

RUFUS PUTNAM, AND HIS PIONEER LIFE IN THE NORTHWEST.

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THE life of General Rufus Putnam is so intimately connected with the history of the first century of our country that all the facts concerning it are of interest. It is a most commendable effort which has been put forth, therefore, during the more recent years, to give his name the place it deserves among the founders of our republic. We boast, and rightly, of our national independence, and associate with it the names of Washington and Jefferson, which have become household words throughout the land; but, when we come to look more closely into the problem of our national life from the beginning of it down to the present time, we find that one of the most essential factors in its solution was the work of Rufus Putnam. Although a man of humble birth, and never enjoying many of the advantages of most of those who were associated with him in the movements of his time, yet, in point of all the sturdy qualities of patriotism, sound judgment and far-sightedness, he was the peer of them all.

To him, it may be safely said, without detracting from the fame of any one else, the country owes its present escape from the bondage of African slavery more than to any other man. Had it not been for his providential leadership, and all that it involved, as is so tersely written on the tablet in the Putnam Memorial at Rutland, "The United States of America would now be a great slaveholding empire." He was the originator of the colony to make the first settlement in the territory northwest of the Ohio

River when it was yet a wilderness, and that settlement carried with it the famous Ordinance of 1787, by which slavery was forever to be excluded from all that region. Now that section is occupied by the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan.

Had slavery once crossed the river, it is not difficult to see what would have been its bearing upon our national destiny. Hon. Thomas Ewing of Ohio, in his address at the centennial celebration at Marietta in 1888, said, "The Marietta colony were in a large sense the emancipators of the slaves and the architects of the republic." Putnam has been called the "Father of Ohio," but he was also really the Father of the Northwest, for the Ohio Company, of which he was the prime mover, originally bought of the government all that immense tract of land (a million and a half acres), which was afterwards divided up into Ohio and the other States already named. The principles which went into and dominated one practically gave character to all. Prof. James D. Butler, LL.D., one of the oldest and most respected members of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, has expressed it in this wise: "Wisconsin is largely of the same Eastern stock with her four older sisters. No middle wall of partition divides our quintette."

"We grew together,
Like to a five-fold cherry, seeming parted,
But yet with union in partition:
Five lovely berries molded on one stem,
So with five seeming bodies, but one heart."

In his recent address at Rutland, on the occasion of placing a memorial tablet in the old Putnam House by the Massachusetts Sons of the Revolution, Hon. George F. Hoar of the United States Senate has given a very clear and complete outline of the life, character and work of this remarkable man. Nothing which is essential to an intelligent understanding of that life could be added; but there are incidents and reminiscences, connected with it

which are not so generally well known which may be of interest. It was the privilege of the writer some years ago, when on an historical mission to Marietta, where the greater part of Putnam's memorable life was led, to have access to a large collection of his unpublished letters and journals, now yellow with age, and to make quite copious notes from them. The purpose of this paper is, by the use of this and other material of the same sort, to bring out some features of Rufus Putnam's life which may serve as a kind of supplement to what has already been published. His service for his country dates from the time when, from North Brookfield, he enlisted in the French and Indian war, in 1757. He tells us in a journal which he kept in those days that he went out in the company of Capt. Ebenezer Learned, a very religious man, who "prayed regularly night and morning with his men, and on the Sabbath read a sermon in addition." It is an interesting coincidence that when young Putnam, then only nineteen years of age, and others of the noble pioneers of Ohio shouldered their muskets and made those wearisome marches to Canada, and endured such privations in the old French war, they were really fighting for the region which was to be their future home, and where, some years later, they were to lay the foundations of many rich and prosperous States. The very men who had helped England wrest the Northwest country from France in the French and Indian war, and who afterward, with the aid of France, reconquered it from England, now go out to make it their home, ready, if the necessity should occur, as it did, to take up arms once more to defend it from the Indians, who had been their foes in both the previous wars. After the war of the Revolution, in which he distinguished himself as military engineer and officer, we find Putnam returning to his farm, which a few years before he had purchased in Rutland, and there devoting himself to all the employments and duties of an ordinary citizen.

From the following abstracts from the town records we see the part which he took in town affairs. His name generally appears without the military title, and as simply Rufus Putnam, Esq., save in one instance, where he is designated as Col. Rufus Putnam.

In the town warrant for May 13, 1782, an article appears: "To remit to Abraham Wheeler, late constable, part of Col. Rufus Putnam's taxes, dated Sept. 15, 1781, for hiring men to serve in the army, 5 pounds 11 shillings."

Sept. 14, 1783. "Voted that Isaac Wheeler, Simeon Heald, Rufus Putnam, Esq. (and others) be a committee to view the road to Asa Adams to see whether a road can be made any other way to better advantage and report to the town at the adjournment of this meeting."

