

★ FINAL REPORT ★



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UNITED STATES
WEST TERRITORY CELEBRATION COMMISSION

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EXEGETICAL

When Northwest Territory Celebration was planned, it was contemplated that there would be no printed report of the affairs of the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission; that, in the interest of economy, only a typed official report be prepared and submitted to proper government departments. So many printed reports, often prepared quite elaborately and at considerable cost, serve mainly to glorify and pamper the vanity of people concerned, and thereafter to gather dust in library archives, that this Commission figured to do its work, report officially and pass out of existence.

However, the progress of Northwest Territory Celebration has developed some new phases of history commemorative procedure, and so many requests have been received for the complete story, or for that of some special phases, of the Celebration, that the Commission deems it most economical to prepare the facts in form suitable to this purpose and available for other times and places where these experiences may be of interest and possible value.

No attempt is made herein to elaborate on the printer's art, or to do otherwise than preserve and convey essential information.

In this spirit the less fortunate features of the celebration plan are discussed as well as those which proved most successful.

While it is necessary, for purposes of space, to abbreviate many of the incidents, the report, we trust, epitomizes essential phases of Commission and Celebration activity.

Effort is to give this report the atmosphere of a running story rather than mere academic recitation.

Respectfully submitted,

E. M. Hawes,
Executive Director

**NORTHWEST TERRITORY CELEBRATION
COMMISSION**

**INCEPTION OF NORTHWEST TERRITORY
CELEBRATION**

The idea of celebrating the 150th anniversary of Passage of the Ordinance of 1787 and establishment of Northwest Territory first took tangible form in the late 1934 when the directors of the Marietta Chamber of Commerce discussed celebrating Marietta's 150th Birthday and appointed a committee to devise a plan and select a temporary director. This committee consisted of Lew N. Harness and Walter Gerhart, both of whom discussed with E. M. Hawes the idea and possible directorship. Mr. Hawes refused the latter but did agree to submit a plan, based upon the premise that the historic events concerned in the settlement of Marietta were most proper for a national commemoration, rather than one purely local in tone.

This plan was submitted to and approved by the Marietta Chamber of Commerce in December 1934. A special committee of the Chamber of Commerce undertook the promotion of the idea, and raised a fund of some \$3,000 by popular subscription to defray the necessary expenses involved.

Former Governor George White agreed to accept chairmanship of the special committee, and E. M. Hawes was retained as director.

The first major step taken was a conference between President Roosevelt and the Marietta Committee, Governor White, W. P. McKinney and E. M. Hawes. The President heartily approved the plan and promised his support and aid. This has been freely and enthusiastically given in the entire development of the program.

Next, followed conferences with Congressman Robert T. Secrest, Senator R. J. Bulkley, Congressman Sol Bloom, who had directed the Washington Bi-Centennial, and others.

A bill providing for the Celebration was prepared and introduced by Mr. Secrest as H. J. Resolution No. 208.

This bill provided for a commission of fourteen, including the President of the United States; two members from each House of Congress (one from each major political party); the regents of the Daughters of the American Revolution in each of the six states of Northwest Territory; and three members at large, to be appointed by the President.

The Resolution also provided an appropriation of \$100,000 for purposes of the celebration.

It is but fair to here interject that the plan submitted by the Marietta Committee was complete in its details. There was no element of asking the President or Congress for a blanket appropriation to be spent as might later be designed. The appropriation provided was exactly the amount asked—probably largely because of the definite plan submitted, and also because the amount was so entirely nominal as compared with many other historic commemoration programs.

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

government departments and agencies were outlined and approved generally by the President.

The bill, originally on the "Consent Calendar" of Congress, where one dissent would defeat it, met opposition from one then Ohio Congressman-at-large who insisted upon some \$15,000 of the appropriation being allotted to the Ohio State Fair. The bill was finally removed to the regular calendar and carried by an almost unanimous vote by the House of Representatives and later the Senate, August 2nd, 1935.

In the meanwhile, President Roosevelt had given a letter containing his views on the importance of the proposed commemoration, and various men had visited the Governors of the States of Northwest Territory. H. E. Schramm and E. M. Hawes visited Ohio and Michigan, and the Ohio legislature appropriated \$25,000 as suggested. (Later an additional \$15,000 was appropriated at the request of the State Commission). Governor Fitzgerald of Michigan gave assurance of his State's participation even if he "had to go out and raise the money privately."

J. Morton Harper and E. M. Hawes called upon Governors Olson of Minnesota and Philip LaFollette of Wisconsin. Requests were made for \$10,000 from Minnesota (only that part of the state east, the Mississippi River having been part of Northwest Territory), and \$15,000 from Wisconsin.

Governor White and E. M. Hawes later called upon Governors Horner of Illinois, and Townsend of Indiana—asking \$20,000 from Illinois and \$15,000 from Indiana, and others as below noted.

These requested appropriations from the states were not proposed to be spent by the Federal Commission in any way, but each state was asked to appoint its own commission and devise its own celebration except for cooperation with and participation in some of the federal features common to all the States.

In late 1935, Governor White and Mr. Hawes again called upon all the six states, this time upon the newly elected governors, Murphy of Michigan, and Benson of Minnesota.

Michigan was asked for \$20,000 as it was promised by Governor Murphy. Illinois made her appropriation at once, and ultimately the states all made appropriations as follows:

Ohio	\$25,000 plus \$15,000—\$40,000
Illinois	20,000
Wisconsin	2,500
Minnesota	5,000
Indiana	15,000
Michigan	Nothing

Perhaps mention should be made of the men in public positions who were also contacted by, or to whom the Marietta men were referred by various governors. They were:

- Ohio—
 Julian Schweller, Representative and Chairman
 Lloyd Stacy, Representative, House Finance Committee
 Verner Metcalf, State Senator

- Illinois—
 Mr. V. ... der, Public Relations

- Wisconsin—
 Thos. Duncan, Assistant to Governor
- Minnesota—
 Hjalmar Petersen, Lieutenant Governor
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- Michigan—
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Also all secretaries of State Historical Societies were seen and the celebration plan outlined to them. To these men, the commission expresses appreciation for their hearty cooperation and the general enthusiasm with which they greeted the proposal.

In September 1936 the Federal Commission was organized, at Indianapolis and with Governor McNutt in the chair. Officers were as follows:

- Former Governor George White, Chairman
 Mrs. Leland S. Duxbury, Vice Chairman
 Mrs. George Baxter Averill, Vice Chairman
 Miss Bonnie Farwell, Vice Chairman
 Mrs. Samuel James Campbell, Vice Chairman
 Mrs. John S. Heaume, Vice Chairman
 Mrs. George D. Schermerhorn, Vice Chairman
 Rev. Joseph E. Hanz, Secretary
 Robert T. Secrest, Treasurer

E. M. Hawes was chosen as Executive Director. Offices were opened in the Federal Building at Marietta. The following state commissions and directors were appointed by the various states:

- Illinois Commission—
 Governor Henry Horner, Chairman
 Dr. James Weber Lynn, Director
 Paul M. Angle, Secretary
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| Henry C. Allen | Dean S. McGaughey |
| Laurence F. Arnold | John W. Merrigan |
| Horace J. Bridges | Mrs. Henry T. Rainey |
| C. LeRoy Brown | Ernest L. Schein |
| E. E. Campbell | William Schlake |
| C. F. Easterday | Julius F. Smietanka |
| Charles H. Edwards | George H. Smith |
| Louis L. Emmerson | Marshall Solberg |
| Mrs. Sara John English | Mrs. Paul Steinbrecher |
| R. V. Graham | Adlai E. Stevenson |
| Thomas P. Gunning | Melvin Thomas |
| Robert M. Harper | Barney Thompson |
| Mrs. Barbara Burr Hubes | Clint Clay Tilton |
| Thomas E. Keane | Mrs. Bernice T. VanDerVries |
| Paul Kiniery | Cono Cuifia |
| William J. Klibanow | Peter S. Lambros |

- Indiana Commission—
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Michigan Commission (no appropriation; commission inactive)

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Mrs. William C. Geogley
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The plan had now become an actuality and its development will be discussed under its different phases.

The celebration was carried though almost as outlined in its inception. The commission did all that it agreed to do, and some features were even added.

The accompanying program chart gives the picture in its detail.

Working Personnel

George J. Blazier, Librarian of Marietta College, was chosen as official historian, Miss Marian Baesel as secretary to the director; a publicity man furnished by the Federal Writer's Project; and these with a modest clerical force of usually one or two persons made up the office personnel. Some of the clerical help necessary was furnished by National Youth Administration and Federal Writer's Project.

At a later time, O. K. Reames of Zanesville, Ohio, was employed as director of pageantry and Percy Jewett Burrell of Watertown, Massachusetts, was retained as advisor on pageantry. While Governor White occupied an honorary position as chairman, he did give tremendously of time and effort to the affairs of the commission.

The Plan

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

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

2nd—To maintain the program for a long enough period to permit it to become firmly embedded in the consciousness of the public. So many his-

toric programs are held in one place, and for such a brief time that they fail to make the desired "dent", and soon pass into the realm of forgotten episodes in the hurry of our modern living.

Every advertising man knows that it is the drip, drip, drip of the water which wears the stone away, and we merely adapted this sort of thinking to an historic commemoration.

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

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

We aimed to secure financial cooperation from as many of the interested sources as was possible, thereby both securing a more tangible interest and easing the burden for each participating unit.

Attempt was made to reach *all* classes of people in an appealing manner. The program was especially for neither "high hats" or "low brows", but for every citizen who is part of this nation.

How proper these premises were and how well the Commission has succeeded in its aims remains for history to judge. The following descriptions by topics, give the essential facts of planning and execution.

The factors of the Celebration are discussed in the order shown on the appended program chart, which order of arrangement does not, however, reflect the relative importance of various features.

Cartographic Map

This feature was planned as an inexpensive yet attention-compelling and informational piece of literature. Original plans called for tentative distribution of about five million maps. A map was to be given to each school child in the Territory with a reasonable supply for miscellaneous distribution.

The Federal Commission provided the historical research, the plates and all make ready charges, and agreed to care for all miscellaneous distribution.

Federal Art Project made the drawings.

The maps were offered to State Commission at actual printing cost of 1c each. Subsequently, none of the states made provision for enough maps, there being about two and a half million printed and distributed. This resulted in such a heavy demand upon the Federal Commission that it became necessary to make a charge for maps in quantities greater than single copies.

The map was printed in four colors, and contains much unusual data. It shows, among other distinctive features, how the United

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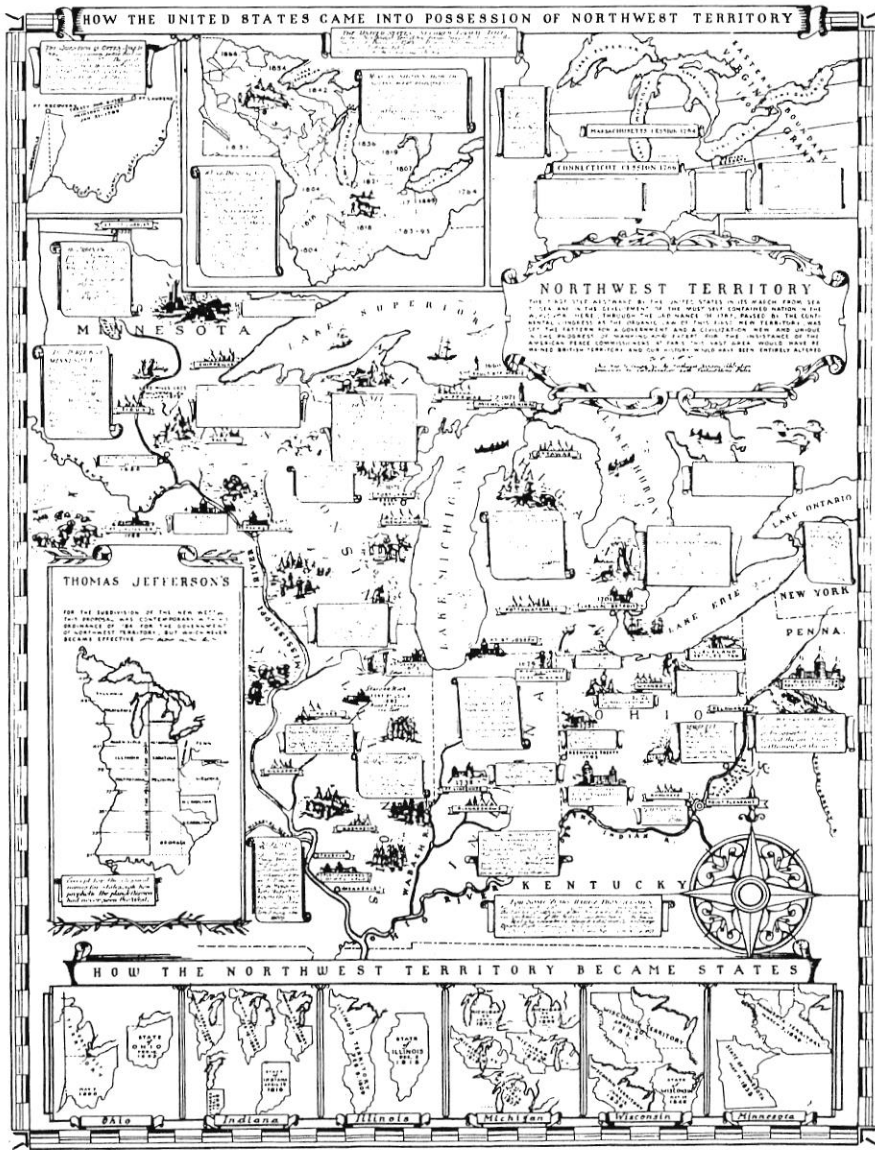
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Cartographic Map, compiled and published by the Commission. Art work by Federal Art Project, research by Commission. The map was produced by offset process in four colors. On the reverse side the Ordinance of 1787 was printed. About two and a half million of these maps were distributed. (Size 18" x 24")

States came into possession of Old Northwest Territory, both as to cession of colonial claims and as to relinquishment of Indian ownership; and the various steps by which the territory became six present States of this nation.

