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FUGITIVE SLAVES IN ONTARIO

A Digest of Two Papers by Fred Landon read before The Middlesex Historical Society 1918-1919

The history of the colored refugee settlements in Western Ontario is a chapter of our provincial history that does us credit. To the black men in bondage, Canada was always the haven of refuge. With the Fugitive Slave Law and other repressive measures in force they were not safe even in Boston. In some states, supposedly free, they were subject to fierce persecution, but in Canada they always found protection and fullest freedom. They were given a welcome and an opportunity to show themselves worthy of citizenship. Hundreds who made their escape from slave plantations in the south never halted until they had crossed the boundary, and, to use their own very expressive phrase, "had shaken hands with the lion." Out of the free states of the north there came, too, a steady stream of colored folk who had found their dreams of security and peace rudely disturbed by proslavery interests and proslavery sentiment.

Conditions Surrounding the Refugees

To gain any comprehensive idea of the conditions which surrounded the refugees from slavery in Canada in the period before the Civil War it would be necessary to make a careful examination of a number of the communities which afforded homes and livelihood to the runaways and their families. Marked differences would be noted in the condition of the refugees in the various communities. There would also be differences in the attitude of the white population towards these strangers in their midst. Occasionally there was prejudice shown, some intolerance that jarred on the generally broadminded view of Canadians. This did not pass unobserved by the negroes themselves nor by their friends, yet none could be more grateful than these people for even the droppings of liberty and opportunity of the Canadian table. Despite the small population at the time of the very considerable immigration of negroes in the forties and fifties, there was never anything in this country which could properly be described as a negro problem, and in general the relations of whites and blacks were marked by a friendliness against which any occasional ill-will showed in quite marked contrast.

London a Typical Refugee Center

A study of the condition of the refugees in London before the Civil War may be regarded as typical of conditions which prevailed in cities like

Hamilton and Toronto, but hardly as typical of Windsor, Chatham or even St. Catherines, which were towns having large colored population. Conditions in London would, of course, differ much from those found in organized refugee settlements such as the Elgin Association at Buxton, Kent County or the Refugee Home settlement in Essex County, near Windsor. The testimony of observers both white and black, of the period of the fifties, is that probably in no other place were the blacks treated with such friendliness as in Toronto. Similar testimony is borne to an ill-will more manifest at Chatham than elsewhere. Not that there was ill-treatment at Chatham, far from it, but there was more prejudice there, due in part to the attitude of a member for Parliament for Kent County, who did not hesitate to declare himself the refugees' friend when an election impended but blackguarded the race at other times, even on the floor of the Canadian Parliament.

Kidnappings Largely Confined to Border

London's geographical situation had its part in making this city one of the Canadian refugee centers. The fifties in particular were years when an inland city had much to commend it to a runaway slave. Kidnapping took place occasionally at Windsor, Niagara and other border points, some of these of the boldest character and in utter defiance of the Canadian law. Few of the slavers, however, would attempt to kidnap a slave in a inland town, though they would come here once in a while seeking to persuade the slave to return or endeavoring to lure him to a border town where an attempt at kidnapping might stand a chance of success. The black man who reached the Forest City could feel that he was a free man and that no one could threaten his liberty. Then, too, the city was easy of access from whatever point the runaway entered Upper Canada. From the Niagara River on the east, from the Detroit River on the west and from Cleveland and Port Stanley on the south, arrivals in London are recorded, some of them escorted to their destination by border abolitionists or by "conductors" on the underground railroad who had guided them out of slavery and through the dangers of the supposedly free north. For those were days when the Fugitive Slave Law could take a runaway even in the streets of Boston.

Refugees Generally Settled in the Towns

The refugees who reached Canada tended to drift to the towns and cities. They were more likely to meet friends there, perhaps relatives who had come the way before them. In addition, there were more immediate opportunities to make a living, a matter of importance seeing that the great majority of the fugitives reached Canada in absolute destitution. London offered fair opportunity to the newcomer. In the fifties it was an active little city, surrounded, as now, by well-tilled farms which created for it an extensive trade. While opportunities to rise high in the social scale were absent, yet the city of London would at least provide a living for any colored man or woman willing to work. And, in general, it must be said to the credit of the refugees that they did work and that a majority of them did rise more or less in the social scale by their exertions. The names of several pioneer colored men come quickly to mind who showed themselves good citizens and earned the full respect of their white fellow citizens. Their children hold that same respect in London of today.

