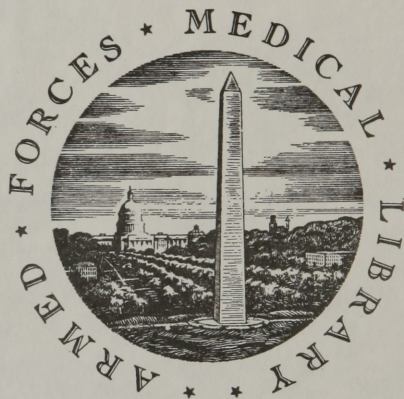


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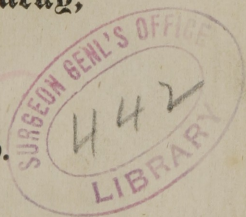
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REMARKS
ON THE
IMPORTANCE OF PROMOTING LITERARY AND SOCIAL
CONCERT,
IN THE
VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
AS A MEANS OF
ELEVATING ITS CHARACTER,
AND
PERPETUATING THE UNION.
DELIVERED IN THE CHAPEL
OF
TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY,
TO THE
Literary Convention of Kentucky,
November 8, 1833.

=====
BY DANIEL DRAKE, M. D.
...
OF CINCINNATI.
=====

PUBLISHED BY MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION,
AT THE
OFFICE OF THE LOUISVILLE HERALD.
.....
1833.



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Mr. Shattuck from her
friend The Author.

As the following address is published by request of *individual members* of the late "Education Convention," holden at Lexington, instead of the convention in its collective capacity, some explanation of the circumstances of its publication may be necessary to prevent erroneous impressions.

The facts are simply these: Immediately after Dr. DRAKE had concluded his address and retired, a resolution was offered in the convention, for presenting its "thanks to Dr. DRAKE for the very able and eloquent address with which he had just favored us, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for publication."

This resolution was opposed by several members, on the ground that some expressions in the latter part of the address, recognized the probability of a dissolution of the Union, and the formation of a "Western Confederacy."

The members of this convention, who were favorable to its publication, and who did not perceive in it the objectionable features above alluded to, did not feel disposed to urge the measure upon the convention unless it could pass unanimously; and preferred procuring its publication by individual solicitation, as the following correspondence will show:

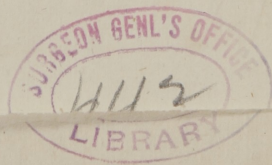
ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE.

LEXINGTON, November 9, 1833.

DR. DRAKE,

SIR: The address you favored the Education Convention with, on yesterday, excited in *our* minds feelings of unmingled delight. We were as much struck with the *pure patriotism* it inculcated, adorned with all the stores to be derived from the rich and luxuriant fields of natural science, as with the classic elegance of its style. With these impressions glowing our minds, we can but think its distribution will afford new and beautiful

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associations, around which may cluster the great political truth of our country—"Union now and forever." We therefore solicit a copy of the address for publication, and in the interim, have the honor to remain,

With sentiments of high respect,

Yours,

MANN BUTLER,
R. FERGUSON, M. D.
WILKINS TANNEHILL,
G. H. WILCOX,
D. J. AYERS,
THOS. J. THORNTON,
L. H. VAN DOREN,
C. B. NEW, M. D.

DR. DRAKE.

LEXINGTON, Nov. 9, 1833.

GENTLEMEN:

The Address, a copy of which you have done me the honor to solicit for publication, was not drawn up with a view to that destination. As you think, however, that its distribution might contribute to the promotion, in the Valley of the Mississippi, of the great object in which you are so zealously engaged, I do not feel at liberty to decline your flattering request; and after my return to Cincinnati, will, at as early a period as possible, prepare the manuscript for publication.

Most respectfully,

Your ob't. serv't.

DANIEL DRAKE.

Messrs. BUTLER, THORNTON, VANDOREN, and others.

Upon the reception of this affirmative reply, Messrs. Mann Butler, W. Tannehill and G. H. Wilcox, of Louisville, were charged by those who had solicited it, with the publication of the address.

PREFACE.

ABOUT three years ago, several respectable teachers in the valley of the Ohio River, most of whom reside in Cincinnati, projected and organized a society, which they denominated, "THE WESTERN LITERARY INSTITUTE, AND COLLEGE OF PROFESSIONAL TEACHERS." Its second annual meeting was held in Cincinnati, in the month of September last, and was attended by a number of teachers and professors of Ohio, Kentucky and Illinois. Several interesting topics connected with education, it is understood, were discussed by these gentlemen, and a number of public lectures, by themselves and others invited to that task, were delivered to large audiences of ladies and gentlemen.