Nov. 17, 1783, there is an article "To see whether the town will grant money to repair any of the school houses in the town or act anything thereon." "Voted, that Capt. David Bent, Rufus Putnam, Esq. (and others) be a committee to make necessary repairs on the school houses now built in this town, and report the expense to the town at some future meeting for allowance and payment." Another article: "To see whether the town will empower any person or persons to settle with Jabez Fairbanks respecting his suit against the town, or act anything thereon." "Voted, that Dea. Jonas How (and others) be a committee to make a settlement." At an adjourned meeting, Dec. 1, "Voted, that Rufus Putnam, Esq., be added to the committee."

March 5, 1784, an article appears: "That the town choose collector to collect the taxes in the same the present year." "Voted, that the collection of the said taxes be let at auction and struck off to the lowest bidder who shall procure sufficient bonds for the faithful discharge of said office to the acceptance of the town." "Then Rufus Putnam, Esq., appeared and offered to undertake the collection of said taxes for 30 shillings on each one hundred pounds."

March 15, 1784. "The town being met according to adjournment acted further on the second article. Rufus Putnam, Esq., was chosen collector. Sworn. Voted to accept of Capt. Thos. Read and John Stone as bondsmen for the said collector's faithful discharge of said office. Rufus Putnam, Esq., chosen constable. Sworn."

In the records from this date there are several notifications for town meetings, of which the following is a specimen:

RUTLAND, Nov. 22, 1784.

In obedience to the warrant I have notified the inhabitants of Rutland to meet at the time and place for the purpose therein stated.

(Signed)

RUFUS PUTNAM,

Constable.

Nov. 2, 1784. Voted to Rufus Putnam, Esq., for repairing school house in the middle school plot the sum of 6 pounds 14 shillings and 2 pence. April 4, 1785, the town gave him 2 votes for State senator; April 3, 1786, 21 votes; and April 2, 1787, 29 votes.

May 8, 1786. "Voted Rufus Putnam, Esq., for surveying a road and carrying Beulah Collar to Leicester, 17 shillings and 10 pence. Voted also that Rufus Putnam, Esq. (and 8 others) be a committee to report a proper number and arrangement of school plots in the town at the adjournment of this meeting, and report each plot's bounds." The committee reported June 12, 1786.

Jan. 17, 1787. At a town meeting called by Hezekiah Ward, Justice of Peace, "The question was put whether the town should dismiss their member of the convention or not. Rufus Putnam, Esq., claimed a right to protest against the vote. Capt. Phinehas Walker was chosen a member of the convention."

At the same meeting there was an article "To see whether the town will act on a letter from a committee of the body of the people that assembled at Worcester on the

7th of Dec. last passed, or act anything thereon." "Voted to take the letter mentioned in the article into consideration. Dea. Jonas How claimed a right to protest against the vote." "Voted to choose a committee to petition the General Court agreeable to the letter. Rufus Putnam, Esq., claimed a right to protest for himself and all others who should choose to sign."

(These last minutes are supposed to refer to what is known in history as the Shays rebellion.)

March 5, 1787. Chosen chairman of selectmen; also surveyor of highways and collector of highway taxes.
March 18, 1787. Chosen moderator of Town Meeting.

The original plot which he made for the division of the town into school districts, in accordance with the vote taken June 12, 1786, may now be seen in the Putnam Memorial at Rutland.

It was during his residence in Rutland that his famous correspondence with Washington as to the best way to secure the unpaid dues to the Soldiers of the Revolution took place, and many of the letters which passed between them on this subject may now be seen among the Putnam papers at Marietta, Ohio. A simple allusion to this link in his life may be all that is necessary in this connection, a more complete account of which may be found in the able address of Senator Hoar, to which reference has already been made.

Congress failing to adopt his suggestions, endorsed by Washington, that public lands belonging to the government west of the Ohio River be assigned to the soldiers in lieu of money unpaid, he originated the idea and was largely instrumental in the organization of what is known in history as the Ohio Company, the object of which was to purchase outright those lands, provided a proper guarantee against the introduction of slavery into that territory could be secured, paying for them in most part with government scrip, which the soldiers held in large sums.