The value of the map has been shown repeatedly in that prior to this celebration—and during it—vast numbers of people thought of the Northwest Territory as being the *Pacific Northwest*, Oregon, Idaho, and Washington.

On the back of the map appeared the text of the Ordinance of 1787, with especially salient portions printed in red.

This was a very complete general piece of literature, more apt to be looked at and studied than would any booklet, and at perhaps one-third to one-fourth what a booklet would cost.

Bibliography

The historian of the Commission had prepared two bibliographies, one extended to cover most of the available material and an abridged list of the more important and most commonly available books. But to gain a fairly comprehensive idea of the epoch it was at that time necessary to peruse many books. For instance, the writer read over one hundred and fifty books relating in some way to the subject in whole or in part. There was need for literature going farther into the history involved than could the map, yet fairly simple to read.

Textbook

This feature was intended to present in brief and concise form the history of the Ordinance of 1787, and Old Northwest Territory—to get which information which it is otherwise necessary to refer to a large number of books, many of which are not available outside of the larger libraries.

The textbook therefore was to be a summary of available information, primarily for school use, but also for the many readers who would be little inclined to digest a number of texts.

A committee of the State historians from Northwest Territory was appointed to prepare the book. Dr. Harlow Lindley of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society and formerly of the Indiana State Historical Society, agreed to serve as chairman and editor-in-chief. Dr. Fuller of the Michigan State Historical Society was unable to give time and Dr. M. M. Quaife of Detroit agreed to serve in his place.

The bulk of the very considerable preparation effort involved fell upon Dr. Lindley, Dr. Quaife and Norris Schneider of Zanesville.

Federal Writer's Project, both state and national cooperated on arrangement of copy. Most of the illustrations used were done by students in public school art classes, as the result of a territory wide contest held by the Commission. Prizes of five dollars for each illustration used were given, and the class of art secured measures up well with any textbook illustrations.

The book was to be distributed free to all school teachers in the territory and was offered for sale to all others at 10c per copy. That is, the Federal Commission prepared and printed the books and delivered each state's supply to each State Commission. This

required a quarter of a million books and twenty-five thousand were printed for miscellaneous distribution.

The copy design of the book presented a problem in that it was impossible to prepare and print two books, one especially for school children and the other for adults. Therefore, the effort was composite, with special thought to a book which teachers might themselves read and interpret to the various ages and grades of younger school pupils. The result was a 96-page book—6 x 9 inches—and which earned general approbation from both readers and historians.

It cannot be said that the school teacher distribution was satisfactorily effective. This will be further referred to under School Contests, but to illustrate the point herein concerned, there were at least a dozen cases of refusal of shipments by county and school superintendents to whom books were sent, to be sent by them in turn to the teachers under their supervision. This was so despite all freight charges on shipments being prepaid and letters having been written to all such recipients advising them of shipment and of their function.

There were a considerable number of additional cases where teachers wrote in saying that they had not received their books, wherein investigation disclosed that local distribution had not been carried out.

As to those thousands of teachers who received the textbook, there would remain a considerable doubt as to how many failed to either read the book, or having read it, failed to tell the story to their classes.

All in all, the textbook was and is one of the main permanent contributions of the Celebration. If it were to be done over again, it would certainly be published in approximately its present form; but a different system of distribution would be employed.

Commemorative Postage Stamps

In this project of attaining interest of the nation at large and of the large fraternity of stamp collectors in particular, the celebration was especially fortunate.

Through the interest and cooperation of the Post Office Department and of President Roosevelt, two special commemorative stamp were issued.

The first, known as the "Ordinance of 1787" stamp, was issued July 13, 1937, and first day sales were held at both New York City and Marietta, Ohio. It was a "special delivery size", showing map of old Northwest Territory and the nation of the period of 1787, with portraits of Manasseh Cutler and Rufus Putnam.

The second stamp was issued July 15th, 1938, commemorating the 150th anniversary of the establishment of the first civil government west of the thirteen original states.

It was of regular postage stamp size, and employed a picture of the national memorial to the start westward of the United States, at Marietta.

First day sale of this stamp was exclusively at Marietta. Both these stamps were of the three-cent variety and first day sales, as

well as total sales, compare favorably with those of other commemorative issues.

These sales were:

"Ordinance of 1787" Stamp—First Day Sale	717,778
Authorized to be printed 85,000,000.	
"Northwest Territory" Stamp—First Day Sale	340,516
Authorized to be printed 65,000,000.	

In addition to these official recognitions, there were many "cachets" put out by many different people, companies and organizations. No estimate of the total number sold is possible. The Marietta Commission for the celebration put out two series of most attractive cachets—perhaps the best we have ever seen.

Ox Team Mail

While not official government mail as to the route followed, one of the most unique postal features was the "ox team mail" carried by the caravan from Ipswich to Marietta. A special cachet was issued by the Commission and letters were officially stamped and postmarked at Ipswich and again on arrival at Marietta Post Office. From Marietta they were re-mailed to their recipients in the regular manner. This was, so far as is known, the only ox team carried mail in existence in the United States. It is almost certainly the only issue of cachets ever so carried.

These were priced at fifty-three cents each, and some 3,200 were sold. This feature was suggested and designed by stamp collectors, but its sale did not come anywhere near up to their enthusiastic estimates. Receipts went, of course, into the general fund of the United States Treasury, as is the case with all cash receipts of this and similar commissions.

New York Program

Officially, Northwest Territory Celebration opened on July 13th, 1937, at New York City.

It was there on July 13th, 1787, that the famous Ordinance was adopted by the Continental Congress. It was not only proper that this celebration should take major cognizance of this event, but it was psychologically sound that the program should begin in the largest population center of the nation.

Also, it was possible to hold the ceremonies on the very site where the Congress had passed the Ordinance, as this location, the New York City Hall of colonial days, is now occupied by the United States Sub-Treasury Building.

Permission was secured from Mayor La Guardia and assurances given of the cooperation requested of the city.

Federal Theatre Project had agreed to personnel and enact the pageant "Freedom on the March", which had been written by Mr. O. K. Reames as the official pageant-drama of the Celebration.

The program was to take place in the afternoon, on a special stage erected over the broad steps of the Sub-Treasury Building.

There was considerable of a headache connected with this showing, all of which does not need to be rehearsed here. Some points are salient, however.

It was at this time that Federal Theatre Project was beset by strikes and agitation. A cut of some 30% had been made in

MISCELLANEOUS CEREMONIES
CONNECTED WITH THE
NORTHWEST TERRITORY CELEBRATION

RIGHT - Twenty four winners in grade school contest and their chaperones, visit Marietta enroute to Washington, D.C. for three day sight seeing trip.



The pioneers of 1938 place a wreath upon the grave of Rufus Putnam

— and visit Mound Cemetery where many of their antecedents are at rest.

In this cemetery are said to be buried more officers of the American Revolution than at any other in America.

The mound, "Conus", in the background is one of the finest examples of Mound-builders work still extant.



A sapling descended from the famous Washington Elm, given to Marietta by the Hamilton-Wendham (Mass.) Garden Club, is planted in Sacra Via Park.



their lists, and this action, along with conflict between rival labor organization groups, had presented a serious situation. Officials were being kidnapped—locked into their offices, and ugly demonstrations were the daily order. It was very doubtful as to whether the cast selected for "Freedom on the March" would stick through or not. It was even doubtful as to whether Federal Theatre would continue to exist in New York City.

Mayor La Guardia had suggested an ox team parade through the main streets of New York, but this, with other build-up features, had to be cancelled because of possibility of such events becoming merely the main features of a demonstration by strikers.

Profiteers and chisellers appeared in several phases of the plans for the New York Program.

Finally, and very close to the actual date of the showing, the Actors Equity Association came splendidly to our rescue with assurance that our program would not be interfered with by a strike then in prospect.

Everything seemed set for the somewhat reduced program.

But, on the late afternoon of July 12th, the day before the exercises, an official of Manhattan Borough of New York City refused the necessary permission to erect the stage, to block off the streets, etc. It was quite apparent that Governor White and the writer had not understood all the ramifications of New York City authority when we consulted the Mayor and his staff and secured what were assumed to be complete cooperation and permission.

It took the combined efforts of the Mayor's office, Congressman Secrest, and the writer to secure an even quasi-acquiescence to proceed—but without permits—and this was not secured until 1:30 p. m., with the program to begin at 3:00 p. m.

Then to cap this climax of untoward events, the loud speaking system arranged for did not arrive and none could be secured upon such short notice. The unexpected complications with Manhattan Borough had taken so much time and attention that these and other details could not be checked upon and there were several resultant short comings in connection with this program.

However, an estimated twenty-five thousand people saw the pageant; the Federal Theatre cast did its part splendidly and without any discords; and Congressman Secrest, who read the special message prepared by President Roosevelt for the occasion said afterward that if that program was all the commission did, its existence would have been fully justified.

School Contests

Quite obviously one of the major objectives of the Commission was to reach the younger generation, as these children are at their formative period, and will in a few years be our adult citizens.

No phase of the Commission's work had any more thought or intensity of purpose devoted to it.

Consultation was held with a great many school authorities as to the best methods to be employed.

There was no unanimity of opinion among these authorities. Some favored objective tests, others contests of one sort or another. Contests were finally chosen as the most practicable procedure, even

though some school executives felt that they were on the decline in appeal; were susceptible of dishonesty, etc.

Attempt was made to avoid all the known faults of other contests, and with some \$6,000 cash set up as prizes (both cash and trip prizes); along with college scholarships of a value of about \$13,500 it was agreed that such a contest would attract attention and secure large interest and returns.

These contests were divided into three phases:

No. 1 for Primary school students—grades 1 to 8 inclusive with a personally conducted trip to Washington, D. C., and to Marietta as the awards.

There were to be 24 winners in the Territory, and each teacher had opportunity to also win a trip to Washington as one of six chaperones.

Grading of drawing (Grades 1 to 4 inclusive) and essays (grades 5 to 8 inclusive) was done by school teachers, principals, superintendents, etc. up to State Departments of Education.

No record is available as to total number of contestants, but the children did make the trip to the National Capital—spending one day in Marietta and three days in and around Washington. This trip was most successful in every way. Special Pullmans were used, with chaperones for each State, representatives of the Commission and the Railroad Company in attendance.

These winners were:

OHIO		
Donald Kientz	Columbus	
Billy Saltz	Columbus	
Clara Esther Killion	Cincinnati	
Maxine Lowe	Lowell	
INDIANA		
Katharine Lynch	North Judson	
Mary Lou McCoy	Grammer	
Jean Huffman	Columbus	
Jo Ann Kingsbury	Indianapolis	
ILLINOIS		
Lillian Piven	Chicago	
Herman McIntosh	Toulon	
Eloise Taylor	Bloomington	
Eugene Pryor	Harristown	
MINNESOTA		
Helen Haugen	Middle River	
Audrey Norbie	Kandiyohi	
Audrey Webster	Nicollet	
Florian Karnowski	Little Falls	
MICHIGAN		
Jimmy Poortenga	Hudsonville	
Jerry Anderson	Negaunee	
Sidney Schut	Hudsonville	
Dorothy McHaney	River Rouge	
WISCONSIN		
James Arnold	Madison	
Jimmy Williams	Gays Mills	
Jeanne Sheeley	Chippewa Falls	
Robert Schobert	Milwaukee	

Contest No. 2 was for High School pupils and for cash prizes and scholarships in value of some \$15,000.

The entries were pitifully few compared to the number of High School students.