Before the Institute adjourned, it was thought advisable to enlarge its limits, both as to the objects on which it should in future exert itself, and also to the qualifications of membership. Accordingly the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That a Central Committee be appointed to devise a plan of a Society for the Improvement of Education and the diffusion of useful knowledge, which shall include the citizens of all classes, in the several Western States, and be calculated to exert an influence on the whole mass of the people; and that said committee shall make its report at a General Convention of the Citizens of the Western States and Territories, in this City, (Cincinnati,) on the second Monday in April next."

In the first week of November, by the efforts of the Rev. B. O. PEERS, acting President of Transylvania University, a similar Convention, for the State of Kentucky alone, was held at Lexington, and attended by several gentlemen from Cincinnati, invited thither by Mr. PEERS. The Author of this pamphlet was among the number, and was one of those whom the Con-

vention honored with the request to address them. The subject which he chose, was the Physical, Intellectual and Moral Education, *appropriate to the two sexes, respectively.*

The lecture being concluded, he deemed the occasion a suitable one for promoting the *general* literary meeting just referred to, and accordingly offered the following resolution, which was ultimately adopted by a unanimous vote.

"Resolved, as the sense of this body, That the State of Kentucky should be represented in the proposed meeting of delegates, from the different States of the Valley of the Mississippi, in April next."

After the Convention adjourned, a respectable number of its members, did him the honor to ask a copy of both the *Lecture* and the *Remarks* for publication. Expecting, at no distant time, to be able to present the former to the public, in a different way, he has complied with their flattering request, in reference to the latter only.

His remarks were chiefly extempore or from brief and hasty notes; and in writing them out for the press, he has extended them on certain points, so as to present the subject more fully than it was then displayed.

He is not a statesman, nor even a politician, but a naturalist; and has applied his geographical and geological observations, to the discussion of certain questions of patriotic and social duty. By this application he hopes in some degree to promote uniformity and elevation of character in the Valley of the Mississippi, and thereby contribute to the preservation of the Union; which, however, he regards in no present, and believes, by the West alone, may be preserved from all future danger.

Cincinnati, (Ohio,) December 15, 1833.

THE
VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

OUR happy UNION enjoys unlimited sovereignty among the nations of the earth, but over its own people, and the different states to which they belong, its powers are restricted. On many points the states are sovereign, in relation to the confederacy, but they have few attributes of sovereignty in reference to each other, individually, and still fewer, in regard to foreign governments. This complex political organization, the only one perhaps that could enable the inhabitants of an *extensive* territory to establish union, and at the same time enjoy the blessings of laws adapted to their respective wants, like every thing complicated, is liable to decomposition. At a period when such a catastrophe is spoken of by all, and apprehended by many, it cannot be unprofitable for the people of the different states, to consider what they may do to avert it. As a citizen of the valley of the Mississippi, addressing those who dwell in the same region, I propose to say something on the means of prevention which lie within *our* reach; and hope to show, that the intellectual and moral elevation which it is our absolute duty to promote, is precisely that which would most effectually perpetuate the UNION.

In past ages of the world, such a union would, perhaps, have conferred but few benefits on those who might have formed it, and could not, in fact, have been sustained. To the discoveries and inventions of modern science—physical, mechanical, political and moral—applied to national objects, we are indebted for the means of its preservation in our own case. But even these might be ineffectual, if nature did not favor their application.

Thus guided, it is, I think, the coldest scepticism, to doubt their perfect efficiency.

Before the means of diffusing knowledge, favoring personal intercourse, and facilitating an exchange of productions, between the remote sections of a great empire, were invented, the ties which bound them together, were woven and sustained by the hand of military power; and when it became convulsed or paralyzed, decomposition was the inevitable consequence. The natural objects and operations which might have promoted union, or which required to be controlled for the purpose of maintaining it, were too often overlooked. In the United States the case is far different. A profound policy of the people, exerted at the same time through the federal and state governments, has laid the foundations of union on the plan of nature. Where she favors intercourse between the different portions of the country, the hand of art lends its cultivation; and when she opposes it, the same hand is successfully raised against her power. Let them persevere in this policy and the UNION is perpetual.

To understand how the natural configuration of our country, under the influence of science, must of *necessity* give permanence to the UNION, we need but turn our eyes upon its map, and contemplate the different great valleys or basins into which it is naturally divisible.