Colored Population in London

It is difficult to arrive at any definite figure as to the number of colored refugees in London before the outbreak of the Civil War. Figures

that are derived from various sources are contradictory.

The History of Middlesex, published here in 1889, says that in 1839 there were "over 200" colored people in London. It adds that in 1853 there were 276 colored people in London owning real estate valued at $13,504.

"Drew's North Side View of Slavery," published at Boston in 1856, says that at that time there were 350 colored people out of a total of 12,000.

James R. Brown's "Views of Canada and the Colonists," (Edinburgh 1851) gives the colored population of London district as 480 of whom 374 were males, a very great preponderance but not unlikely at that time.

Dr. S. G. Howe's "Refugees from Slavery in Canada West," (Boston 1863) quotes the mayor of London as saying that there are 75 colored families in London though the latest census had shown only 36 colored people in this city. This statement was plainly incorrect as the census of 1860-1 shows 171 colored people in London.

W. M. Mitchell's "Underground Railroad" (London 1860) gives the colored population as 500 out of a total of 12,000. This is probably exaggerated.

The London school report of 1862, made at a time when the question of segregation of colored children was arousing feeling, shows 55 colored families, 153 children, 96 of school age and 50 attending school. (Quoted by Howe, page 105.)

It seems safe to say that in the late fifties there were about 300 colored people in London and that figure had probably not been exceeded at any earlier date.

There is good evidence that the refugees in London found it fairly easy to make their living. Some of them gathered considerable property and one or two showed business ability. The History of Middlesex (London 1889) gives their holdings of real estate in 1853 as $13,504. Rev. W. M. Mitchell in his "Underground Railroad" says that beggary and pauperism are unknown in London.

Dr. Howe, when he visited London in 1863 as representative of the U. S. Freedom's Inquiry Commission, was told by Dr. Proudfoot that he didn't know a beggar among the negroes. The mayor of the city said that while there were none of wealth there were many negroes owning a single lot. Dr. Howe remarks on the thrift evident in their very tidy homes, in their gardens and in the general good state of repair of their property. There is ample testimony borne that the refugees always earned their own way and never depended on others.

Wilberforce Colored Colony

Wilberforce colored colony does not take rank as one of the larger settlements of this kind in Canada. Neither was it as long lived as some others. It was a failure almost from the start. Yet its story is not without interest and it is rather remarkable that after nearly a century there are descendants of the little group of original settlers still in the locality. For the beginnings of the Wilberforce colony we go to Cincinnati, Ohio.

Activities at Cincinnati, the Border City

Here, on the border line between the free north and the slave south, was a city which profited largely by trade with the south and was influenced accordingly in its attitude to the slavery issue. In Cincinnati there was constant turmoil over the race question and the abolition movement. At one time, Lane Theological Seminary, famous for Lyman Beecher, was threat-

ened with fire and its faculty with lynching if the students were not prohibited from discussing slavery. Twice James G. Birney's Philanthropist Press was wrecked by mobs. Colored people were subjects of persecution on trivial excuses.

The Ohio Black Law

The climax came when in 1829 the law of 1804, known as the Ohio Black Law, was revived in the state and enforced. By this law every colored man was to give bond of $500 not to become a town charge and to find bonds also for his heirs. No one could employ a colored man or colored woman to do any kind of labor under penalty of $100. (Drew, North Side View of Slavery, page 244.)

There were about 3,000 colored people in Cincinnati at the time and they were all thrown out of work. Moreover there were threats that if they remained they would be sold back into slavery. A meeting was called and there was talk of an appeal. The uselessness of this was apparent.

The Cincinnati Colonization Society Appeals to Canada

There was talk of going to Texas, then Canada was proposed and a Colonization Society was formed with J. C. Brown as President. Brown wrote for the Board to Sir John Colborne, governor, to know if the colored people would be admitted. Two members of the Board, one of them being Israel Lewis, took the letter to Little York and laid the case before the Governor.

"Tell the Republicans on your side of the line," said Sir John, "that we Royalists do not know men by their color. Should you come to us you will be entitled to all the privileges of the rest of his Majesty's subjects."