When the Ohio Company was formed Gen. Putnam was chosen its superintendent. His commission, signed by James M. Varnum, is still preserved in the archives of the college at Marietta, as also are many of his letters. Among those associated with him in this Company were some of the brightest men of his time. Washington said of them, "They were men to whom education, religion, freedom, private and public faith, which they incorporated in the fundamental compact of Ohio, were the primal necessities of life." Rev. Manasseh Cutler, D.D., of Ipswich, Massachusetts, his principal coadjutor, stands out in bold relief from all the rest. His part in securing the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, and afterward in purchasing of Congress the lands in the northwestern territory, entitles him to favorable mention always with the name of Rufus Putnam. His biographer says of him: "He had a versatile talent and broad learning, and was possessed of wonderful tact, both in speech and conduct; of elegant bearing; a favorite in the drawing room and in the camp; and, withal, a most noted naturalist, known almost equally well in scientific circles in Europe and America." The Ordinance passed July 11th, 1787. On the 27th of the same month Congress passed an act authorizing the sale to the Ohio Company of 1,500,000 acres of land on the Ohio, about the mouth of the Muskingum, for \$1.00 per acre, with an allowance for bad lands not to exceed one-third of a dollar per acre. The contract was closed Oct. 27th of the same year, and signed by Samuel Osgood and Arthur Lee for the Board of Treasury, and by Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent for the Ohio Company. It is the only case in history, with a single exception, when the Laws and Constitution have been projected into a territory prior to its occupation by its future inhabitants. Congress appointed as officers of the new territory Gen. Arthur St. Clair governor, Maj. Winthrop Sargent secretary, and Gen. Samuel H. Parsons and James M. Varnum

judges. After the purchase was made, and Cutler had returned to his home, there arose a lively discussion on the merits of the transaction and the wisdom of the proposed migration to the far west. Dr. Cutler wrote a pamphlet, in which he set forth in glowing colors the wonderful attractions of the western country for emigration. Others looked upon the scheme with ridicule.

A penny anti-moving-to-Ohio paper caricatured the whole thing by a rude wood-cut, in which a stout, ruddy, well-dressed man, on a sleek, fat horse, with a legend appended, "I'm going to Ohio," was represented as meeting a pale and ghastly skeleton-like looking figure, clad in tatters, astride an almost inanimate animal, and underneath the label, "I've been to Ohio." In three of the December 1787 issues and in one of the January issues of 1788 of *The Worcester Magazine* appears the following advertisement:

OHIO COMPANY.

ADVENTURERS in the OHIO COMPANY who subscribed with RUFUS PUTNAM are requested to meet at Mr. JOHN STOWERS's, innholder, in *Worcester*, on Tuesday, the 18th instant, at two o'clock in the afternoon, to choose an Agent or Agents, agreeably to the Articles of Association, as the said PUTNAM is very soon to set out for the Ohio Country, and can serve his friends as Agent no longer.

RUFUS PUTNAM.

Rutland, Dec. 3^d, 1787.

Only a day or two before this notice was first published one party of men for the west had started from Danvers, Massachusetts, under Maj. Hatfield White, and about a month later (Jan. 1, 1788,) another company, under Col. Ebenezer Sproat, left New Haven, Connecticut, for the same destination. Putnam wrote his nephew John Matthews, who seems to have been with the first company, as follows: "You and Mr. Tupper are appointed surveyors under me, and you may expect to see me at Monongohela, or perhaps Wheeling Creek, by the tenth of February. Maj. White comes on with a party designed for building the boats. He has my orders to contract for supplies of provisions for the whole party till Aug. next. I am not coming with a view only to do the

work of the company, but I intend to remove my family as soon as I have provided a place to put them in." The men making up the two parties numbered in all forty-eight, and represented the various trades of carpentering, boat building, engineering, *etc.* It has been disparagingly said of them that they were merely hirelings, and of Putnam himself that he was a land speculator, and therefore not worthy the honor which is being heaped upon him. True, they were in one sense "hired men." They were sent ahead to prepare the way. Not able to go at their own expense, they were paid the nominal sum of four dollars a month till discharged. But they were men of most patriotic motives, and men also of superior culture and character. A third of them, it is said, were college graduates. It was no doubt Putnam's plan in the first place to provide good homes for his former comrades in arms. He may not have seen much farther ahead than that. Probably he built better than he knew. But we might say the same of Columbus and of the Pilgrim Fathers. No human eye can see the end from the beginning. But this is certain, had it not been for Gen. Rufus Putnam and his wise leadership into the wilds of the great northwest, American history would have been written far differently from what it is now. Their journey across the continent in the dead of winter was no holiday excursion. We find this entry in Putnam's journal: "I joined the party at Lincoln's inn, near a creek which was hard frozen, but not sufficient to bear the wagon, and a whole day was spent in cutting a passage. So great a quantity of snow fell that day and the following night as to quite block up the road. Our only resource was to build sleds and harness our horses one before the other, and in this manner, with four sleds and the men in front, to break the track. We set forward and reached the Youghiogheny, a tributary of the Ohio, Feb. 14, where we found Maj. White, who had arrived Jan. 3d." In a letter written to Dr. Cutler he says: "It would

give you pain and me no pleasure to detail our march over the mountains or our delays afterwards on account of the bad weather and other misfortunes." There were some rather humorous features to their trip. Col. Sproat, in command of the second party, was a thoroughgoing Yankee, 6 feet 4 inches tall, good natured, and exceedingly fond of animals. One Sunday they stopped over with a well-to-do German farmer in Pennsylvania, who treated them with the utmost hospitality.