Because of the method of judging, no exact figures on essays submitted are available, but the contest cannot be called a success.

These winners were:

NINTH AND TENTH GRADES

Elaine Von Leuhrte	Cincinnati, Ohio
Florence Warner	Sayner, Wisconsin
Laurabel Scott	Zanesville, Ohio
Evelyn Shock	Lowell, Ohio
Gloria Pederson	Minneapolis, Minnesota
Kenneth Henry	Bridgeport, Ohio
Sam Stevens	Evanston, Illinois
William DeBock	Beloit, Wisconsin
Rodney Moore	Marietta, Ohio, Route No. 5
Lawrence A. Williamson	Cincinnati, Ohio

ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH GRADES

Ruth Alice Huber	Crestline, Ohio
Janice Benson	Duluth, Minnesota
Fern Molberg	Cumberland, Wisconsin
Valerie Simmonds	Minneapolis, Minnesota
Grace Ropke	Chicago, Illinois
Albert Ravnholt	Luck, Wisconsin
Paul V. Smith	Findlay, Ohio
Russell Park	Mt. Pulaski, Illinois
Robert Racine	Stambaugh, Michigan
John P. Ragsdale, Jr.	Indianapolis, Indiana

Contest No. 3 was for College students of all ages.

The twelve prizes totaled \$1,500 in cash, inasmuch as it was felt that most college students needed and would appreciate financial help.

Of the two hundred-odd colleges in Northwest Territory and to all of whom the contest was open, only ten submitted entries. For the \$1,500 in cash awards there were but sixteen essays which reached the Commission. Among the six entries for girls, five were from parochial colleges. When this startling result was evident, the Commission wrote to all professors of history in all these colleges, explaining the situation and asking what, in their frank opinion, had been the trouble, and what course to follow.

Those letters went out September 17, 1938, and from over 200 of them, 36 replies were received—mostly in October, 1938. The 170 remaining departments of history did not even reply at all.

(The Commission has actually just received, in November, 1938, two letters from college history professors, acknowledging receipt of the contest announcement and material which was sent out in *March, 1937*—eighteen months ago.)

The universal expression of those who replied was that there had been nothing wrong with promotion material, or process; that students were too busy with curricular activities; that the professors had been too busy to announce the contest, etc., etc.; that the contest should be extended as to closing date, and if this could be done they would really do something about it.

To extend the contest required, in decency, the consent of those who had entered originally, and it has required over two months to get that consent from all of the sixteen entrants. The time is

now too late for extension of this contest, and even if it were extended, we have but small faith that its results would be materially improved.

All in all, it may be surmised that the experience of this Commission with school contests was very disappointing in some of its phases.

To anyone or any agency contemplating reaching school children and college students we would say to find some other means or method.

Perhaps the trouble was in the plan or promotion material, but this was gone over with, and was really designed by, school authorities before it was approved and sent out, and college history teachers find no post-contest fault with it.

From the experience with school people as to the textbook and the contests, we conclude that school teachers and administrators are grooved to curricular texts and have little time or inclination for anything not specifically required in their courses of study—regardless of its merit or the incentive offered.

School Annual Contest

A series of small prizes totalling \$100 in cash were offered to High Schools' school year books employing a Northwest Territory motif.

This contest produced 15 contestants, almost all of which are very creditable, some very exceptional, in their art and copy treatment.

Adult Scholar's Contest

In order to contribute permanently to the literature of American history, and to carry much further the premise which resulted in the textbook before described, the Commission offered an honorarium of \$1,000 to any adult scholar in the United States for the best new standard text or reference work on the Northwest Territory period.

Ten manuscripts were submitted. The entries were nationwide. The committee of judges was nominated by the American Historical Association, and the award was made to Dr. B. H. Pershing of Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio. Honorable mention were given to A. L. Kohlmeier and Logan Esary.

While the commission made no plans for subsidized publication, steps are now being taken to have this work appear in standard form.

Window Display Contest

While such a contest was contemplated originally, it was necessary to cancel this portion of the plan when it became necessary for the commission to entirely finance the caravan from its own funds.

However, the general and almost universal practice in towns where the caravan appeared, was for several or many of the leading merchants to decorate their windows especially for the occasion.

Heirlooms of colonial times and which were apparently unknown to their communities appeared on display, and a great many unique expressions of the window trimming art were brought out.

While the Federal Commission did not establish direct contact with stores in this regard, the local committees did a splendid job,

and so far as the writer could make personal inquiry the stores who did put in such displays all felt that those windows had attracted entirely unusual attention and appreciation.

Were we to do this job over again, window displays would be a large factor. They accomplish variety and repetition and are much to the interest of the merchant as well as to that of the celebration.

Historical Novel

In its plan for literature the Commission tried to accomplish a well rounded program. To illustrate this point, the map was regarded as the "A, B, C book"—bright, pictures, plenty of color.

The text book might be compared to a reader for grade school pupils.

The standard history was intended as a reference work, and for those adults who might be interested in such non-fiction.

There remained a considerable gap—covering the great mass of people who will be more inclined to read history if it is dressed up in romance.

Publishers stated that if a non-fiction book sold 1,000 copies, the same facts in historical novel form would sell probably 5,000 copies.

The commission felt that such a novel should be by an established author, known and respected not only for his literary ability but also for his accurate treatment of historic fact.

In the negotiations carried on to find such authors, George Palmer Putnam had suggested Meade Minnigerode. After considerable investigation of all the various potentialities, Mr. Minnigerode's qualifications best suited the purpose and he agreed enthusiastically to writing such a novel. The resultant book was "Black Forest"—a standard novel, splendidly based upon historic fact yet thrilling with romance and in the author's inimitable style. It was published by Farrar & Rinehart of New York.

The commission paid no subsidy whatever to either Mr. Minnigerode or to the publisher.

Feeling that the book was so well worth while, copies were later distributed to the 1200 public libraries in the States of Northwest Territory.

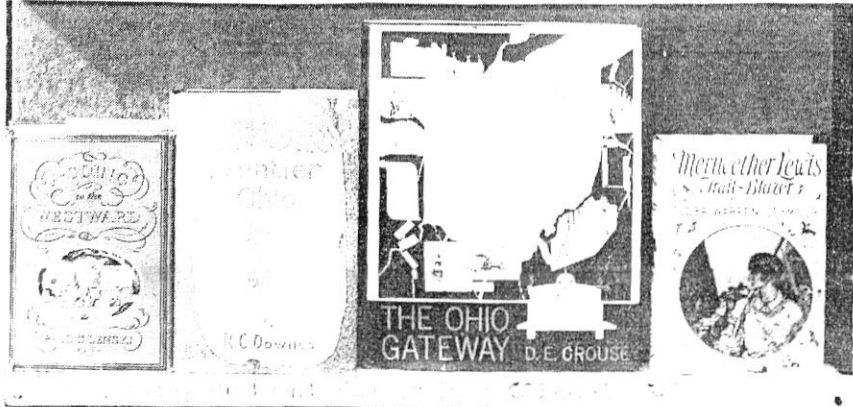
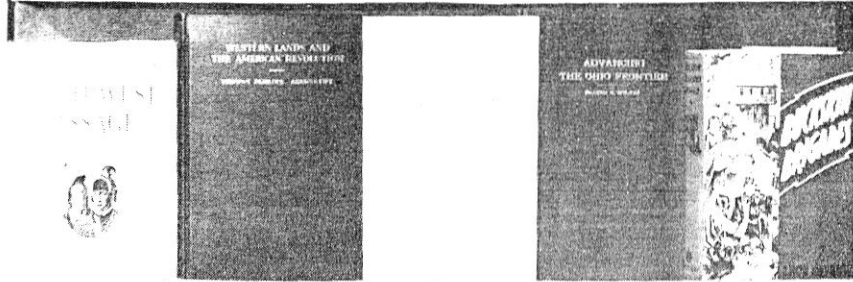
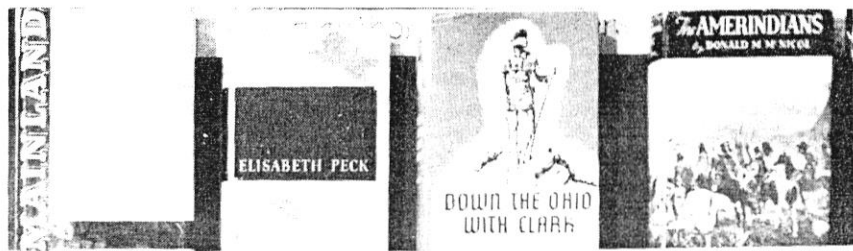
"Black Forest" however was only the first of many books, of many sorts, which were to appear concurrently with Northwest Territory Celebration and dealing with that period of history.

Whether, in some cases at least, the negotiations which had been carried on by the commission resulted indirectly in other writers and publishers bringing out books, or whether the consciousness of the unique value and import of this phase of our history struck others as and when it had impressed the commission is not known.

The net result however was the publication of the largest number of current books which have ever appeared in connection with any American historic commemoration.

The books which appeared during the approximate period of the celebration and which relate to it are:

BLACK FOREST—Meade Minnigerode (Farrar & Rinehart). Dependable history of 1754 to 1787 made readable and ex-



Part of the twenty-three current books which were published concurrently with Northwest Territory Celebration and which bear upon the period commemorated.

- citing by the weaving in of romance. Published October 1937 and now in its third printing.
- NORTHWEST PASSAGE**—Kenneth Roberts (Doubleday Doran). A splendid tale of the search by England for a Northwest passage to the east Indies—continuing almost to Revolutionary War days and indicating one of England's great reasons for not willingly giving up Northwest Territory.
- DOWN THE OHIO WITH CLARK**—Charles F. Lender (Thomas Y. Crowell). A thrilling narrative of George Rogers Clark's exploits in the Ohio Country. For young and old.
- THE AMERINDIANS**—Donald M. McNicol (Frederick A. Stokes Co.). Compelling and largely original research as to the history of the Indians, giving enlightening and startling information as to their relations with the whites in America.
- A-GOING TO THE WESTWARD**—Lois Lenski (Frederick A. Stokes Co.). Delightful story of a covered wagon and flatboat trek by pioneers from Connecticut to Ohio in the first years of the Nineteenth Century. For both youngsters and oldsters.
- FRONTIER VERSE**—Elizabeth Peck (Doubleday Doran). Pleasing verse of the whole westward movement of America but including many of the sagas of the Old Northwest.
- THE FIRST REBEL**—Neil Swanson (Farrar & Rinehart). A jolting piece of research as to the beginnings of our Revolutionary War in excitingly readable form and splendidly documented.
- MAINLAND**—Gilbert Seldes (Scribners). An economic and political treatise for modern days but placing due emphasis upon the Ordinance of 1787 along with other indicative history.
- OLIVER POLLOCK**—James A. James (Appleton Century). A biography of an almost unknown patriot who rivalled Robert Morris in financing the upheaval which became the United States.
- THE WEST IN AMERICAN HISTORY**—Dan Elbert Clerk (Thomas Y. Crowell). One of the newer textbooks of the period.
- BUCKSKIN BRIGADE**—L. Ron Hubbard (Macaulay). A racy tale—said by the author to be based upon authentic documents in behalf of the Indians and not very complimentary to early white traders.
- MERIWETHER LEWIS—TRAIL BLAZIER**—Flora Morren Seymour (Appleton-Century). A story for young and old of the great exploration of the far west which followed shortly after establishment of the "Old Northwest".
- THE ORDINANCE OF 1787 AND OLD NORTHWEST TERRITORY**—Harlow M. Lindley and Associates (Northwest Territory Celebration Commission, Federal—Marietta, Ohio). The first brief and concise but reasonably complete history for school and adult use of these factors in development of America. A good framework around which to build reading of many other books upon the subject.
- FORBIDDEN GROUND**—Neil Swanson (Farrar & Rinehart). A novel, said to be historically based—of the fur trade on the Great Lakes.
- WESTERN LANDS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION**—Thomas Perkins Abernathy. A splendid treatment of the early American land problems, documented pleasingly. Not light reading, but invaluable to people wanting the facts.
- ADVANCING THE OHIO FRONTIER**—Frazier E. Wilson. An interesting treatise by a newer author.
- FRONTIER OHIO**—R. C. Downes. Standard text and reference work.
- THE OHIO GATEWAY**—D. E. Crouse. A novel pictorial treat-

ment of interest to everyone but particularly for juveniles.
OUR FIRST GREAT WEST—T. Bodley (Filson Club.)

THE OLD NORTHWEST AT THE KEYSTONE OF THE ARCH OF FEDERAL UNION—A. L. Kolmeier (Principia). A scholarly treatise of the causes of Union as the greatest single fact in American history.