The Governor's official reply to the Cincinnati Colonization Society which was in similar terms, was published in the Cincinnati press and created much excitement since it offered a refuge for all escaped slaves under British protection. The day after publication the mayor of Cincinnati sent for Brown and two other members of the Board and asked them to delay action on sending any people to Canada as steps were being taken to have the law repealed.

The Ohio Black Law Becomes Inoperative, and the Wilberforce Colony Suffers

Some of the refugees were assured by the promise that the law would be repealed but Brown and some others decided to set out for the land of freedom. Inside of a month they were in Canada and a contract was entered into with the Canada Land Company for a township of land for which $60,000 a year for ten years was to be paid. The intention was to bring as many as possible of the Cincinnati people to this township and settle them as a colony. But the Black Law having really become inoperative in Cincinnati, of the 2,700 or more who were affected only 460 left their home and of these 460 only or six families actually settled in Biddulph. The rest of the Cincinnati refugees settled promiscuously in the province. Almost at the same time, however, there was an immigration of refugees from Boston and fifteen families came to Biddulph and settled. As a matter of fact the colony only paid for about 1,200 acres which was divided into plots of from 25 to 50 acres per family. The site was the present village of Lucan.

The founders of the colony had two objects in view. First of all they sought freedom and security for themselves and their families. But in the second place they had the idea that such a colony would furnish homes for

future refugees who might be stirred to greater exertions for their freedom by knowledge that at the end of their long journey a home awaited them. The failure of the colony came through two main causes. First of all, the persecutions in the state of Ohio moderated almost as soon as the first refugees left, reducing the number of emigrants to a handful. In the second place, the Canada Land Company's agents, feared that the colored colony would tend to keep the colonists and thus prevent any expansion. Then, while this rule was in force, there came the Irish immigration of the Thirties and Biddulph, instead of become a colored colony, was in a very few years turned into an Irish colony and has so remained to this day. The old colored families who had settled there remained and prospered in a measure but few new ones came and by the middle of the forties Wilberforce as a colony was practically non-existent. Henceforth it was but a small colored settlement in the midst of the Irish.

The chief record of the Wilberfore Colony has been left by Austin Steward, who resided there from 1830 to 1837 and during a large part of that time was president of the council which administered its affairs. His autobiography was published at Rochester, N. Y., in 1857, and is valuable for the information which it gives concerning the life of the negro refugees in Upper Canada in the thirties and later.

It seems clear that unscrupulous land agents had much to do with the failure of the colony. The refusal to sell land was a blow to the prospect of building up a settlement. In some cases when land had been purchased and money paid, title deeds would be refused, nor would there even be any compensation allowed for the improvements carried out. There was vigorous outcry from the colored people against this manifest injustice. Steward records one humorous case where a colored man named Smith followed the land agent to London and demanded compensation for the labor he had put on the land which he had been forced to give up. The agent who was a stout Englishman, met the colored man in the hall of a tavern and tried to evade him. The colored man quickly lowered his head and drove like a battering ram into the Englishman's stomach. The latter called for help but there was little sympathy for him and that fearful battering ram was again being lowered for action. He quickly capitulated and paid in full amid the jeers of the crowd.

Race Segregation in Ontario

In some of the Ontario towns where the refugees settled in numbers they tended to live by themselves in one district or street with results that were generally regarded as unsatisfactory, as race segregation usually is. In the larger cities, however, there was a tendency to scatter about among the whites, this being particularly true in Toronto. In London the nearest approach to a negro quarter was the little low lying district west of the gashouse towards the river which until a very few years ago bore the name of "Nigger Hollow" though for long there had been few, if any, colored people living there. At one time there was a colored Methodist church near the corner of Horton and Thames Street. This has long since disappeared. Grey Street was also the home of quite a number of refugees in the earlier days as the district is for their descendants today.

Social Conditions Among the Refugees

Taken as a whole the evidence presented by impartial observers of the time is that the negro refugees were steady and industrious, getting along well in Canada considering all their handicaps. Dr. J. Wilson Moore, of Philadelphia, who visited this city before the war, was struck by the air

of neatness and comfort displayed at the homes of the London fugitives.