During the halt some one, thinking to play a good joke on the colonel, hid the Dutchman's pet dog in one of the wagons, which was not discovered till they were well on their way the next day, when a messenger came riding up to the colonel in hot haste with this note from his German friend. "Meester Colonel Sproat, I dinks I use you well. Den for what you steal my little tog?" It hardly need be said that the dog was soon on his way back to its owner. After reaching a place called Sumrill's Ferry, for about six weeks they were busy building a good sized boat and several smaller ones for their voyage down the Ohio. The large boat they named "Adventure Galley," but afterward changed it to what they considered a more appropriate name, "The Mayflower," as a sort of second edition of the good ship in which the Pilgrim Fathers years before had come over to this new country to lay the foundations of a Christian commonwealth. Rufus Putnam and his brave company were, in fact, going out to sow in the wilderness of the Northwest seed from which a rich harvest of the Pilgrim ideas would be gathered in the years to come. They reached their destination at the junction of the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers the 7th day of April, 1788, about noon. The voyage down the river is described as delightful. It was during the opening days of spring. Representatives of the various tribes of Indians in that region were on hand to give them a gracious welcome. There is now a painting in one of the halls at Marietta, made in 1849 by a local artist of some repute, which

represents the landing scene. It is said to be tolerably true to facts so far as they could be gleaned from letters and journals written by the persons who were members of the group itself. It is laid on the left bank of the Muskingum, a quarter of a mile or so above its mouth. A group of white men has just ascended the bank from the boats, among whom Gen. Putnam and Col. Sproat are especially prominent. Corn Planter, the chief of the Senecas, in full dress, is shaking hands with the General, and welcoming him to the country. Capt. Pipes, chief of the Delawares, is close by his side, while the squaw or wife of Corn Planter, in a rich mantle of broadcloth decorated with five hundred silver brooches, and a head-dress of richly colored silk handkerchiefs, stands in a modest attitude looking pleasantly on the new comers. Groups of Indians are seen advancing, while others are seated on the trunk of a newly fallen tree. Sixty or seventy Indians from various tribes have been here some weeks for the purpose of making a treaty. The background takes in Fort Harmer, a frontier military post on the opposite bank of the river, and the low range of bluffs which skirt the horizon from north to south. The next day after their arrival the surveyors began to lay out the new town, Gen. Putnam himself taking charge of the work. The plan of the city as he originally drew it with his own hands is today among his papers in Marietta College library. A clearing was soon made in the forest, and, although the season was far advanced, the first year one hundred and thirty acres were planted with corn after a rude fashion, from which they harvested in the fall thirty bushels to the acre. The rivers furnished an abundance of fish, and the forests game, so they did not lack a sufficiency of food for that year.

In a letter to Dr. Cutler, Gen. Putnam wrote as follows: "The men are generally in good health, and I believe much pleased with the country. That I am so myself you may be assured. I can only add, the situation of the city

plot is the most delightful of any I ever saw." June 15th a hundred new recruits, or about fifteen families, joined the colony, from the east, coming by way of the river on "The Mayflower," which now made occasional trips between the settlement and Sumrill's Ferry on the upper Ohio. The name of the new town was called Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette, the queen of France, in acknowledgment of her courtesy to Benjamin Franklin, at that time the United States minister to France. As General St. Clair, the newly appointed territorial governor, had not yet arrived, the people very soon met and that they might live in an orderly way enacted some temporary laws, and posted them on the trees where all could see them.

It is not strange that a body of men like these should want to celebrate the anniversary of their national independence, nor is it to be wondered at that Gen. Putnam should take the lead in such a movement. The original subscription paper, drawn in his own handwriting, to raise money for a celebration the first year, is still in good state of preservation as the property of Hon. George Woodbridge of Marietta. It reads as follows:

"The subscribers hereby agree to celebrate the anniversary of the Independence of the United States upon the Fourth of July next. They will provide a public dinner for themselves, his excellency the governor and his suite, the officials of the government, and such others as may occasionally be invited. The expenses shall be equally borne and paid to Mr. Jonas Backus, who is desired to provide the entertainment.

RUFUS PUTNAM
& 47 others."