The seaboard presents a range of states, the "Old Thirteen;" the whole of which, except Vermont, are connected with the Atlantic ocean. Each has its navigable rivers, its bays, harbors, and wharves, enabling it to establish and maintain an independent commercial intercourse with every other state, and with all the world. Most of their rivers originate in the Alleghany Mountains; which, commencing in the north of Georgia, terminate in the state of New York, traversing the states of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. The average distance of these mountain ranges from the ocean, is about two hundred miles. Large portions of two of the states extend be-

yond them into the interior. Between the extremities of these mountains and the gulf of Mexico, towards the south and Lake Ontario, towards the north, the land is low and level. New England, separated from this Alpine range, by the valleys of Lake Champlain and the Hudson river, has its own mountains. Such is the maritime or Atlantic basin of the Union; and the states which it comprehends, extending from East Florida to Maine, form a sort of arch, of which New York is regarded, as the keystone, though nearer to one extremity than the other. New England is the northern buttress of this arch.

The original states, lying in this basin, were settled in a great degree, by separate colonies from Europe; and if *they* composed the *whole* union, it might, at any time be dissolved; for there is among them no physical tie of paramount influence. Indeed, I think it a fair presumption, that before this time, the Chesapeake bay would have politically divided them into a northern and a southern confederacy. But, happily there rests on the arch a weight, which, unremoved must forever preserve it. This weight is the superstructure of trans-alpine states and territories, which stretch from the western foot of the Alleghanies to the wilds of Missouri, in prospect even to the Chippewan mountains; and from the Lakes to the gulf of Mexico, in *natural* association. The waters of this extensive inland region, flow off to the sea in two opposite channels; the Niagara and the Mississippi, dividing it physically into two great valleys or basins. Let us consider them separately.

The southwest corner of New York, the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania, the northern portions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, a part of the Northwest Territory, and the whole of Michigan, lie in the Niagara basin; and are, commercially, connected with the city of New York by the Clinton Canal, and the Hudson river. The connexion of the west with that city, is not, however, limited to the states just enumerated, for the Grand Canal of the enterprising state of Ohio, has recently extended the water communication between New York and the West, quite into the val-

ley of the Mississippi; and Indiana, and Illinois have similar works in contemplation or actual progress.

The connexion between the Niagara basin thus enlarged and the Atlantic states, is not limited to New York, but extends to New England, especially to Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. Thus the northern parts of the United States present a natural zone, which reaches from the eastern extremity of Maine to the Upper Mississippi, through nearly thirty degrees of longitude. This is our lake country, an interior maritime basin, of twice the length of the Atlantic, and four times its fertility. The states which it comprehends, form, like the thirteen, a kind of arch, of which New York again is the keystone, and New England the eastern abutment. The two lines of states, indeed, meet in New York, which is common to both and the "land of the pilgrime" constitutes the point of the angle which they form. The long chain of northern lakes with their connecting rivers and canals facilitate emigration from east to west; and, as man never migrates in numbers from a warmer to a colder climate, the predominant population of this great zone will be *Yankee*. The manners and customs, the literature, religion, arts, sciences, and institutions of New England, and its derivative Western New York, are destined to prevail throughout its whole extent. All this is the offspring of *natural* causes; which, whenever enterprize is left free, and laws are enacted for the public good, will be found to guide emigration, govern the investment of capital, and direct legislation.

Every friend of the Union must look with pleasure and confidence on the interest which the eastern and western halves of this zone must forever have, in maintaining their various mutual relations. The focus of these relations is the city of New York. In her resides the centripetal power, which can never cease to attract the whole. This power has increased a hundred fold within the last twenty years; and cannot be annihilated. Nature has decreed that she should be the commercial capital of the northern belt of the Union. All the states and parts of

states, which it naturally comprehends, will be brought under her paramount influence; and she, on the other hand, will never cease to perceive, that her prosperity rests upon theirs, and that if her connection with them were dissolved, the gorgeous visions of future greatness which cheer her enterprising citizens, would vanish in an hour. Of the vast, and already populous region which administers to her wealth, that part which stretches from the Falls of Niagara into the wilderness, will soon be the most important, and, in her wisdom, will be especially cherished. In prosperity or adversity—in her days of pride and exultation, of conscious superiority over many of her humbler sisters of the Sea-coast—in the calm of political peace or amidst the schemes and ragings of faction—she will never be so mad as to disconnect herself, if indeed, she could, from her western resources.

Such is the northern girdle of the UNION, extending from the Bay of Fundy to the Lake of the Woods. New York is the link which connects its opposite parts, and until there arise a power strong enough to displace her, it cannot be broken. A fruitful fancy may conjure up undefined images of such a power, shooting forth from the midst of possible revolutions;—the speculative politician may have his reveries of the future, and the hypochondriac his forebodings—but the naturalist, who quietly contemplates the overruling influence of physical causes on the political and social relations of a free and enlightened people, will confide in their power, and continue a firm believer in the stability of the north.