ANGLO-FRENCH BOUNDARY DISPUTES IN THE WEST—Theodore C. Pease. A volume principally of documents from French, English and Spanish archives illustrating the diplomatic struggles for the Mississippi Valley lands of which part became, finally, Northwest Territory of the United States. A rather long introduction sets this material in its broader historical setting.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE DISRUPTION OF THE SPANISH EMPIRE—Griffin.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787—B. H. Pershing. The prize winning book in the national competition. To be published shortly. Some of the chapter headings are: The Old Northwest Under Foreign Flags. The Old Northwest Passes Under American Control. Free Institutions for a Free People. Building Homes in the Wilderness. An Experiment in Territorial Administration. Etc.

These are all books which the Commission feels are worthy of any reader's time or a place on any library shelf.

Several current books were submitted which either from the standpoint of glaring historic inaccuracies or of poor writing were not considered of sufficient merit to be recommended or included in the list.

Aside from the text book before described herein, the Commission did not pay anything toward publication of any of these books.

This record is seemingly quite unusual and has been commented upon generally by the Book Review departments of the metropolitan press.

To the authors and to the publishers of these books the Commission extends its thanks and deep appreciation.

Moving Picture

While the Commission did not—or has not as yet carried out its tentative plans for a mammoth moving picture spectacle, such as the "Covered Wagon", etc., it has, in complete two reel form, a "talkie" of the trip of the caravan.

This was made possible through the cooperation of the Standard Oil Company of Ohio.

The camera crew started at Ipswich with the caravan and completed its trip on the arrival at Marietta. This film is made available to all schools and organizations in the area served by the company, and a print is in the files of the Commission as a matter of record.

Numberless thousands of feet of amateur films were taken and are being used in various public ways.

History-Biographies

This item has already been covered under the headings "Adult Contest" and "Historical Novel".

Caravan Pageantry

This proved, as was intended, the major feature of the celebration program; the method by which the nation at large was made most conscious of the commemoration, and by which the

States of Northwest Territory took definite part in the national program as well as local observances. Without this feature, Northwest Territory Celebration would be like many previous commemorations—not widely known or closely observed and quickly forgotten.

The undertaking was not without its complexities and because it was, so far as we know, entirely new in celebration procedure, it will be described in considerable detail.

It was obvious to the Commission that such a feature would come closely in contact with the Northeast quarter of the United States, containing almost half (forty-five per cent) of the nation's population.

It would probably create news value which would attract the attention of the entire country, and would last over a long enough period to afford the advantages of repetition and what advertising men call "soaking in".

Development of Plan

Because of its newness, and the entire lack of experience of the commission staff in such matters, considerable research and consultation with technical experts was necessary. The first such conference was with Wm. Farnsworth, Associate National Director of Federal Theatre in Washington, D. C. Mr. Farnsworth enthusiastically approved the drama and "punch" of the project, and outlined the mechanics of it from the standpoint of theatre technique.

Request was made that Federal Theatre personnel, finance and direct the project, and while no definite assurance could be given until the future of Federal Theatre Project was determined by Congress, it was indicated that Mr. Farnsworth was much in sympathy and would personally recommend it.

This was in late 1936, and negotiations proceeded along this line until January 1937, when at a conference in Washington, with some fifteen heads of the professional projects present, the plan was approved if Federal Theatre were continued upon the approximate basis then applying.

This was the status until June 1937 when Federal Theatre in New York was having labor trouble of such serious nature that there was talk of closing the project entirely.

Mr. Reames and the writer, being in New York at the time, in connection with preparations for the New York program, were witnesses to the agitations, demonstrations and serious difficulties which beset Federal Theatre.

It was quite apparent that to start the caravan under such circumstances would mean an almost certain disaster. Further, it was evident that the people who were on Federal Theatre—actors, etc.—were not of the type physically capable of standing the hardships of this unusual trek.

After conference with the officials of Federal Theatre, it was decided to ask the Civilian Conservation Corps to take over personelling the caravan.

The plan proposed was unique and appealing. There were to be forty-eight men in the party, and there are forty-eight States in the Union.

C. C. C. has a dramatic department for its members, and many of these boys are very good. In fact, so good, according to

Federal Theatre, that two of them were then in New York for professional work.

The plan submitted to C. C. C. was that a place on the caravan party should be allotted to each State as an award of merit to the best C. C. C. member in that State. C. C. C. officials fell in with the idea heartily but again could give no final acceptance until Congress passed the act continuing the Conservation Corps.

No one concerned then contemplated any change in the new act, and plans were proceeded upon accordingly.

However, in late July Congress passed the new C. C. C. act and it was interpreted adversely to such a project as the caravan.

This left the Commission in a bad predicament, in that the entire celebration program had been built around this central motif, and had progressed so far that there was no practical way in which to redesign the plan.

In order to go through with the caravan out of its own funds, the Commission started in reducing budgets for other celebration features, and with so small a total amount to work with it was problematic as to whether the caravan could be included in the program by this reallocation of funds.

Finally, and assuming estimates on cost of personnel and other factors were correct, all but \$3400 of the probable cost of the caravan was possible.

At this time Congressman Secrest introduced a bill in Congress and secured its passage authorizing re-appropriation of the receipts from sales of commission literature.

It is well to explain here that in such government agencies, any receipts go to the General Fund of the U. S. Treasury, and not to the credit of the particular agency's funds. To make such receipts available to the agency, bills must be passed by Congress, first authorizing their re-appropriation and second, actually appropriating them.

When the time came for re-appropriation, it was deemed best to estimate the total receipts of the commission and ask but one re-appropriation rather than one after another as the moneys were actually received. This was particularly true because this commission's receipts were in small amounts of from 3c to perhaps a dollar or two.

Congress passed the act appropriating \$15,000. This is not regarded as an additional appropriation because it was intended to merely return to the Commission the moneys spent from the original appropriation for literature sold or to be sold.

This relieved the pressure somewhat as to the caravan plans, but at all times it had been necessary to be most conservative in management.

Accumulation of Properties

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

To illustrate, the element of oxen, how and where to procure them (with horns for instance); what they would stand in the way

of work, roads, etc.; how they should be shod; and what was their hazard in crowds; all these had to be investigated.

A news release was put out on the subject of shoeing oxen. Some twelve hundred replies were received, from all over the United States. These were mostly from elderly people—65 years to 97 years of age—who in earlier years had such actual experience. Their advices were as wide apart as the poles, ranging from steel shoes to straw mats around oxen's feet.

The concensus of opinion was in favor of the usual steel shoes and this checked with investigations and modern day tests made by the commission.

Few of the inquirers actually wanted a job; most of them sincerely wished to help solve a problem.

This move had another worthwhile value in that it reached, with a point of specific personal interest, a group of people who would probably have otherwise known but little of the celebration or its purposes.

Decision was finally made to use the usual shoes, and they proved entirely practical except on icy paved roads.

The oxen were secured in West Virginia after an extensive survey of possible cattle. Mr. Marvin Shock, who had worked oxen for many years, had been employed as driver and in charge of livestock, made this investigation.

Some of the incidents in this purchase will add human interest at least to this report. For instance: the finest yoke seen by Mr. Shock were held at a price beyond budget. After wrangling with the prospective seller, Mr. Shock got a compromise quotation—based upon the fact that these oxen had horns (while modern work oxen, as which these animals were presumably to be used, today are dehorned), and left with the statement that he might be back a week or so later.

On getting permission from this office to pay the extra price, he returned, only to find that the price had gone back up, but the oxen had been dehorned in his absence in order to make the sale. Actually, to be in period, the cattle should have horns, so no sale resulted.

Two yokes of cattle were purchased and broken, one for current use and the other for reserves in case of accident. Both yokes had to be rebroken to Mr. Shock's style of driving, and to be made accustomed to modern road and city traffic, parades, etc.

"Tom" and "Jerry" however completed the entire trek and came home in fat sleek condition. The reserve yoke never was needed.

A word of testimonial to these dumb animals is not amiss, for they did their part as well as any man connected with the celebration.

They not only came to know their cues, but had a better sense of timing than did the human element. The greatest trouble at any time with the oxen was in getting them to wait when the proper time arrived for parades, etc., but when humans were delaying the start.

Seemingly every child of the millions who saw these "critters" wanted to touch them and even to handle their horns. The animals

took it all in their stride and at no time did they cause any trouble or damage.

In logging the timber for the boats at West Newton they did marvelous work.

Being taken into the timber along the route they were to come out with the particular log, they handled the rest of the job themselves. If a sapling small enough to be broken over was in their way they went straight over it; but if too large, and they did the deciding as to its size—they detoured around it. In fact, they were much steadier, more dependable, and harder workers than were the horses.

Perhaps this deviation as to these truly wonderful animals may be out of place in this report, but it is to be remembered that they cannot speak for themselves, and yet were one of the very considerable factors in the caravan.

Five cavalry horses were secured from the U. S. Army. After arrival at Marietta, only four of these could be taken along through the territory because of limited facilities in the trucks necessary to the trip through the States.

These horses were old, and although purchased at about \$160.00 each, they only brought about \$25.00 each at public auction in November 1938.

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

A description of the livestock would not be complete without mention of the dogs which attached themselves to the caravan—especially of "Buck", who "joined up" at Allentown, Pennsylvania, and completed the trek.

Others were "Bonus" who disappeared in Pittsburgh, and "Stogy" (Conestoga) who deserted in Indiana. None of these dogs had any special pride of ancestry, but they seemed to sense that this was a man's man group, and nothing could stop them from going along. "Buck" and "Bonus" were named for the dollar a day pay and the \$100 bonus the men were to receive.

Buck learned a part in the pageant, followed his cues and added materially to the naturalness of it all.

At the end of the trip, lots were drawn among the caravan men as to who was to be trustee for him during his life. At his death, request is made that he be mounted and preserved in Campus Martius Museum with other relics of the trek.

Among the most interesting, and difficult properties to be secured were the Conestoga wagons. Again, for purposes of reserve, it was necessary to have two, while only one was to accompany the caravan.

After extended effort to find originals, it was decided to buy parts of old wagons, using their unique wrought iron parts, but rebuilding the wood parts. There was not one authentic wagon of the period, in good repair, which could be had at any acceptable price. There were several wagons of heterogeneous sort, with parts of all different periods, but desirable articles are all either now in museums or held priceless by their owners.

Through the cooperation of Mr. David Sternbergh of Reading, Pennsylvania, a careful survey was made through the Conestoga

Valley and old parts of wagons with entirely authentic ironing were secured.

The next problem was to secure an old time wagon builder to re-build the wood parts. An octogenarian, James Williamson, rebuilt the wagons by hand so that they are today as they would have been when built new fifteen decades ago. One exception must be made, in that modern canvas was used for covers rather than the hand woven materials of colonial days.

One wagon stood the entire trip.

Originally, the wagon was equipped with tar bucket, jack, old time pitchforks, axes, etc., but there was no use in attempting keeping this equipment up because it was stolen as fast as it could be replaced.

As to uniforms, the men were equipped with two outfits; the usual travelling clothes, and the costumes for use in their pageant drama, later described.

One of the great helps in this entire project was the modern Covered Wagon Trailer loaned to the Commission by the manufacturers. This was equipped as a costume department and dressing room, and proved perfect for the purpose. Rather than being packed in trunks and so requiring daily pressing and maintenance, the outfits were hung on racks, easy of access and in good order.

Another feature of paraphernalia was the portable stage loaned by the Federal Theatre Project. This contained stage lighting and sound equipment as well as being a self-contained stage in itself. It was ponderous and awkward to handle, and required a larger truck than would have been otherwise required; but in no other way could the pageantry have been handled so satisfactorily.

Guns and side arms presented another problem. Authentic arms of the period were prohibitive in price and dummy guns were finally made from original models.

The Collins Company of Connecticut made a generous gift of sidearms, also of axes, adzes, and such tools to the caravan.

The saws and other tools necessary to whipsawing and hewing timber for the boats used by the caravan where all replicas of colonial tools. For instance, the cross cut saws had no "drag teeth", and it is interesting to note that this was why trees were chopped—rather than sawed—down in the early days. The cutting teeth would not clear the sawdust on a horizontal cut.

Equipment

It was not feasible to start this party out with only its men, ox team, wagon and horses as the original pioneers travelled. This was because this group were to not only recreate the trek of the Ohio Company pioneers of 1787-88 but were also to enact a pageant at each over-night stop. Also, from Ipswich, Massachusetts, to Marietta, Ohio, they published a daily diary and mailed it to subscribers.

Two light trucks were used, with the costume trailer before referred to, and another trailer to contain the machinery and supplies for the daily diary.

After leaving Marietta in April 1938, the diary trailer was omitted, but the portable stage was carried, and this required

exchange of one light truck for one of two and one-half ton capacity.

Equipment for the daily diary consisted of one duplicating machine of a new type, an addressing machine, folders, and the necessary supplies.

This will be discussed separately later on.

