as the bitter experience of the past, is a guaranty of the future. Amendments to the Constitution have been proposed and adopted by all the States of such results of the war as seemed to require Constitutional confirmation, while the maintenance of the rest may be safely entrusted to an enlightened and patriotic public opinion. I have not sought to conceal from you that there are still bad men among us who, if it were in their power, would open afresh the wounds of the Nation, and even delight to behold it bleeding again at every pore. All men are not virtuous; all men are not patriotic.

Those whose bosoms never warmed with the sentiment, or in whom it has become wholly aborted by disappointment, or thwarted by ambition and revenge, will be unreconciliable to the end.

They might be dangerous disturbers of the public peace, were their numbers more considerable, or their resolution equal to their malignancy. They are derived chiefly from that class known during the war as skulkers, and whose influence before the war was appreciated only by urging on the rebellion by promises of assistance, they had neither courage or power to bestow, and then betrayed it. Fortunately they weaken every cause they espouse, since they are never found in alliance with any but a bad one. They are offensive but not dangerous. Their very bark, an ostentation of spirit, made to conceal their cowardice, serves also a warning to others of better intentions to avoid their unprofitable company. Disowned by every political party of the day as a fatal legacy, they stand outside of any respectable political or social sympathy. With but few exceptions they will never rise into sufficient importance, individually, to become infamous in history. Possibly some of them may possess other virtues although wanting the one so essential to the good citizen, and their immediate posterity may desire to cherish their memories while concealing the great void of character in this regard, and we, in the midst of a rejoicing so universal, can afford to abstain from placing any obstacle in the way of so laudable and merciful an effort. Tenderly, then, with the feelings of commiseration, we may not rightfully withhold from a fellow creature, however perverse and misguided he may be, we shall consign this class to an undisturbed oblivion. The generations which shall come after us, happy and contented in the enjoyment of liberty, protected by the benign and parental government of a thrice bonded Union, will forget, or refuse to believe, when they read the story of these times, that such men ever lived who would seek to pull down or disturb the stability of so fair and beneficent a fabric of government.

And now, fellow citizens, standing at this Centennial epoch of our history, looking back upon the past, and with prophetic vision into the future, we have a right to rejoice with an exceeding great joy. The blows aimed at the Union have only served to rivit its bonds more securely. Now, more than ever before, this Nation has won the respect of all good men, and earned the congratulations of its neighbors. It has rescued from the waves for-

ever the ark of American Liberty, and its messengers of peace have gone bearing the olive branch to every people. Happy are they, who gathered about these altars, can mingle in true and earnest devotion in the performance of those rites due to our common country, and derive from it that supreme happiness which the possession of the gratified sentiment of patriotism alone of itself confers.

Patriotic citizens, let the united voice of this vast assemblage rise in the concluding invocation.

May this nation continue to live and prosper in all that is good and desirable, securing happiness, prosperity and contentment to all the people, and continue to be a beacon light of well regulated constitutional liberty, till when all the ends of the earth shall be brought together in harmony. May its people, through the help of matured experience, learn more and more to walk the ways of sobriety and economy, as the only paths leading to prosperity and happiness; by the prudent selection of faithful public servants and imposed accountability, compel the observance of honesty and economy in the administration of public affairs; preserve inviolate the sacred rights of private conscience to all its citizens, and dispense education through the system of free common schools, the nurseries of freemen, as the only guaranty of civil and religious liberty.