The integrity of that commercial and social confederacy being preserved, the *Union* itself could scarcely be dissolved. The western portions of that zone, must forever exert an attraction on the northern parts of the valley of the Mississippi, while its eastern half, composed of New York and New England will act with equal power on Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Physically, the north of Pennsylvania, and the south of New York, are one region. The great rivers of the former originate in the latter, and there is between the two

no natural line of separation. The north-west of Pennsylvania, moreover, has a direct interest in the Erie basin and the canal which connects it with the ocean. The connection between my native state and New York, is still closer. New Jersey, in truth, must forever remain in political, as she is in commercial, association with the great emporium. It is, however, East Jersey only, that feels this influence. West Jersey is allied in trade and social relations to Philadelphia, and hence, that little state must, at all times, constitute a link of union between the valleys of the Hudson and the Delaware. But dismissing the influence of the basin of the Lakes, let us turn to that of the Mississippi.

It is said by Dr. Goldsmith in his *Natural History*, that however large one fancies an Elephant to be, from reading the description, it always appears larger, still, when seen by him. I would apply a similar remark to the valley of the Mississippi. Whatever ideas may be formed of its extent and importance, from the ordinary notices of it, they will always be found too limited, when a profound examination is made. Compared with it, the maritime and lake basins dwindle into insignificance. They are but belts, and at many points narrow ones. Their united area does not greatly exceed that part of the valley lying east of the Mississippi; which is itself, much less than the portion situated beyond that river. This great region extends through thirty degrees of longitude and twenty of latitude, and no part is as far north as England. It is at least equal in area to Europe south of the Baltic and west of the Black Sea.—Bounded on the east by the Alleghanies; on the west by the Chippewan mountains, its numerous rivers meet in the channel of the Mississippi through a distance of more than two thousand miles. To the north, the sources of these rivers blend themselves, on an elevated plain, with the shorter streams which flow into the lakes. To the east, from New York to Georgia, originating on the slopes of the Alleghany mountains, they interlock with the Delaware, the Susquehanna, the Potomac, James River, the Roanoke, the Santee and the Savannah. It is no

exaggeration to say, that considered in reference to area, soil, aspect, and climate, this valley is superior to any other on the globe. Its only natural highway to the sea is the river Mississippi;—New Orleans constitutes its mart; and between that city—the New York of the south—and the vast country above, there is and must ever be an action and reaction still more natural and powerful than that between the city just named and the basin of the lakes. Let us consider the civil divisions of the valley, with a reference to the influence it is exerting, and must continue to exert, on the whole union.

Several states, as Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas, lie wholly within its limits. Of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Mississippi and Louisiana, the greater portions are included in it. A part of New York, a larger one of Pennsylvania, and a still larger of Virginia, with a small portion of Maryland, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, dip into the same basin. Thus twenty states and territories out of twenty-nine, the latter of which are of vast extent and destined to sub-division, are embraced wholly or in part in the Great Valley; the inhabitants of which already make one-third of the entire population of the Union, and are daily augmenting by emigration from every quarter.

As the extent to which the old states run into the Mississippi valley is very different, so there must be degrees in their influence on the stability of the union.

The participation of Pennsylvania and Virginia is most extensive, and to this we may look for a permanent effect. The Western portions of these great states, are, in truth, natural and unalienable elements of the Mississippi community; united to the true and proper *West*, by ties not to be dissolved; dependent on our great river; familiar with its banks; and proud of its name. They can never consent to become a distinct people from their brethren below, through whom they must forever wish to pass to the ocean; and among whom, it must always be their interest, to distribute their mountain forests of pine and cedar, their beds of

iron ore, their banks of coal, and the products of their salt springs. So intimate, indeed, is the *physical* relation of the western declivities of these states, with the other parts of the Mississippi basin, that no influence of the maritime portions could ever draw them from the West. Sooner shall we see them, respectively, broken asunder along the spine of the Alleghenies, than their western extremities detached from the Ohio states.

With respect to Pennsylvania, especially, what motive can ever madden her into a desire to leave the West? Certainly none. She has the same interest in the West as New York. It has contributed largely to make her what she is. To facilitate intercourse with it, she has even anticipated the resources of generations to come: she is turning her rivers into artificial channels, reducing her mountains, and perforating her hills; in short, she is laboring to bind herself with the West and the West to her. Thus we see that the commonwealth of William Penn, populous, orderly, respectable, and situated in the centre of the maritime zone, is equally bound to the North and the West, and must forever maintain her position in the confederacy.

Her neighbor Maryland, united to her by many natural and artificial ties, will not consent to see them broken; and although, more remote from the Great Valley than Pennsylvania, she is deeply impressed with the importance of participating in its trade, and has for years been stretching towards it her enterprizing arms.

The public sentiment of Virginia is moulding itself on the same plan. The Atlantic can never think of a separation from the Ohio portions of that state. I assume that the two halves will remain united; but the western, for the reasons I have just assigned, will adhere politically to the Valley with which it is naturally associated; and thus, the whole is permanently bound to the West by physical causes.