Blankets, sheets, pillow cases were purchased from the government supply list, and cots and tents borrowed from the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The total cost of outfitting the caravan was approximately \$6,000 in commission funds. With loans, etc., the cost would be about \$20,000.

The most interesting factor of the caravan was its personnel.

Mr. O. K. Reames of Zanesville, Ohio, was employed as director and agent cashier. Mr. Reames had an impressive record in handling other pageants under difficult and unusual circumstances.

Percy Jewett Burrell of Watertown, Massachusetts, was employed as advisor on pageantry, and to these two men go most of the credit for direction of "Freedom on the March", the eight episode pageant drama presented in each town where an overnight stop was made.

The selection of personnel to recreate the roles of the pioneers presented an acute problem after Federal Theatre and Civilian Conservation Corps could not handle the caravan.

As has before been related, it was necessary for the commission to finance the party entirely from its own funds. This included complete equipment and maintenance from its start to Marietta, Ohio, a four months' trip.

To do this, it was necessary to cut down to thirty-six men rather than the forty-eight originally planned and historically correct. In fact, a number of planned and desirable features had to be compromised, and deviations from historic accuracy made.

Probably the effect to the general public was not seriously lessened because people are so unfamiliar with the details of the history involved.

In the effort to secure acceptable men, a news release was again resorted to. This told briefly of the trek planned, the desire for men able to stand its hardships and to deport themselves properly; and that those selected would receive essentially one dollar per day and subsistence, with a bonus of \$100 for completing the trek.

This story was widely carried by the press and resulted in over seven hundred inquiries.

An application form was then mailed and from the data submitted in reply the thirty-six men were chosen. Only four of the men were interviewed personally before selection.

The applications were all turned over to Mr. Reames with instructions to select the best men among the applicants, without any regard to personal friendships, pressure or politics.

Most of those chosen were college men, and they ranged from twenty to thirty years of age.

How well this plan worked is best shown by the fact that of

the thirty-six, twenty-eight completed the year's trek. Only four were dismissed.

It seems fitting to here record the names of the entire group, both original and replacements:

John F. Hall*	Paris, Illinois
Hugh Van Runkel*	Macomb, Illinois
John S. Ward*	Evanston, Illinois
Abe Wells*	Paris, Illinois
David Peterson	Evanston, Illinois
Carl Applegate*	West Terre Haute, Indiana
William Diamond*	Logansport, Indiana
Orland K. Leamon*	Cromwell, Indiana
Clifford Appleton*	Ipswich, Massachusetts
Richard Courage*	Everett, Massachusetts
Robert Neary*	Manchester, Massachusetts
Peter Anderson	Tosfield, Massachusetts
Sidney Smith	Hamilton, Massachusetts
Ralph Swenson*	Minneapolis, Minnesota
Erling Wade	Minneapolis, Minnesota
Robert Jeffrey	St. Paul, Minnesota
Carmen Treichler*	Dunellen, New Jersey
Pierce R. S. York*	New York, New York
Paul Boyce*	Whipple, Ohio
Robert M. Brown*	Zanesfield, Ohio
William J. Farrell*	Athens, Ohio
Carl J. Givler*	Bradford, Ohio
Robert A. Gilcrest*	Hartville, Ohio
Robert G. King*	Marietta, Ohio
James Lyle*	Circleville, Ohio
Montford E. Parr*	Mingo Junction, Ohio
Edwin V. Pugh*	Wellsville, Ohio
Dr. Clarence J. Shaffer*	Sandusky, Ohio
Milo R. Scott*	Allensville, Ohio
Norris V. Singer*	Chesapeake, Ohio
Marvin Shock*	Lowell, Ohio
Lester W. Richardson*	Carrollton, Ohio
Joseph E. Foust*	Ravenna, Ohio
Roger E. Ketzenbarger*	Bowling Green, Ohio
Donald McAtee*	Cutler, Ohio
Bernard Heskett	Byesville, Ohio
Graham H. Johnson	Zanesville, Ohio
Robert Hawes	Marietta, Ohio
Donald Brooks	Belpre, Ohio
Stuart M. Kelly*	West Newton, Pennsylvania
Ernest M. Magee*	Pawtucket, Rhode Island
Eugene R. Cowan*	Rock Hill, South Carolina
Arnott R. Raikes*	Phillipi, West Virginia
William B. Kellstadt*	Circleville, Ohio
F. Marion Powell	Sharon, Pennsylvania

*Completed trek.

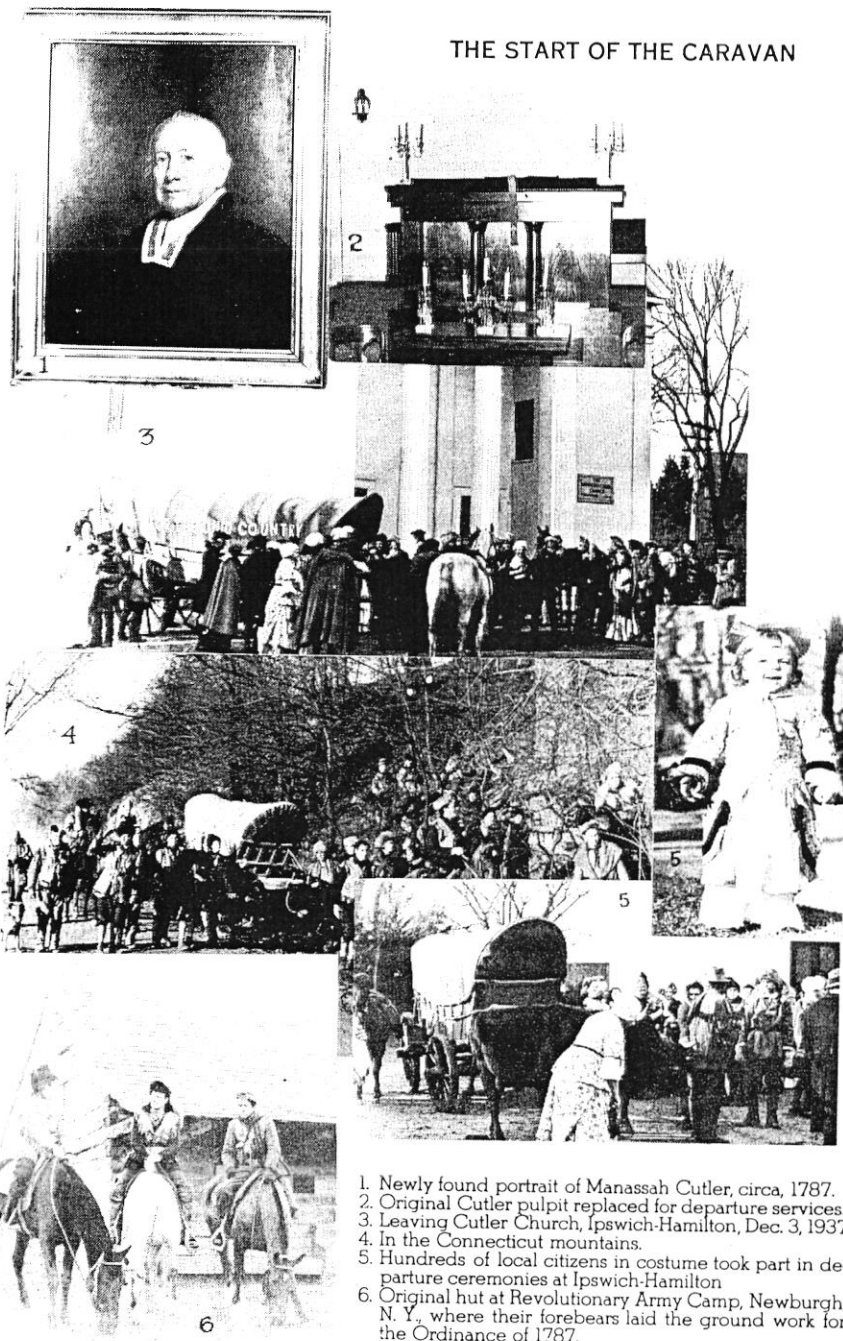
The men assembled at Marietta on November 1, 1937, and travelled by truck to Fort Devens, Massachusetts, where they trained and rehearsed until December 1st.

In the entire trip there was but one case of serious illness, a case of pneumonia—and one accident requiring hospitalization—when a horse fell on one of the men.

A doctor was one of the group of "pioneers", but aside from sore feet at the start and occasional colds there was little professional work required.

The usual routine of the party was breakfast at 8:00 a. m., trek to the next pre-determined stop town (eating lunch enroute);

THE START OF THE CARAVAN



1. Newly found portrait of Manassah Cutler, circa, 1787.
2. Original Cutler pulpit replaced for departure services.
3. Leaving Cutler Church, Ipswich-Hamilton, Dec. 3, 1937
4. In the Connecticut mountains.
5. Hundreds of local citizens in costume took part in departure ceremonies at Ipswich-Hamilton
6. Original hut at Revolutionary Army Camp, Newburgh, N. Y., where their forebears laid the ground work for the Ordinance of 1787.

arrival about 2:00 p. m., parade 3:00 p. m., banquet or dinner at 6:00 p. m., and pageantry program 8:00 to 10:00 p. m. This was maintained six days per week. If a town wished its program on a Sunday, then either Saturday or Monday was the rest day.

From Ipswich to Marietta it must be remembered that these men were travelling afoot in midwinter, crossing the snow-clad Allegheny mountains in January.

They could not maintain their schedule of about twelve and up to twenty miles per day, do all the "extra curricular" duties required of them, and do their own cooking. They therefore purchased their meals except where banquets and dinners were given them by local people.

While at West Newton, Pennsylvania, after leaving Marietta for their trip through the states of Northwest Territory a cook was employed and meals were prepared in camp style. Even the cooking and table utensils were as near to those of a hundred and fifty years ago as could be procured.

It may be said that the men of the caravan were treated splendidly, not only by the committees along the route, but by many individuals. They were guests in many homes, and for them it should be said that they were a fine type of young men, who departed themselves as gentlemen.

Two factors need mention if this report is to be of value to any others contemplating similar activities: The element of girls attaching themselves to the members of the party, even to the point of surfeiting the men—if that could be possible, and that of many well-intentioned citizens believing that hospitality required serving of liquors in their homes or elsewhere. It was apparently not realized that these men were guests of one group after another each day for almost a year, and it is much to their credit that they came through these very human but tempting experiences without noticeable effect.

As to the itinerary of the caravan, the commission was fortunate in having the original Rufus Putnam diary which gave a clear outline of the stops to be made before he joined the party, and their daily experiences after he caught up with them at Swatara Creek. This, along with Manasseh Cutler's journals and other source material, permitted an almost precise following of the original pioneer's trail from Ipswich to Marietta.

Considerable difficulty was encountered in locating the old road through Connecticut and Eastern New York because diary references were in names of towns, which in that part of the country are townships and may embrace any number of settled communities. Many of the original towns have since been subdivided, thus adding to the confusion and the research necessary.

When pioneers travelled, they did not pay as much attention to grades as is common with present roads. Yet they had a wonderful sense for practical routes. In Connecticut there is a present stretch of eleven miles or more to get to the same destination, which the pioneers achieved in two and one-half miles; and up in the very top of the Allegheny mountains is now an overgrown pair of wagon ruts down over the precipitous mountain side. The ruts are worn six to eight inches deep in the solid stone. One

would instantly observe that it would be impossible for a modern vehicle to traverse this route, if it were a road. Yet, that is the original "Sproat Trail" over which Ebenezer Sproat brought his party to Marietta, and which must have been used by countless thousands before abandoned for an easier route.

Even as history records that the original party had to abandon their wagons and build sleds, the modern version had to build sled runners for their wagon when they were caught in a blizzard on the now desolate and forsaken old road from Burnt Cabins to Mountain House, Pennsylvania.

All in all, the pioneer road was straighter and shorter than are modern highways, and today's roads are not so well adapted to ox team travel in midwinter.

The "Daily Diary"

As a unique memento of the trip, and in response to many requests, the commission planned a daily diary or letter covering events of each week day. This required a portable plant to reproduce, fold, address and seal the mailings. The diaries were written by different members of the group each day; each bore an illustration on its front fold; they were reproductions of the author's handwriting; and each was folded in the old fashioned way without envelope and sealed with wax.

The idea was first rate, but the mechanical difficulties encountered do not recommend it for repetition. It was impossible to work at the task while enroute; ink would not work in cold weather, and in many cases lighting and power current was not available where stops were made.

It was frequently necessary to "catch up" on several issues at one running. This situation, with the inevitable losses in the mails, and the proper desire of subscribers to receive every issue properly postmarked made this feature a distress to most of those concerned.