A large bower was erected near the river, and every preparation was made to carry out the plan, but, as the governor for some reason did not put in an appearance, one of their own number, James M. Varnum, an accomplished orator, delivered the address, and the day was pronounced

a success. One of the first structures to be built was a fort, to secure them against possible invasion from the Indians. Although they gave every assurance of friendliness, Gen. Putnam, from his previous experience with Indian character, knew too well that it would not do to put too much confidence in their professions.

Subsequent developments proved his wisdom in this respect. Under his direction a stockade, occupying some eight acres, laid out in the form of a square, was inclosed by a palisade of strong posts driven into the ground and pointed at the top. Inside this was built a substantial two-story building of timber, around an open court, 180 feet on each side, and defended at each corner by a blockhouse, which was higher than the rest, and pierced with portholes. This building was large enough to furnish accommodation in case of necessity for about fifty families. It was in one of these blockhouses that the first court of the territory was held, and the same place was used for religious services for a number of years. This structure for defence bore the somewhat pretentious name of *Campus Martius*. As Gen. Putnam was the superintendent of the colony, every one looked to him for the management of all affairs and the adjustment of all difficulties.

Among his papers at Marietta one finds relics of both the serious and the amusing features of those times. Here is one which seems to combine a little of both. It would seem that an Indian had been killed by a white man in revenge for some injury, and the wife of the murdered Indian was in want. Gen. Putnam gives an order on a store for her relief, as follows :

"MARIETTA, May 17th, 1797.

Sir :—

Pleze to Deliver the Dellancrane woman, widow of the murdered Indian Such goods as she shall chuze to wipe away her Tears to the amount of Five Dollars.

To Griffin Green esq. or
Charles Green."

RUFUS PUTNAM.

It was in the year 1790, or about two years after the arrival of the first colony, that Gen. Putnam returned to Rutland, his old home in Massachusetts, for his family. An interesting sketch of the journey back to Marietta with his family and some of his neighbors was written a good many years afterward by one who when a boy was a member of the party (Benjamin Franklin Stone of Chillicothe, Ohio.) He recalls at the age of eighty the experiences of a boy of twelve :

"I remember the morning of our starting for Ohio. Mr. Burlingame's family, of which I was a member, went to Gen. Putnam's the evening before. The next morning after family prayers and breakfast they began to tackle up the teams. . . . Putnam's family consisted of himself and wife, two sons and five single daughters. . . . Gen. Putnam had two hired men who were his teamsters. . . . There were twenty-six of us in all. It seemed to the old folks a vast enterprise to go eight hundred miles into a savage country, as it was then called. There were three ox wagons, with two yoke of oxen to each, and Gen. Putnam's two-horse carriage, and one saddle horse. My mother had one cow, and Putnam had three or four nice cattle, including a bull of a choice breed. We were eight weeks on the journey. I think we did not travel on the Sabbath, for I distinctly remember that we tarried at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and attended public worship. . . . Among other preparations for the journey my mother and sister had knit up a large quantity of socks and stockings. They were packed in a bag, and that bag was used by the boys who lodged in the wagon for a bolster. By some means the bag was lost out of the wagon or stolen. The boys missed it of course the first night. That morning my brother went back the whole distance of the previous day's journey, and inquired and advertised it without success. I do not remember how many pairs of stockings there were in it, but from the size of the bag I judge there were at least one hundred. . . . Our ox teams were quite a curiosity to the Yorkers and Pennsylvanians. They called them the cow teams. . . . I remember the steep rough roads in the mountains. Sometimes they would take the foremost pair of oxen and chain them to the hind end of

the wagon when going down a steep place, where they would naturally hold back, and so make it easier for the other pair to hold back. . . . Gen. Putnam had travelled the road three or four times before, and he had a list of all the houses that he meant to put up at, and every morning he would say to the teamsters, 'So many miles to such a place tonight.' He would generally go forward horseback and make arrangements for the night. . . . Two nights in all the journey did we fail of reaching the appointed place, though sometimes it was at a late hour, owing to the badness of the roads on rainy days. We had but little rainy weather until we reached the headwaters of the Youghiogheny at Sumrill's Ferry. We waited a few days at the house of Mr. Carnahan till the boats were finished which the General had engaged the summer previous when he was returning from Ohio to New England. . . . We observed the western line of Pennsylvania where it crossed the Ohio. It had been marked by cutting down all the trees a space of three or four rods wide. . . .