Would North Carolina leave Virginia? Contemplate the imaginary line which separates them. The waters of the same fountain may bubble up on the territories of the two states, and the

fallen tree which lies across the stream below may serve as a bridge to connect them. Virginia, moreover, the greater in extent and physical resources, must forever be superior in political and moral power, and would be a dangerous rival. Would North Carolina withdraw from her daughter, Tennessee, estranged from her by no impassable barrier; and prepared, under a proper system of internal improvement to administer to her wealth and power? She can never willingly consent to such a separation.

What of our high-minded and palmy South Carolina; the brightest orb in our southern constellation, will she seek a new zodiac, and become the lost star of our political heavens? Of all the states she has the least of natural and commercial connexion with the valley of the Mississippi, and, as if to afford a negative evidence of the over-ruling influence of physical causes, she alone has shown symptoms of secession. But she will not wander off by herself, and none of the sisterhood *can* accompany her. The geographical cords by which she is united to her twin sister on the north, and her younger sister on the south, are too strong to be snapt assunder, and those states are bound to others by ties of equal strength and durability.

The participation of Georgia in the valley of the Mississippi, is small, but her natural relations with Tennessee are intimate and profitable, and those with Alabama and Florida permanently controlling. She cannot disconnect herself from the union, without the concurrence of Alabama, and the prospective co-operation of Florida. But Alabama is naturally associated with Louisiana, Tennessee and Mississippi, and is not therefore, politically separable from them. Moreover, New Orleans exerts on the entire region immediately east of it, an effect preprecisely similar to that of New York on the south of New England; and, therefore the maritime portions of Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida, are commercially under its control, and cannot become politically detached from the West, till Louisiana shall secede; an event that may happen when the Mississippi finds

some other route to the ocean, or is swallowed up in the sands of its own delta.

Thus, in travelling along the Atlantic coast of the union from the St. Lawrence to the Balize, we find such natural connexions and dependencies of its states on the valleys of the Niagara and the Mississippi, as must forever set the spirit of disunion at defiance. Within these basins, together constituting the West, lies the centre of gravity of the union. Here dwells the conservative power. The cement of future adhesion among all the states exudes, to speak figuratively, from the soil of the West. To borrow a metaphor from my own profession, it is the interior of the sovereign body politic, embracing the vital organs, which distribute nourishment through the outer parts. Once more to change the figure, it is the part, where the cords of union are wound into a Gordian knot, which, cut assunder by the sword, would, under proper treatment, reunite, *by the first intention*, and not even leave a scar behind. Conventioral regulations may be annulled, treaties abrogated and political confederacies dissolved, when they are not based on nature; but give them this foundation; rest the political and social upon the physical; and they will be preserved from all serious revolutions, but those which change the surface of the earth itself.

But to produce this effect on the union, the west must become and remain united with itself. Whatever retards or diminishes this subordinate but central and natural confederacy, weakens the general union; whatever strengthens it, invigorates the whole. The federal constitution cannot be overthrown while the Mississippi states remain in connection and harmony. To my own mind, this opinion is so conclusive and cheering, that I wish, most earnestly, to commend the grounds on which it rests, to the consideration of every intelligent patriot, who may apprehend our political dissolution.

Under these views, let us proceed to inquire into the duties of the people of the interior. They must weave among themselves a firm web of brotherhood, and become still more closely

united in social feeling, literary institutions, and manners and customs; and then, no temporary or partial suffering, no conflicting interests, or state aspirations; no lawless ambition, no military power, nor reign of faction among their elder brethren of the sea-coast, can ever jostle from its place, a single column of the great temple of union. The objects thus presented to the people of the west are of the highest and noblest kind. In laboring to promote harmony among themselves, they are working for the harmony and happiness of the whole union. They have a holy task of patriotism to perform. The palladium of the Constitution is committed to them by nature, and they should faithfully preserve it. The destinies of brethren widely separated are confided to their care—let them not betray the trust.