Boat Building

The pioneers of 1787 concluded this overland trip at the then Simrell's Ferry—present West Newton, Pennsylvania—where they built five boats for the trip down the Youghiogheny, Monongahela, and Ohio Rivers. They were ten weeks in building these boats:

"Union Galley"—a cabin flat boat 50 feet long by 13 feet wide. This boat, for some reason not yet discerned, is commonly called in history texts "Adventure Galley" or "American Mayflower". Rufus Putnam, in his diary written on the spot, makes no reference to either of these names, but does succinctly speak of the large boat being named "Union Galley".

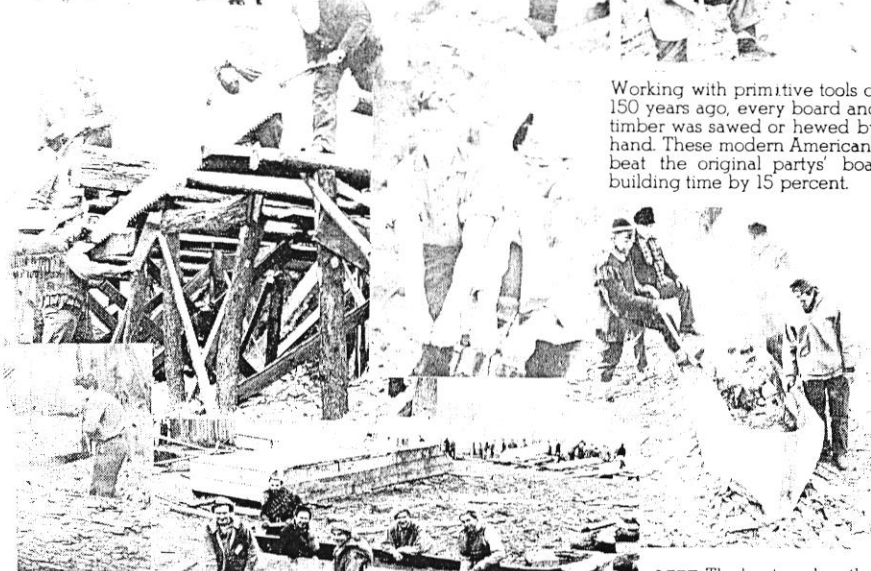
"Adelphia Ferry"—an open flat boat 28 feet by 8 feet. This name bears a distinct relation to some thought in the pioneer's minds, for they named their settlement "Adelphia" before the name "Marietta" presumably in honor of the French queen who had helped the American cause so much, was chosen.

"Katling Tender"—a pirogue of about "two tons burthen".

These pirogues are unique and worthy of some description. The hollowed out log canoe was a most primitive type of boat and common to all who had an axe and fire available. But such boats

BOAT BUILDING AT SIMRELLS' FERRY, JANUARY 20, TO APRIL 1, 1939

George White, Chairman of Federal Commission, who learned to whipsaw in Klondike, shows how planks are sawed by this early method.



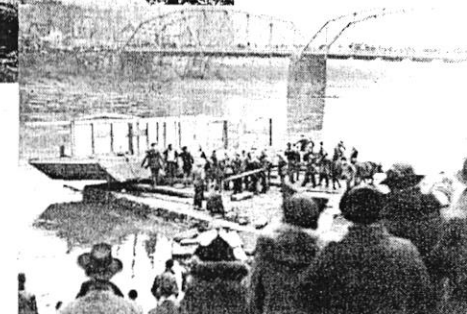
Working with primitive tools of 150 years ago, every board and timber was sawed or hewed by hand. These modern Americans beat the original party's boat building time by 15 percent.



LEFT - The boat yard on the bank of the Youghiogheny
BELOW - The "Union Galley" is launched without difficulty.



"Tom and Jerry", the faithful oxen which took the caravan all of its way; logged out the timber for the boats; and knew their cues as well as the men.



were cranky to handle, and did not have large cargo carrying capacity.

If they could be widened out, they would be much more stable and easier to handle and the carrying capacity be enormously increased. This was accomplished by splitting a log canoe lengthwise and inserting between the two halves a flat section, rounded up at the ends to conform to the ends of the original canoe. The three sections could be fastened together by dowels, or straps, and with the two seams caulked with pitch, made a splendid seaworthy and roomy boat.

These were the great cargo carriers of the pioneers before the days of flat boats and batteaux built of whip sawed plank and hewed timbers.

"Wefel"—a log canoe of "800 pounds burthen".

The chances are that the "Wefel" and the "Allen" were from about the same size logs. The value of the pirogue design can be seen in the difference between 800 pounds and 2,000 pounds burthen.

The celebration plan required the rebuilding of these boats, by tools of this same sort and under conditions as near the original as possible.

Considerable trouble was experienced in finding standing timber suitable for the purpose, and all of it had to be hauled from 1½ to 4 miles. The people of West Newton had agreed to furnish the timber gratis to the commission, but it was so scarce and so high priced that the commission finally was forced to assist financially.

Every stick was to come from trees which had to be cut down, trimmed up and logged into the boat ways at West Newton.

The oxen and horses were used for this purpose. At the boat ways six saw pits were erected and five pit and whip saw crews cut the logs into planks, while others used adzes, broadaxes, etc in hewing timbers. As the beginning of the work it might require a two foot diameter log to get two 4 x 10 hewed gunwales, but as the work progressed, these college student pioneers become quite expert with the totally unfamiliar tools and operations.

In the woods, crews were felling and logging cut timber, and hewing and burning out the canoes.

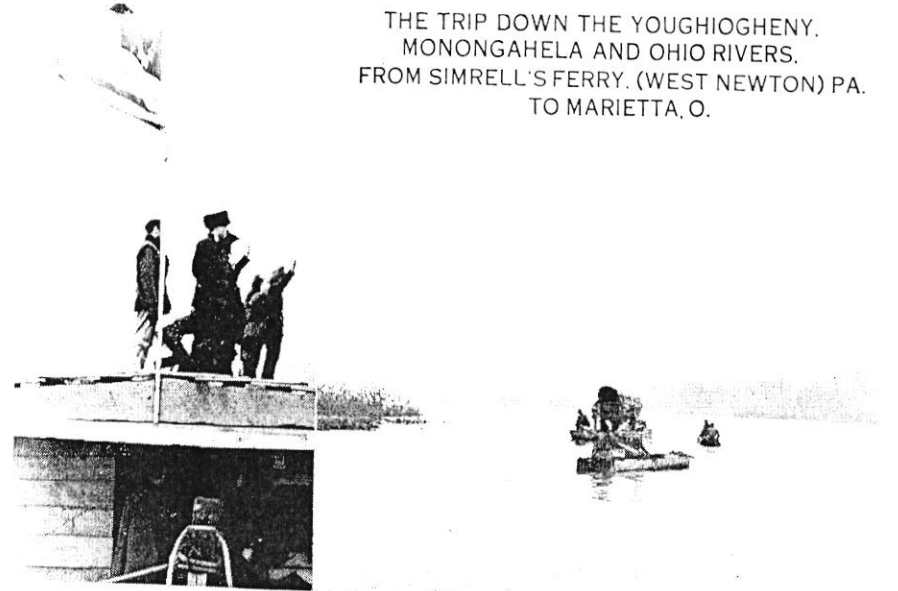
Only one man suffered any injury of passing moment. One neophyte pioneer let an adze get away from him and nick his shin bone.

While engaged in this work the party was quartered in an old brick residence, under somewhat trying conditions but all that was available in the community. In the ironic humor of Americas youth, this domicile was dubbed "Shangrila". The local committee for the celebration furnished the building, and generally did a fine job of cooperation.

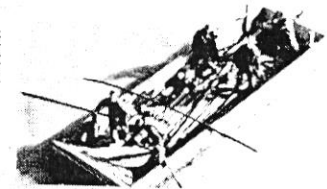
West Newton, now a town of 3,000 people, probably never has and may never again see so much activity as visitors poured in to watch the boat building operations. It is estimated that not less than 100,000 people visited the town during that period.

The modern pioneers had but one professional boat builder,

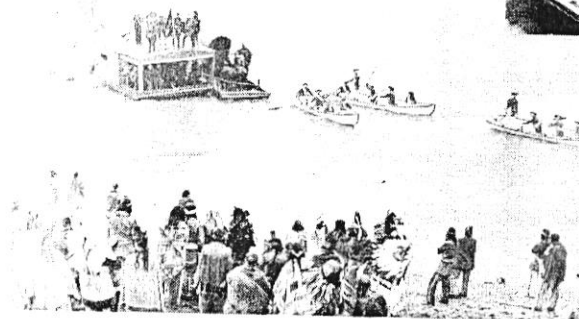
THE TRIP DOWN THE YOUGHIOGHENY,
MONONGAHELA AND OHIO RIVERS,
FROM SIMRELL'S FERRY. (WEST NEWTON) PA.
TO MARIETTA, O.



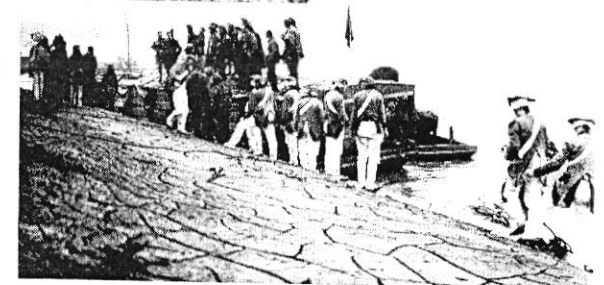
Locks and dams which now retard the current of these rivers presented a different situation from that of 1788. Nevertheless the 1938 flotilla arrived within four minutes of the historically correct time.



This scene on April 7, 1938, a misty and rainy day, is as near a picture of the original landing in 1788 as can be imagined. Soldiers towed the boats back to the east bank of the Muskingum just as they did in 1788



On the mud covered bank of the Muskingum, where it joins the Ohio, the pioneers were met by "Delaware Indians" and 70,000 American citizens of 1938. So ended the historical part of the greatest re-creation of history in modern times.



"Captain" Henry Fischer from the U. S. Engineer Repair Station, while the original company had five.

The outfit worked but eight hours per day and half days on Saturday, while the men of 1788 probably worked from dawn to dark every day.

As has been said, all timber now had to be hauled several miles, rather than the few feet necessary 150 years ago. And these young men had never used the early tools, nor were they as used to this kind of work as were their predecessors.

There was some accusation of "gold bricking" by the members of the 1938 caravan, but the fact remains that the boats were completed in 85% of the time required by the Ohio Company men of 1788.

We often hear the comment today that we are getting soft as a people, that we cannot stand up to the hard work and the privations which our forefathers endured. But, whatever may be true of adult America, these boys proved that they could not only stand up to it but could beat their ancestors' records.

There was not one stick of timber in all these boats which was not prepared in the same manner as, and with similar tools too, those employed a hundred and fifty years ago.

When it came to getting this "fleet" out of the Youghiogheny River a totally different situation prevailed. The original pioneers came out on a flood, but in 1938 the river was the lowest it had been in many years. Never considered a navigable stream, several dams had been built decades ago and later destroyed by floods, leaving their broken foundations as additional hazards of navigation and building up shoals with which the 1788 group had in nowise to contend. It appeared almost certain that the boats would not get out of this dangerous river, nor would they have, except for the superhuman effort of some of the pioneers with the assistance of outsiders.

Even once safely upon the Monongahela a very different situation from colonial days applied.

The dams now in use for navigation purposes destroyed the current which was the motive power of early days, and it was therefore necessary to use a "pusher boat" loaned by the U. S. Government Engineers Department.

This boat was concealed as much as possible and the effect did not vary materially from the fleet of 1788.

The arrival at Marietta needs special mention here.

The day was dark and rainy, perfectly akin to the day of arrival a hundred and fifty years ago when in the mist the fleet drifted by the mouth of the Muskingum and had to be towed back by the soldiers of Fort Harmar.

Likewise did the flotilla of 1938, which arrived but four minutes late on its scheduled time.

"Soldiers" rushed out from the Fort Harmar site, and using rowboats, towed the fleet back to the landing point on the east bank of the Muskingum. There, a group of Delaware Indians met the pioneers, even as had occurred originally.

Great credit is also due the U. S. Engineers for the arrangement for this historic landing, as considerable effort on their part

was necessary to move their considerable fleet entirely out of the Muskingum River, erecting guard fences, and concealing modern appurtenances to make the primeval picture complete.

Many, many thousands (the second largest crowd ever in Marietta) of people watched this historic event despite the rain and disagreeable weather.

To the writer, this day and event stands as the highest spot in the celebration. Had the day been pleasant, over 100,000 spectators would have witnessed the landing. But if the day had been attractive, the accurate historic reproduction would have been lost. As it now is, in all likelihood the photographs taken on April 7th, 1938, are as descriptive as the actual scene on April 7, 1788.

The boats built and used by the pioneers were on display at Marietta during the summer and attracted as many as 10,000 visitors in one day. They have now been purchased by the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society and it is hoped that especially the "Union Galley" and the pirogues can be permanently preserved as examples of the early American boat builder's art.