"It was slow, tedious work on the river, often getting aground, when all the men from both boats had to unite to shove the boat over the shoal places. Some of our party writing to their friends in Rutland informed them of our getting aground on the fish dams above Pittsburgh, but carelessly left out the word *dams*, so it read 'got aground on the *fish*.' The answer came back, 'You must have very large *fish* in the Ohio.' At length we arrived at Marietta about nine o'clock in the morning. I cannot tell the day. . . . All the settlers gave us a hearty welcome. It can scarcely be realized now by persons born and brought up here with what feelings the first settlers welcomed every accession to their number. They had just passed through a time of great scarcity of provisions. Corn was now ripe. Providence had favored them with a good crop. It was a time of peace, and they were full of hopes that soon they would be relieved from all the privations incident to a new settlement so far beyond the abodes of civilized man. . . . This was in November, 1790. . . . Within a few days the massacre of the settlement at Big Bottom took place, which carried dismay to every mind in the infant settlement."

The Indian war dates from Jan. 17th, 1791. The experi-

ence of the next four years was one of great hardship and danger. Gen. Putnam in those trying times showed his good judgment and genius for leadership, and practically saved the colony from destruction. Many of the Ohio Company who had clung to him as long as there was prospect of success and plenty now withdrew when the dark days came. But he was made of different fibre from that. His experience in the French and Indian war had taught him some things which now came in play. Governor St. Clair, who was officially his superior, undertook to quell the outbreak by marching against the invaders with the military force at his command, but proved wholly incompetent to cope with the savage foe. Putnam, realizing the danger which threatened, appealed to Washington for help, writing: "Our situation is truly distressing, and I do most earnestly therefore implore the protection of government for myself and friends inhabiting the wilds of America. To this we consider ourselves justly entitled." But for some reason no help came. His friend Fisher Ames, then a representative in Congress, wrote to him that he was glad the country sympathized with them and was not indisposed to give effectual protection although it would cost money, but that circumstances, too often threw cold water on the natural emotions of the public towards their distressed brethren. So Putnam took the matter into his own hands and organized a company of scouts selected with reference to their courage and skill in reading the movements of the enemy, and gathered his little colony within the walls of the fortification which he had prepared against such an emergency as this. During these perilous times the men would cultivate the fields near by as best they could, but never went so far away that they could not retire within the walls of the stockade in case of an attack by the enemy. And so they lived in constant fear and danger through those long and dreary years, knowing not what a day might bring forth. There were some rather

amusing incidents mingled with those more sober days. The thrifty habits of the New England house-wife were continually cropping out. One night when danger was threatening, under cover of darkness Col. Sproat came into the blockhouse with a box of papers for safe-keeping. There followed some young men with their firearms. Next a woman with her bed and children. After them an old man with his leathern apron full of goldsmith's tools and tobacco. His daughter brought the china teapot and saucers. Another brought the great Bible. But when all were in, mother was missing. Where was mother? One said "She must be killed by the Indians." "Oh no," said another; "mother said she would not leave the house looking so, and so she remained to put things a little to rights." After a while the old lady came bringing the looking-glass, knives, forks, *etc.*

At last the government ordered Gen. Anthony Wayne, more commonly known as "Mad Anthony," with a body of troops to go to the relief of the settlers. Why Gen. Putnam was not put in command is not quite clear, unless Gen. Wayne was higher in rank as an officer during the war of the Revolution. This is true, however, Gen. Putnam was of great service to Wayne in bringing the Indian war to a close and negotiating terms of peace. Among some official papers at Marietta relating to this period is an address which he made at an Indian council convened for the purpose of arranging a treaty, some parts of which are worthy to rank high in our American patriotic literature. It begins as follows: "Brothers: Let us smoke a pipe of friendship." When this preliminary part of the proceeding was over he proceeded. "Brothers: I congratulate you on our first meeting together this day. My speeches which I sent you sixty days ago have reached you, and you are now come to hear what I have to say to you. We meet one another for a good purpose, and the Great Spirit, who has preserved our lives to this day where

we see one another face to face and shake hands together, will be witness to all our transactions. We meet together on no strange ground. It is the ground on which your ancestors have kindled a council fire, and where you since have often met and smoked the pipe of peace. This fire must always be kept burning bright so that you and your allies may see it and meet one another at all times without difficulty or fear there to smoke the pipe of peace, friendship and love. Brothers: I rose from the Great Council Fire of the United States four months ago. There I saw the chiefs of the Five Fires and the chiefs of the Cherokee Nation smoke the pipe of peace with the great Chief of the United States, George Washington. The fire was burning bright, and all that were around it felt happy. The great Chief wished this happiness to extend to all nations. His council fire is kindled for the benefit of all nations. He loves to see his brothers: to talk and smoke with them. Brethren: While the great Chief, George Washington, was thus joyful with his brothers that were with him he looked around and saw with sorrow that some of his distant brothers could not enjoy this happiness with him at present. He observed that a dark cloud had sprung up between them and the United States some time ago, and that this cloud had darkened the sky so much that his brothers and the people of the United States could not distinguish one another, but stumbled against each other and struck the tomahawk in each other's heads. Brothers: The great Chief, wishing to have this dark cloud removed and dispersed, to see the tomahawk drawn out of the heads of each other and buried in the deep, to take each other by the hand anew and establish a new and lasting friendship between all his brothers and the United States, has appointed me his agent for this purpose. I am therefore come to you in confidence that we shall be able to accomplish this great work, and I may then return again to the great Chief with assurance of friendship and peace.