But their own prospective interests should prompt them to action. Suppose they should neglect these labors, and the Union dissolve:—how deplorable then would be their own condition—geographically united—bound inseparably together like the Siamese twins—but attached by no civil ties—no pervading sentiments of kindness—no general plans of education—no common bonds of social harmony! Nature demanding union, but reciprocal prejudices—local animosities—contrarieties of education, and diversities of manners and customs, conspiring to array them against each other. It requires but few lessons from history, but a limited knowledge of our common dependence on the Mississippi to foresee, that should such a melancholy event ever happen, without social preparation on our part, the west would crumble with the rest into its political elements, and the immense valley, where brethren dwell together in peace, would become the Flanders of the new world in war, as it now is in corn. “Ploughs would be turned into swords, and pruning hooks into spears.” The drum and trumpet would echo along our fertile valleys, and the midnight cry of hostile sentinels fall on the ear from the opposing banks of our beautiful rivers. The teeming steamboat would no longer depart from Pittsburgh or Cincinnati for New Orleans, but to a neighboring port within

the limited jurisdiction to which it belonged. Never again would its decks present an epitome of the Union; a concourse of passengers from every state; greeting each other as brethren and sisters; originating plans of business, contracting new friendships, and forming the alliances of love, while the noble steamer held its way for a thousand miles, through peaceful and happy lands, which each might call his own. Fortifications would then frown from the magnificent cliffs on which the eye of the voyager now dwells with delight. The smoke of artillery would poison our evening mists, and contaminate the morning fogs, which rising from our plains, curl around the summits of the green hills. A sulphurous odour would blend itself with the aroma of our flowers. Armed steamboats would traverse all our rivers, and the glorious stripes and stars of our Union, be replaced by the hostile flags of every device. To the dangers of navigation would be added those of war; a brother's hand would apply the torch of battle, and a brother's blood mingle with our waters.

Would we, through all coming ages, avert these vast calamities, we must in due time, and at all times, labor to preserve ourselves in domestic harmony; make ourselves one brotherhood in our customs, affections, and feelings, however, distinct in political power: let us, in short, establish among the people of the Mississippi valley a literary and social communion, like that which New England presents, and then, should the old, the parent states; respectively, set up for themselves; should the demagogue undermine the foundations of the republic, or the reeking sword of the desperado cut assunder its bands, the West would go together; the largest mass of the ruin, the least mutilated in the fall, the most powerful, the most respected, the most prosperous! She might, as she would, mourn over the catastrophe; her daughters, like the damsels of Jerusalem weep fountains of tears, and her sons as those of Judea, clothe themselves in sackcloth and ashes; but they would still be safe and happy, compared with their brethren of the other states.

Thus, whether we seek to perpetuate the Union, or would prepare for its possible dissolution at some remote epoch, our duty is the same; to commune together from every part of the mighty West; to make acquaintanceship with each other; to correct each other's faults; sympathise in each other's joys and sorrows, and mould ourselves into one great social brotherhood as our flowing waters mingle and roll onward to the ocean. To these labors of love we are exhorted or commanded, by more considerations than ever prevailed among the people of any other land.

The millions who already flourish in the valleys of the Mississippi and the lakes, are chiefly emigrants. They have entered it on every side, and are derived, not only from all the original states of the Union, but from western and even central Europe. Bringing with them various national peculiarities, the common good requires that they should be speedily amalgamated into one social compound. On this will their stability and moral power depend. Every movement of the air or waters drifts about the loose sand; but consolidated into rock, it resists the action of the "winds and waves," and is fitted for permanent use. A community formed out of such elements would exert an attraction on the whole Union. But little emigration takes place between New England and Pennsylvania, New York and Virginia, Maryland or New Jersey and the Carolinas. There is no region east of the mountains, where natives of all the states congregate, and cherishing their early attachments, constitute a *Union Society*. It was reserved for the west to exhibit this interesting concourse. Elsewhere, general patriotism may be the offspring of policy or interest—in the west it must always be a sentiment of the heart.

In the character of the materials for Western society, there is much to encourage those who would labor to construct it. I believe them the best which ever came to the hands of the social architect. The old states were peopled by Europe, when she was far from the elevated grade of civilization she now exhibits, and which belongs equally to those states. Those who are

emigrating to the west, have more knowledge and refinement than ever before belonged to any moving population. Even the pioneers of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, were, in part, composed of men who would have been respected in any community. Our *Clarkes, Boons, Todds, Logans, Scotts, Marshalls, Shalbys, Putnams, Cutlers, Symmes, Ludlows, Benhams, Worthingtons, Lyles, Harrisons, St. Clairs, Robertsons, Seviars, Buchhanons, Jacksons, McNairys*, are but a small portion of the honored patriarchs of the three sister states; and those who accompanied them as associates or followers, possessed, like themselves, the sagacity, courage, and high aspiration which gave a good earnest in the infancy of the west of what we already see it in youth. The emigrants to the original states, were chiefly from Great Britain, and frequently in masses or streams which flowed and settled together. When the continent made contributions, it was done in colonies, which too often continued as such after they reached the shores of America. Thus the original materials of society in the Atlantic states were less diversified, and *therefore* inferior to those which past and present emigration has distributed over the region we inhabit. With such ingredients in the moral crucible, the resulting compound must, ultimately, have less alloy than is found in most communities, should those who watch over and direct the process of union, be diligent, harmonious, and persevering.