After Marietta, where the group remained for three days, the trek throughout the States of Northwest Territory was begun. The truly historic reproduction was over, but it remained for the commission and the States to take the celebration to the 24,000,000 people of old Northwest Territory.

Under celebration plans, the States, through their respective commissions now became directly responsible for the itinerary and maintenance expense of the caravan.

Estimates of expense had been prepared, and each State Commission had agreed to pay \$92.40 per calendar day to cover this cost.

Each state Director worked up an itinerary in conformance with requirements and enlisted active support of local civic groups in each city. This will be more fully covered under "Local Participation".

It quickly became apparent that there were to be many more applications for showings than there were days available.

Much pressure was brought toward a "Number Two Company" so to speak, to take care of all the requests. This was objectionable from the standpoint of historic dignity, as well as from the standpoint of states commissions' budgets. With Michigan not participating (despite the desperate efforts of a number of her civic and historically minded citizens) some thirty additional showings became available, and by imposing upon the caravan group for some noonday programs, the itinerary was finally determined with fair satisfaction to all, and with almost no point in the Territory more than twenty-five miles from a pageant stop.

Because of the distances between stops throughout the states of the territory—averaging about forty miles—it was necessary to use trucks for transportation of the caravan party.

The limit of sustained ox team travel is about twelve miles per day. By the use of trucks several towns along the route could enjoy some sort of ceremony, and the party still reach the next stop town in time for an afternoon parade as well as the evening program.

The ninety-two dollars and forty cents budget averaged out almost exactly as the daily maintenance expense. In the early part of the trip through the States of the Territory considerable savings on budget were accumulated, but as equipment came to require more repairs, uniforms had to be replaced, etc., the expense in turn exceeded budget and at the end of the trip had practically exhausted the states trust fund.

It should perhaps be explained that the states paid into a trust fund in the United States Treasury for the support of the caravan while within the borders of that State. Bills were paid from that trust fund on voucher by the Federal Commission. This worked out most satisfactorily, and much more so than had there been six different administrations of the project.

The caravan was on its way through the States of the Territory April 3rd to October 13th, 1938. It visited towns from East Liverpool, Ohio, to Wilmar, Minnesota. Several of the Minnesota towns visited were west of the Mississippi River and therefore not on old Northwest Territory ground. But the interest was such that they would not be denied, and under the State of Minnesota act could not be.

Detail as to the towns visited will be found on the table appended, along with much pertinent information as to reception accorded the caravan.

The Caravan Pageantry

The caravan, as a spectacle, was an attention compelling feature. It was colorful in itself, for most of those who saw it had never seen a yoke of oxen or Conestoga wagon, or a group of pioneers.

But, by itself, it would not have carried over the story of the Ordinance of 1787, or the import of Northwest Territory to the present United States.

All authorities consulted, agreed that despite any comprehensive literature program, the most effective way to teach was by living speaking pictures—or dramatization. Pantomime pageantry without dialogue was not sufficiently understandable or impressive.

And so, a composite pageant-drama was evolved, with some of the color and display of pageantry, but with spoken lines by the participants. This was entitled "Freedom on the March", an eight episode dramatization of the pivotal events in the formative period of the American idea of government. It was written by O. K. Reames, with cooperation of the Commission historian and others.

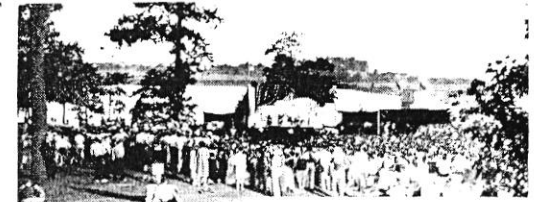
The pageant-drama opened with the "Albany Convention" of 1754, at which the idea of union of the colonies was first publicly and officially proposed.

The English government would not consent to the proposed union, but the idea did not die and had its fruition in the War of Independence.

Episode No. 2 portrays the physical acquisition of the lands of Northwest Territory—from England—by George Rogers Clark and his intrepid handful.

In the third episode the audience sees the impetus which was given to the American Bill of Rights as an essential part of the

"FREEDOM ON THE MARCH"



Portable stage furnished by Federal Theater Project. This equipment made large audiences possible.

ABOVE - Camp scene. After leaving Marietta the caravan camped most of the time. RIGHT - Auto trailer used as costume department. This was perfect for the purpose, keeping the 114 stage costumes, wigs, etc., in splendid condition.

BELOW - Scenes from the eight episodes of "Freedom on the March". Thirty six men depicted one hundred and fourteen characters in this pageant-drama of the formative period of our nation.



ideas for which American men had fought and starved in the Revolution.

The ideas presented by the soldiers in post-war but pre-treaty camp at Newburgh, New York, and which resulted in the so called "Pickering Petition", were the ideas of the common men—of-the-line; the American proletariat.

That those views, there expressed, and from there carried into the Ordinance of 1787, also were the views of the common people of America generally is evidenced by their forced adoption as the first group of amendments, a requirement necessary to secure ratification of the United States Constitution.

This meeting also presented in definite form the growing attitude of the American people toward settlement of the western country.

The fourth episode—"The Treaty of Fort McIntosh"—depicted the early dealings with the Indians, in securing titles to their lands by proper and official methods.

Episode No. 5 deals with the formation of the Ohio Company of Associates, which reflected clearly the attitudes of the soldiers at Newburgh and the people generally, as to the future of the West, and the principles of government which these men held. The Ohio Company of Associates must be clearly differentiated from the earlier Ohio Company which was a land grab scheme and had no relation whatsoever to the 1786 Company.

At the behest of the Ohio Company of Associates, it is notable that Congress passed this ordinance, even with its rigid anti-slavery clause, by the votes of Southern members, and the vote was almost unanimous. The only vote in opposition was cast by one member from New York.

It is also to be recalled that no previous United States governmental document had contained any reference to a bill of rights—nor did any succeeding document for four years after the Ordinance was enacted.

Other citizens generally insisted upon such provisions in the organic law of the new nation, and only ratified the United States Constitution upon definite assurance of these principles would be added.

The Ohio Company of Associates was merely in better position to secure its objectives than were the people at large. These men were proposing to buy a large amount of government land, thus discharging a part of the new nation's heavy debt; and to settle the new west, insuring a frontier guard against the Indians. They were in good position to get what they wanted in the way of laws.

Study of the proceedings of Congress at time of passage of the Ordinance and subsequent correspondence of its members suggests very strongly that these new principles of national government as expressed by the Ordinance were not then adopted as the result of any high-minded concepts of Congress for the future of the nation.

Instead, they were included at the insistent behest of the Ohio Company representatives, as the more or less begrudged price of a deal to reduce public debt, stop soldiers' clamor for their pay and secure protection for an exposed frontier.

There was even an obvious element of land speculation and personal gain for members and/or their constituents. One Southern member of Congress justifies the anti-slavery provision, in a personal letter written at the time, on the basis of preventing Northwest Territory from becoming competitive "in raising indigo and tobacco".

Another member wrote to the effect that these principles would probably satisfy the ruffians and low people who would undoubtedly inhabit the new region.

Another delegate, however, did laconically—but prophetically observe that the attitude of the western people was "more tonic than that along the eastern seaboard".

The substance of the entire proceeding was that these provisions, now become bone and sinew of the American idea came into our governmental scheme, not through sublime ideas of members of Congress presumably delegated as leaders of the people, but rather through the insistent demands of more common men, and even directly as a result of a commercial and material transaction.

The seventh episode depicted the trek westward and was necessary to tie in and give meaning to the caravan itself.

The eighth and last of the periods portrayed the establishment of civil government in Northwest Territory; the putting into effect in the nation's first great territorial expansion, of the principles of the Ordinance—the setting of the pattern for the United States of today.

It should be explained that not all the contentions of the Ohio Company of Associates were included in the Ordinance itself. For instance, the provisions as to grants of public lands for educational institutions, which were the genesis of our State Universities and public school system, were not mentioned in the Ordinance, but were set forth in the subsequent contract with the Ohio Company.

So also was the stipulation as to "ministerial lands", public lands set aside for the support of religion.

This pageant-drama required about two hours for its presentation. One hundred and fourteen historic characters were portrayed by the 36 men of the caravan.

These men were not professional actors, and in many cases had no previous experience in dramatics. They did however put into it a zest and a freshness which carried a sincerity and genuineness perhaps beyond that of the professional stage.

While the pageant-drama lacked many desirable features, it was by all odds the most effective way to present an educational and inspirational set of historical facts to a large number of people and at a nominal cost.

The caravan as a whole turned out to be, as was intended, the focal point of the entire celebration.

It was one of those things which people said could not be done. And yet, it was done on schedule as time and as to cost. A great deal of appreciation is due those who were concerned with it, but beyond their efforts, credit must be given for the "breaks":

A destiny rode with that Caravan.

Organization Participation

Effort was made to interest the many different associations, organizations and societies which hold meetings and programs on a broad scope in devoting time and effort to Northwest Territory history.

Because of the limited funds available, it was necessary to approach the national and district organizations, rather than each individual unit, of which there were altogether many thousands.

In some cases the response was more than gratifying—was in fact stupendous. In others, there was just about nothing done. In order to make the facts of value to anyone else it will be necessary to describe effort and results by at least rough classifications.

Boy Scouts—Girl Scouts, Etc.

The Boy Scout organization took up the subject earnestly, with the national officers actively participating.

The regional "Jamboree" was held at Marietta in July, 1938, with some 2,500 scouts from surrounding states participating. Over three thousand cartographic maps were distributed among Boy Scouts.

After the national officers became interested, there was a much greater enthusiasm among the district and local leaders in the Territory than had been secured by our initial mailings to all Boy Scout leaders in the six states.

Many programs of the Boy Scouts' meetings were built around Northwest Territory history. Speaking broadly, the participating effort of this organization was satisfying indeed.

The same sort of promotion effort was put forth with the Girl Scouts, but aside from local and isolated cases we are not aware of any particular activity by this organization in connection with the celebration.

Churches

The Celebration's worst failure, in the minds at least of its administrators, was in the small cooperation secured from churches and ministry.

It had been believed that this particular historic commemoration would appeal strongly to this group, because the celebration was of peace-time motif and character; it seemed that good government and good religion were closely related; and the Ordinance of 1787 was the first and greatest United States paper to specifically provide for the public support of religion.

Again approach was first made to the national organizations, in person to many of the leading ones and by mail to some seventy-eight. Voluble assurances were given where personal calls were made, while letters produced but very, very few responses.

Even in the cases of the church organizations called upon in the interest of getting them to suggest that their ministers prepare and delivered special sermons and to devote space in their church publications to religious matter pertaining to the period, it was quickly apparent that, despite promises made, nothing was being done, or apparently would be done.

The next effort was to more local church organizations, and even to individual ministers. Results were equally fruitless.

The net result is that on the fingers of two hands can be counted the instances of the total known church participation, among the entire thirty odd thousand churches in the States of Northwest Territory.

However, let it be clearly said that among the handful of those who did cooperate, the effort was intelligent, effective and altogether splendid. None was any better, and they served to show what could have been done if the ministry generally could have been awakened to the opportunity.

The desire of the Commission for active church cooperation was so great that effort was made to find out where the trouble lay. The general reply obtained was that ministers are too busy—have too much to do—and are suspicious of participating in any celebration or other programs. Some leading church people said that, based upon their long experience, there was no use in making any effort—that ministers could not generally be enthused in activity outside the affairs of their own churches.

D. A. R. and Daughters of 1812, American Legion and Other Patriotic Societies

All of these participated more or less generally. Many year books contained comprehensive programs covering several meetings. This was true of a great many women's clubs of various sorts.

The state regents of the Daughters of the American Revolution from the states of Northwest Territory were members of the Federal Commission and did yeoman service in all respects.

The general practice throughout the Territory was to appoint officers or members of the patriotic societies on local committees for the celebration, and they served well and ably.

Service Clubs

All the well known luncheon clubs were contacted by mail and most of them conducted one or more programs dealing with the subject of the celebration. A number of interested speakers made considerable sacrifice in time and frequently money in giving their services to the various clubs and organizations for program purposes.

Schools

The interest of schools was much like that of various organizations; i. e. spotted, and varied widely according to the knowledge of teachers as to history, and also of course reflected their individual initiative and energy.

Many teachers did a splendid job of it, not only as to the success of the celebration, but also as to teaching history to their students.

This is clearly reflected in the number of requests for help, literature, dramas, music, etc. which came from those teachers. Also in the number of essays submitted and prizes won by certain localities in the elaborate contests put on by the commission. It is very evident that certain teachers were wide awake to the opportunity and their work helped vitally in attaining the purposes of the celebration.

These were however but a small part of the two hundred and fifty thousand teachers in the states of the territory.