Brothers: I told you in my speech which I sent you that when I came I should bring your women and children with me and return them to their friends. They are now with you. Brothers: I shall always speak to you from my heart, not from my lips only. Speak also from your hearts. Tell me the cause of your uneasiness and I will endeavor to remove it."

The above speech being interpreted by periods to the several tribes, General Putnam delivered them a bunch of white wampum containing six strings. After a long silence a chief of the Eel River tribe rose, shook hands, and, after apologizing for being sick, said:

"My older brother: All your brothers have heard you, and rejoice at what you have said. I will say no more at present, but we will consult among ourselves, and will return you an answer tomorrow. You are right by saying that we meet one another on no strange ground. It is the very place where our former chiefs met and smoked together." Next the chief of another tribe rose, shook hands, and said: "My older brother: I am very glad that what I always told the nation has come to pass. My older brother: I never told a falsehood to my Father the French, nor to my brothers the Americans. We are all glad at what you have said, and will consider upon it and give you an answer tomorrow."

Several more chiefs followed in the same vein, and then they retired to consult among themselves. It would seem as though they at first promised to enter into certain treaty relations, which afterward they refused to abide by, as we find Gen. Putnam at a subsequent meeting addressing them thus: "Brothers: After we had lit the pipe of peace yesterday you told me that the sky was very clear, that we would now smoke together, and should observe that the smoke would ascend straight upwards. You then gave me the pipes and desired me to present them to our great Chief, Gen. Washington, that he might also smoke out of

them. Brothers: When the white people give a thing away they do not ask for it again." And so the conference continued, until a satisfactory treaty was established; and it was owing largely to Putnam's rare ability and tact that it was brought about.

During the Indian war, to meet the pressing needs of the colony, it is recorded that Putnam and Cutler were obliged to draw from their own funds to the amount of about \$11,000, which the government so far as we know never saw fit to return.

It is natural that the subject of education should have been early considered by such men as these. A school was opened in the blockhouse at the southeast corner of Campus Martius very soon after it was built. It was not long, however, before Gen. Putnam, feeling the need of better educational facilities, started a subscription to build a house which might answer the purpose of an academy. And so Muskingum Academy, so-called, a primitive structure, was built in 1790, at an expense of about \$1000, of which Putnam himself gave \$300. David Putnam, a graduate of Yale College, a grandson of Gen. Israel Putnam, and also a distant relative of Rufus, was the first principal. Gen. Putnam was always greatly interested in the subject of education, the more so probably as he realized the want of it in his own early life. He was notoriously a bad speller, as all his written documents amply show. In a letter to a friend he once wrote:

"Had I been as much engaged in learning to write, spelling, etc., as with arithmetic, geography, and history I might have been much better qualified to fill the duties of the succeeding scenes of life which in Providence I have been called to pass through. Having neglected spelling and grammar when I was young, I have suffered much through life on that account."

He concludes his letter by saying that he hoped his children would never allow the education of any one under

their charge to be neglected as his was. While living in Rutland he gave to Leicester Academy, of which he was a trustee, \$500. He was also a trustee of the University of Ohio at Athens. On account of his great natural gifts he always held a prominent position even among men of greater education. President Israel N. Andrews, for many years the honored head of Marietta College, and authority on all matters of local history, said of him: "In a community of able men, many of them highly educated, Gen. Putnam was from the first a leading man."

He was as we might expect, a man of profound religious convictions. He was among the first in securing religious privileges for the new colony. The first ten years, services were held in the blockhouse on the north-west corner of Campus Martius and, after that, in the building of the Muskingum Academy. A church was organized in 1796, Gen. Putnam and his friend Gen. Tupper being the leaders in the movement. The articles of faith and the covenant written out by himself may still be seen among the Congregational Church records of Marietta. His name is first on the list of the charter members and next to it the name of Persis, his wife. The present house of worship, and the oldest building now used for church purposes west of the Ohio River, is said to have been planned by him and was erected in 1809. The subscription list, which is still preserved, is a curiosity of its kind. Among the articles given, besides money, were pork, castor, brown and felt hats, lumber, labor and merchandise of all kinds. Putnam himself subscribed \$400 in labor and lumber, to be paid by Aug. 1st, and \$400 in cash, to be paid Oct. 1st. He was one of the original trustees of what was known as "The First Religious Society of Marietta."