Other considerations press themselves on the mind; address themselves to the heart. Western Pennsylvania, Western Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, young as they are, compared with the seaboard, have long been emigrating states. From the unsettled feelings of a new community, their people have passed incessantly from one to the other, still, however, advancing into the wilderness. Thus, Western Pennsylvania has scattered its sons over Ohio, while the latter has peopled Indiana and Illinois with thousands, and Tennessee sent her children to Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri and Arkansas. But above all, Kentucky, the land of my earliest recollections, has spread herself over Ohio

Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. Of all the new states, she has, indeed, been the longest an emigrating state. Even the plan and settlement of Cincinnati, which the orator of the West has pronounced the unrivalled queen of the West, were arranged in Lexington, at that time the infant metropolis of all the new settlements.

Thus, all the states and territories of the Great Valley contain the germs of a natural brotherhood. Every where we meet with men and women, whose feelings turn instinctively to some other spot of the interior, where in the may day of life, when filled with the love of nature, they joyfully collected the lilies of the untrodden valley, or rambled, without care, among its paw-paw groves. While the grandfather smokes his pipe in the wide hall of a Kentucky double cabin, his son follows the plough in Ohio, and his grandson opens a new farm in Indiana. Two brothers embark on the Ohio river; one will stop in Missouri, the other plant himself in Louisiana. Two sisters marry in the same week; one to be taken to Alabama, the other to Illinois. These unrestrained and apparently capricious migrations, so familiar to all the inhabitants of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, must inspire the people of those states with an imperishable interest in the entire West. They predispose to union. They invite the western patriot to action, and point out the delightful task, which love of country, and love of liberty, and love of offspring, alike call upon him to execute. Seizing upon these scattered elements of union, he should bind them together, nourish them with one blood, and harmonize them with a single nervous system. Thus they will come to work together, like the different organs of the living body endowed with the same sensibility, reciprocally sympathizing, and obedient to the same laws of morality, religion, and social order.

Other considerations still, arise to the mind while intent on this subject. The territory which is now divided into Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, was once a part of Virginia. The recollection of this should inspire the inhabitants of the

whole, with a feeling of affection for each other. At that time, all except Kentucky was an unpeopled wilderness. The history of their early settlement fills the heart with emotion. The region between the Ohio and the Lakes, *belonged* to the Ancient Dominion, but Kentucky was the child—a daughter settled in the wilderness, and exposed to every kind of peril and privation. Participating in the glory of the Cavaliers, her sons established their claims to such a heritage, by a chivalrous devotion to the younger sisterhood of the west, which posterity will never cease to admire. For years, Kentucky was a living barrier to Tennessee, against the tribes of the north; and when did Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and even Michigan raise the cry of alarm, that the gallant state did not, by spontaneous impulse, send forth the choicest of her sons? Their battle cry has resounded through all the forests of the north—their blood has fertilized the plains of the Wabash, the Maumee, the Raisin, and the Thames; their bones still moulder among the rank weeds, from the banks of the Ohio to Lake Superior. Their fall in the defence of their younger brethren, has more than once clothed the mothers of their native state in mourning, and spread through the city where we are now assembled, a voice of lamentation more sorrowful than even pestilence could raise. Kentucky must even cherish towards those for whom she has thus fought and bled, the good will which kind offices create for those on whom they are bestowed; and the children of the people for whom she thus suffered, can never be unmindful of her gallantry. Here then we have another chain of friendship; one which applies itself to the heart, encloses its best affections, is alloyed with no selfishness, and may be brightened through all future ages, should our literature prove true to its charge, and our men of influence devote themselves to the great cause of civil union.

But let us leave the history and resume the physical and political geography of the West, for the purpose of considering the relations of its different regions—not to the *Atlantic States*,

but to *each other*. In reviewing their boundaries and connections, we find much to excite reflection and inspire us with deep emotion. The geography of the interior, in truth, admonishes us to live in harmony, cherish uniform plans of education, and found similar institutions.

The relations between the upper and lower Mississippi States, established by the collective waters of the whole valley, must forever continue unchanged. What the towering oak is to our climbing winter grape, the "Father of waters" must ever be to the communities along its trunk and countless tributary streams—an imperishable support, an exhaustless power of union. What is the composition of its lower coasts and alluvial plains, but the soil of all the upper states and territories, transported, commingled, and deposited by its waters? Within her own limits, Louisiana has, indeed, the rich mould of ten sister states, which have thus contributed to the fertility of her plantations. It might almost be said, that for ages this region has sent thither a portion of its soil, where, in a milder climate, it might produce the cotton, oranges and sugar, which, through the same channel, we receive in exchange for the products of our corn fields, work shops, and mines. Facts which prepare the way, and invite to perpetual union between the West and South.