The commission had no paid staff of lecturers, or moving picture programs. Personnel did not even permit of personally visiting county and independent district superintendents; much less principals and individual teachers.

To reach 600 county superintendents, fifty thousand school principals, two hundred and fifty thousand teachers in order to reach five million school children, in a manner to be really effective, is quite a problem in itself.

From the experience of this commission, no matter how well it may compare with other celebrations, it appears almost hopeless to reach this tremendous potential group effectively within any reasonable bounds of expenditure.

This commission spent about \$22,000 or 22% of its total appropriation directly on school participation, and with scholarships given by institutions for higher education, this becomes about \$35,000.

The text book was intended to prepare teachers to interpret this history to their respective ages and grades of students. It would be very interesting to actually know how many teachers ever received and read the text book.

Maps were not printed by the States to reach all school children as had been proposed, and it is doubtful as to whether the distribution of those which were printed was any more carefully or conscientiously carried out by school authorities than was the distribution of the text book.

The school contest was, according to all school authorities consulted, the best and most remunerative so far offered to schools by any agency. The results secured may be seriously questioned as to being worth the cost.

Summing up the factor of organization participation, it is difficult to compare results secured in this celebration with those attained in other similar programs. The premises are always somewhat different; many celebration reports are inclined to "gloss over" meagre results secured for one reason or another and dependable figures on previous efforts are not available.

Certainly it must be expected that 100% results will not be secured by any method, and any actual attainments must be measured against their cost.

This commission's working personnel believes that either newer and more attractive promotion and organization methods must be devised, or effort toward such participation be confined to simple and inexpensive procedures, with major funds devoted to other more productive features.

Publicity

This is one of the particularly pleasing features of the program and great appreciation is due to those agencies which cooperated so heartily.

The plan for the celebration was premised upon securing wide publicity *by doing things which were news*, and which would so find space in the news columns of publications rather than only in paid advertising space.

The budget originally set up only \$5,000 for publicity of all kinds and this was intended to be spent for direct mailing pieces, photographs, drawings, cuts, stereotype mats, etc.

Federal Writer's Project had agreed to furnish personnel. No space was to be bought and paid for.

As the matter turned out, Federal Writer's did not furnish personnel past April, 1938, and it was necessary to hire and pay men to handle it.

Also, even though the legislation was passed to permit the sale of literature, the cost of much of that literature was paid for out of the budget allotment for publicity.

These situations plus a demand for literature beyond the expectation of the commission made the actual expenditure for publicity about \$9,200—or a \$4,200 over-run of publicity budget.

However, the literature sold brought in \$8,200 in cash sales, so that the actual net expenditure was but little.

From the standpoint of the best publicity handling possible, a better job would have been done if one publicity man had handled this work straight through. The result was handicapped by three changes in its direction—the last change during the very climax of the program.

Newspapers

Perhaps the press generally, both as to national news services and individual papers and writers, performed the greatest, and an almost unbelievable publicity service. Nor was this for any few days or brief period, but continued during the entire year of celebration. Aside from the start of the caravan at Ipswich-Hamilton; its becoming lost in the mountains, the boat building and arrival at Marietta, and other incidents which were of national news value, each newspaper along the route gave splendid cooperation as to the visit of the caravan to that community. A large number of papers issued special souvenir editions.

The commission bought no clipping service, as to have so done would have expended thousands of dollars of needed funds. Only clippings voluntarily sent to the commission or miscellaneous acquired are on file. But with this very limited coverage, there are 700 pages 11 inches x 16 inches in size which are filled with clippings pasted three and four deep.

In addition to the straight news stories a number of staff and special writers prepared feature articles which appeared from New York to California.

While obviously no exact figures can be obtained as to the total newspaper space devoted to the celebration, the clippings in the commission scrap books, had the space been bought in the amount used in and at the display rate charged by that particular paper, would represent an expenditure of \$86,860.00.

This figure does not include writers' cost, or art work, and cuts used.

There is no doubt that twice as much appeared as the commission has clippings to show.

This safe computation would indicate newspaper publicity which alone would have cost \$173,720. Actually, newspaper men

say that this ratio is too low—that a figure four times actual clippings would be safe.

Magazine Publicity

A good many magazines ran stories or articles, the leading instance being a double spread in "Life"—which at then space rates would have cost \$11,400 plus art and preparation cost, making \$12,000. Other such publicity in magazines make this accomplishment equal to \$20,000 total of paid space.

Radio Publicity

Like the newspapers, radio did itself proud. At various times the celebration was on all three national broadcasting systems.

It is difficult to figure just what the equivalent cost would be because we do not know how many stations on a system use sustaining programs.

However, here is a rough list of the radio accomplishments—as to what time and talent costs would have been:

Columbia—May 1937—½ hour—evening. Cost furnished by U. S. Department of Education. 30 people in cast plus orchestra.

Columbia—July 12, 1937—15 minutes—6:00 p. m.—Bob Trout.

Columbia—July 8, 1938—President's Day—½ hr.—9:30 a. m.

N. B. C.—Dec. 2, 1937—New England Network—9:00 a. m.

N. B. C.—April 4, 1938—15 minutes.

N. B. C.—April 7, 1938—KDKA—½ hour—4:30 p. m.

N. B. C.—April 7, 1938—Lowell Thomas—15 min.—6:45 p. m.

N. B. C.—April 7, 1938—15 minutes—11:30 a. m.—national hook-up.

N. B. C.—July 8, 1938—President's Day—½ hour, a. m.

N. B. C.—Sept. 26, 1938—Greenville—Lowell Thomas.

Mutual—President's Day—½ hour—9:30 a. m.

WLW—26 half hour afternoon programs, with cast furnished.

WPAR—25 fifteen minute programs.

The caravan during its trek broadcast 29 times, from 15 minutes to its complete two-hour pageant. This would easily represent an average of \$50 per broadcast.

Mrs. L. S. Duxbury, commission member from Minnesota, broadcast at least twice over Minneapolis stations and, last but by no means least, special mention must be made of the work of Mrs. A. E. Jenner, Jr., of Chicago, who, as chairman of D. A. R. Radio for Illinois, secured sixty-five 15-minute radio dramatizations in Illinois, with casts furnished, at least eight radio interviews and two ½ hour radio transcription broadcasts. These were over big and lesser stations at various times of day, but under any basis of cost would represent a magnificent average.

Mrs. Jenner also secured radio programs in North Dakota and Minnesota.

These are merely the radio programs of which the commission knows and has some record. Rough as the computations are, the radio time and talent cooperation secured, amounts to at least \$51,000.

For radio purposes, the commission employed script writers to prepare 30-minute and 15-minute scripts—there being one series of 13 programs entitled "Freedom on the March" and 14 of "Heroes of the Old Northwest". These cost about \$1,500 for their writing

and they are mostly now available from the U. S. Department of Education, Washington, D. C.

News Reel Publicity

There were two news reels of which we have knowledge during the trek of the caravan and of course many during the President's visit.

There is no way to appraise their value, as figures on their distribution are not available, nor is there any commercial sale price involved.

The news reel companies are very insistent upon themselves determining the value of various events for newsreel purposes. There is no use approaching them unless in *their* judgments the events proposed suit their particular purposes.

Miscellaneous Publicity

In addition to the standard channels above described, there were various publicity projects of too many sorts to mention at length.

One of the most unusual was the State of Ohio automobile license tags—which ran through the year April 1938 to April 1939. There were some two million of these, and Ohio cars created interest and caused comment all over the nation. The writer heard considerable talk on the Pacific Coast of the celebration, brought about largely by these plates.

The State of Ohio paid for them. The Federal Commission only presented the idea to Governor Martin L. Davey. Some of the other states of the Territory had legal provision as to size of plate and copy to be used, hence could not follow Ohio's example.

There were special Northwest Territory Celebration billboards, blotters—letterheads, and even bread wrappers used by private concerns in conjunction with the commemoration.

State Publicity

The State Commission put out various literature in addition to the map. For instance, Ohio distributed over two million folders with the 1937 automobile license plates, some thousands of booklets, postcards and envelope stuffers. Minnesota put out elaborate window posters, etc.

The State Commission reports received do not go into detail as to publicity and hence cannot here be recapitulated.

Commission Literature

The commission prepared and distributed only such mailing pieces as were of general value, leaving local situations to State and town preparation.

There were as follows:

Cartographic Map—113,000 copies—cost \$10.00 per M after drawing and preparation cost. 17 x 23½—2 sides, 4 colors, folded. (Not charged to publicity budget.)

Textbook—275,000 copies—cost about \$55.00 per M, 96 pp. and covers 6 x 9, one color. (Not charged to publicity budget.)

Program Chart—1 page 8½ x 11, two sides, two colors—printed by Federal Writer's Project.

E-1 How This Nation—1 page 8½ x 11, two sides, one color—printed by Federal Writer's Project. 25,000.

E-2 Small Poster—1 page, 8½ x 11, two sides, one color—printed by Federal Writer's Project. 25,000.

Envelope Inserts on Covered Wagon Cachets—4 x 8½—one color, two sides—15,000.

Sample Daily Diary—8½ x 11 folded, 1 color, two sides—printed by Federal Writer's Project—15,000.

Poster—18 x 24—Sepia—50,000—cost about 7c each.

School Contest Poster—1 color, about 14 x 18—50,000.

Bibliography Booklet—12 pages, 1 color—5,000, cost \$105.00.

Caravan Broadside—19 x 25—1 color—7,000, cost \$156.00.

Final Report—printed by Federal Writer's Project, 6 x 9—1 color.

In addition to the foregoing there were many copies of the radio scripts, caravan script, radio interviews, talks, etc. prepared by mimeograph and distributed.

These with working forms and miscellaneous matter are the Commission's publications.

Summary of Publicity

It will be seen from the above details that results from the publicity phase of the celebration were most gratifying.

From actual data at hand the accomplishment values at:

Newspapers	\$ 86,860	Estimated Total	\$175,000
Magazines	20,000	“ “	22,000
Radio	51,000	“ “	55,000
Miscellaneous & State ...	10,000	“ “	15,000
Commission	5,000	“ “	5,000

Total

\$172,860	“	“	\$272,000
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This is in itself several times the commission's total appropriation and was accomplished at a cost to the commission of \$9,054.85 less credits for materials sold. (These credits cannot be easily segregated from total sales of literature as there are several thousands of orders for a few cents each.)

Sales of all commission literature, including maps and textbooks which were not charged to publicity budget, were, up to December 15, 1938, \$8,219.68.

Window Displays

These have already been discussed under "Contests", but deserve some elaboration.

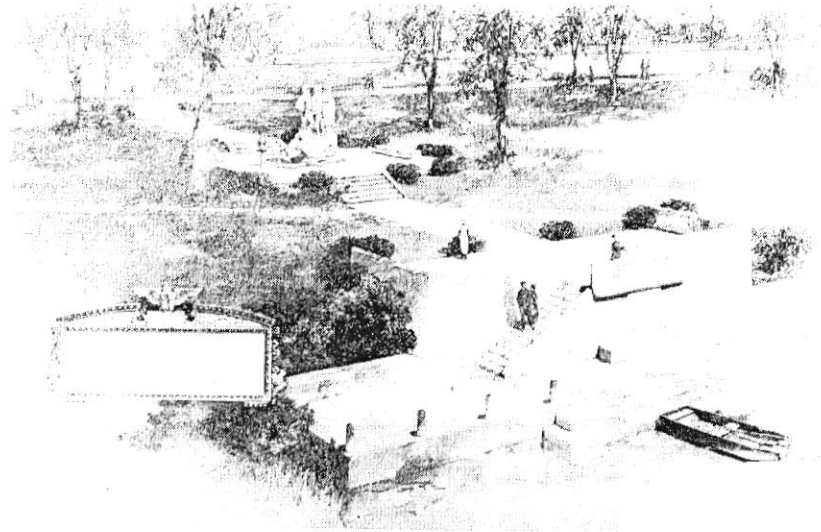
Had this celebration to be done over again, great stress would have been placed on window displays. This would get the interest of merchants and window trimmers, and to do a reasonably good job in competition, some research on their parts would be necessary. To reach this group as intensively would alone be worth the cost of a window display contest.

But, the greater value would come from the effect upon the general public. Show Windows do attract attention, and this is especially true of special event window displays.

By getting a number of merchants to make such displays the element of repetitive suggestion is injected strongly. And by reason of the wide variations among window display men in artistic treatment, there would be no danger of the displays becoming tiresome or hackneyed.

Almost every citizen walks along business streets frequently and observes attractive show windows. Thus, a tremendous group—of all classes of people—would be reached again and again.

Even without any such contest, this celebration enjoyed many



Architects rendering of National Memorial to the "Start Westward of the United States".



ABOVE - Symbolic group of six figures by Gutzon Borglum.
 RIGHT - One of the four pylons which frame memorial. Statuary group in background.