The pews, as was the custom in those days, were sold by auction. He appears on the books of the church as the owner of thirty of them, which he probably bought for

the sake of helping out the cause. He advanced also quite an amount from his own private funds, as is seen by his will, dated July 8th, 1813, in which he says: "I give and bequeath and hereby appropriate \$3,000 out of the money due me from the First Religious Society of Marietta as a permanent fund, the annual interest of which shall be applied to the following objects by trustees hereinafter named: one-third part to the support of the minister of the First Religious Society of Marietta; one-third part to the support of a school for the education of poor children in Marietta; one-third part for the support of missionaries to preach the gospel to places destitute of a stated ministry or among Indian tribes." All through his long and greatly respected life he was a conspicuous figure among the people of Marietta, and his influence was very marked throughout the State. He held many important offices of trust in his lifetime in both the general and the local governments. In addition to those already named, he was one of the first territorial judges and also a member of the convention to draw up a constitution for organizing the State of Ohio in 1802. In his best days he is described as being a man of splendid physique, six feet in height, erect, well proportioned and of a soldierly bearing. He was quick and decisive in all his movements and sometimes almost abrupt in manners. By his kind-heartedness, however, he never failed to be conciliatory when the occasion warranted. He was cheery and impressive in conversation, and possessed a fund of anecdote and ready information on all topics. His declining years were beautiful in the deference paid him by a people who owed him so much for all that he had been to them in dark and bright days alike. When in Marietta in 1894 the writer of this paper was fortunate in obtaining from Mrs. Sarah Cutler Dawes of that city, a granddaughter of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, D.D., an aged lady of 85 years, who has since died, the following reminiscences of Gen. Rufus Putnam, which

she recalled from her early girlhood. These are her words. "I was attending school in Marietta in 1822-3. Miss Sophia Tupper was my seat mate and particular friend. Her mother was a daughter of Gen. Rufus Putnam. She lived at Putnam, Ohio, now a part of Zanesville. She lived at Gen. Putnam's here. Gen. Putnam's daughter Miss Betsey kept house for him in the old building, which was a part of Campus Martius. I was often at the house with Sophia, and I remember staying there once all night. I often saw Gen. Putnam and talked with him. Once Miss Betsey introduced me as Ephraim Cutler's daughter. He shook my hand a long time and said, 'And you are Ephraim Cutler's daughter!' He shook my hand a long time. He was quite deaf. He seemed to me a very large looking man, but feeble with age. He was very erect in his carriage and dignified in manner, and I thought he walked like a soldier. He asked a blessing at table, standing himself at the head of the table while we all stood up by the side of our chairs. At night he had family prayers. We all stood up during the service, which was conducted by the General. He appeared old and his hand trembled. Once at the table he dropped a tumbler of water and broke a glass, when Miss Betsey said, 'Oh, father has broken a glass!' and she brought a silver cup for him. His house was well furnished, but not better than others of the same class. I saw him at church. He would walk up the aisle with great dignity, and all the people seemed to pay him deference. I attended his funeral. There was a large crowd in attendance. The exercises were held in the Congregational Church. Miss Betsey was a very gracious lady, kind to all, and she presided over the house with dignity and graceful manners. A great many people visited them. There were liquors used at Gen. Putnam's, as was the case everywhere else. But Rufus Browning told me that he once took a drink, and his grandfather, Rufus Putnam,

saw him and said, 'Do not ever touch another drop of liquor,' and that this had great influence over him and he never did."

The house in which he lived for the greater part of his life after the Indian war is still standing. It was reconstructed from the old blockhouse on the southeast corner of Campus Martius, and is a plain two-story building, somewhat smaller than the one in which he lived in Rutland. In one of the rooms may still be seen relics of the early colonial days, such as a powder-magazine and an ample closet for guns and military accoutrements. A large chamber in the second story, in which Gen. Putnam died May 4th, 1824, at the advanced age of 87 years, is still in a good state of repair. In the old Mound Cemetery, back on the bluffs which overlook the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers, is a plain but substantial granite monument which marks his last resting-place, having on its face this inscription:

GEN. RUFUS PUTNAM,

A revolutionary officer and leader of the colony which made the first settlement in the territory of the North West at Marietta, Apr. 7, 1788.

BORN APR. 9TH, 1738.

DIED MAY 4TH, 1824.

"The memory of the just is blessed."

Gen. Putnam had a numerous family of children. Five sons and two daughters survived him. His descendants are widely scattered throughout the West, and are among its leading and influential citizens. All of his papers and letters relating to his public life descended to his grandson, Col. Rufus Putnam of Marietta, who at his death bequeathed them to Marietta College, in whose archives they are now safely deposited.

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