The state of Tennessee, separated from Alabama and Mississippi on the south and Kentucky on the north, by no natural barrier, has its southern fields overspread with floating cotton, wafted from the two first by every autumnal breeze; while the shade of its northern woods, lies for half the summer day on the borders of the last. The songs and uproar of a Kentucky *husking* are answered from Tennessee; and the midnight raccoon-hunt that follows, beginning in one state, is concluded in the other. The Cumberland on whose rocky banks the capital of Tennessee rises, in beauty, begins and terminates in Kentucky—thus bearing on its bosom at the same moment the products of the two states descending to a common market. Still further, the fine river Tennessee drains the eastern half of that

state, dips into Alabama, recrosses the state in which it arose, and traverses Kentucky to reach the Ohio river; thus uniting the three into one natural and enduring commercial compact.

Further north, the cotton trees which fringe the borders of Missouri and Illinois, throw their images towards each other in the waters of the Mississippi—the toiling emigrant's axe, in the depths of the leafless woods, and the crash of the falling rail-tree on the frozen earth, resound equally among the hills of both states—the clouds of smoke from their burning prairies, mingle in the air above, and crimson the setting sun of Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio.

The Pecan tree sheds its fruit at the same moment among the people of Indiana and Illinois, and the boys of the two states paddle their canoes and fish together in the Wabash, or hail each other from opposite banks. Even villages belong equally to Indiana and Ohio, and the children of the two commonwealths trundle their hoops together in the same street.

But the Ohio river forms the most interesting boundary among the republics of the West. For a thousand miles its fertile bottoms are cultivated by farmers, who belong to the different states, while they visit each other as friends or neighbors. As the school boy trips or loiters along its shores, he greets his playmates across the stream, or they sport away an idle hour in its summer waters. These are to be among the future, perhaps the opposing statesmen of the different commonwealths. When, at low water, we examine the rocks of the channel, we find them the same on both sides. The plants which grow above, drop their seeds into the common current, which lodges them indiscriminately on either shore. Thus the very trees and flowers emigrate from one republic to another. When the bee sends out its swarms, they as often seek a habitation beyond the stream, as in their native woods. Throughout its whole extent, the hills of Western Virginia and Kentucky, cast their morning shadows on the plains of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. The thunder cloud pours down its showers

on different commonwealths; and the rainbow resting its extremities on two sister states, presents a beautiful arch, on which the spirits of peace may pass and re-pass in harmony and love.

Thus connected by nature in the great valley, we must live in the bonds of companionship, or imbrue our hands in each other's blood. We have no middle destiny. To secure the former to our posterity, we should begin while society is still tender and pliable. The saplings of the woods, if intertwined, will adapt themselves to each other and grow together; the little bird may hang its nest on the twigs of different trees, and the dew-drop fall successively on leaves which are nourished by distinct trunks. The tornado strikes harmless on such a bower, for the various parts sustain each other; but the grown tree; sturdy and set in its way; will not bend to its fellow, and when uprooted by the tempest, is dashed in violence against all within its reach.

Communities, like forests, grow rigid by time. To be properly trained they must be moulded while young. Our duty, then, is quite obvious. All who have moral power, should exert it in concert. The germs of harmony must be nourished, and the roots of present contrariety or future discord torn up and cast into the fire. Measures should be taken to mould an uniform system of manners and customs, out of the diversified elements which are scattered over the West. Literary meetings should be held in the different states; and occasional conventions in the central cities of the great valley, be made to bring into friendly consultation, our enlightened and zealous teachers, professors, lawyers, physicians, divines, and men of letters, from its remotest sections. In their deliberations the literary and moral wants of the various regions might be made known, and the means of supplying them devised. The whole should successively lend a helping hand to all the parts, on the great subject of education from the primary school to the University. Statistical facts, bearing on this absorbing interest, should be brought forward and collected; the systems of common school instruc-

tion should be compared, and the merits of different school books, foreign and domestic, freely canvassed. Plans of education, adapted to the natural, commercial, and social condition of the interior, should be invented; a correspondence instituted among all our higher seminaries of learning, and an interchange established of all local publications on the subject of education. In short, we should foster western genius, encourage western writers, patronize western publishers, augment the number of western readers, and create a western heart.

When these great objects shall come seriously to occupy our minds, the union will be secure, for its centre will be sound, and its attraction on the surrounding parts irresistible. Then will our state governments emulate each other in works for the common good; the people of remote places begin to feel as the members of one family; and our whole intelligent and virtuous population unite, heart and hand, in one long, concentrated, untiring effort, to raise still higher the social character, and perpetuate forever, the political harmony of the green and growing **West.**