The morality of the refugees in Canada affords a most interesting commentary on the effects of freedom. The constant violations of domestic relations under slavery was bound to react on the home life and to take away the incentive to constancy. Yet, on arriving in Canada, one of the first things married slaves did was to have their plantation union reaffirmed by the form of marriage legal in this country. Dr. Howe, observed that the refugees tended to settle in families and to hallow marriage and that sensuality lessened under freedom. Mrs. Laura Haviland, who was engaged in educational work with the negroes in Essex county, has left some interesting evidences of this in her book "A Woman's Life Work." The religious instruction given the fugitives by devoted workers in Canada had some part, no doubt, in the improvement noticed in Canada. Mrs. Haviland has left a record of her experiences which is probably typical of what was being done in London and elsewhere. On Sundays her schoolhouse near Windsor would be thronged, persons coming five and six miles to be present. The reading of the Bible was a great delight to the negroes, though none of them could do little more than spell out more simple portions, a word at a time. Dr. Howe noted that in Canada the religion of the negroes was "less nasal and more practical" than in slavery. Religious instincts were shown in charity to the sick and to new comers and in the attitude to women. Dr. Howe was also pleased to note as a characteristic of the negroes in Canada that there was no spirit of vengeance manifested against those who had so wronged them in the past, no desire to go back and take it out of the old master. Rather, there was a disposition to let the dead past bury its dead and to look to the present and future. The general improvement of the refugees in Canada was very well summed up by Dr. Howe when he said: "The refugees in Canada earn a living and gather property; they build churches and send their children to schools; they improve in manners and morals, not because they are picked men, but because they are free."

Colored Children in the Public Schools

It would appear, from the testimony of a number of observers of conditions as they were in London in the fifties and early sixties that there was some prejudice shown against the negroes. Dr. Samuel G. Howe, who visited London as representative of the United States Freedom's Inquiry Commission makes repeated mention in his report of this condition in London and cites cases where he believes the negroes were unfairly treated. While in London he interviewed several people with regard to this. Rev. Dr. Proudfoot told him that the prejudice was growing. That was in 1863.

"But it is not a British feeling," Dr. Proudfoot explained. "It does not spring from our people but from your people coming over here. There are many Americans here and great deference is paid to their feelings. We have a great deal of northern feeling here. The sympathy for the north is much greater than you would imagine."

Dr. A. T. Jones (colored) told Dr. Howe that there was a "mean prejudice" in London that was not found in the States. John Shipton (colored) also found prejudice greater in London than in the States and thought it would be a good deal worse but for the protection of the Canadian law.

Dr. Howe himself placed the blame for the prejudice on the school particularly on the headmaster of the union school who was opposed to having white and black together. This teacher he quotes as saying: "It does not work well with us to have colored children in school with the

whites. In our community there is more prejudice against the colored people and the children receive it from their parents. The colored children must feel it for the white children refuse to play with them in the playgrounds."

One of the other teachers in the school expressed the opinion that the colored children would be better educated and that conditions generally would be improved if the negroes were sent to separate schools. The colored children would not then be subjected to so much annoyance. This teacher added that some white children of the lower order didn't mind sitting with negroes but that there were others more particular who didn't like it at all.

Dr. Howe comments, with a touch of bitterness, on the sad sight in the playground of this London school "where colored children stood aside and looked wistfully at groups of whites playing games from which they were excluded." Such scenes, he adds, "do not occur in the playground at Hamilton because the teacher takes care, by showing personal interest in the colored children, to elevate them in the eyes of their comrades. Moreover, it is not likely that the school committee of London would persist in efforts to expel colored children from public schools and to degrade them in the public eye if one humane master should publicly protest against it as any citizen has a right to do."

When Dr. Howe visited London in 1863, there was a contest under way to segregate the colored children as had already been done in some other Western Ontario municipalities. The colored people had announced that they would fight this move and they were led in their opposition by Dr. A. T. Jones, who had himself been a slave until he was twenty. He pointed out to Dr. Howe that his eight children had all been born in London and that they were as much British subjects as any white child. Such a course as that proposed by the school board would, he contended, make them grow up to hate the country instead of loving it. He predicted that the close of the war then raging would see a general exodus of the refugees back to the States.

A report of a sub-committee made to the London school board in 1862 spoke of prejudice even amongst the children, of the close proximity of the negroes being distasteful to the whites and of the want of sympathy between white teachers and colored children. By a vote of ten to three a decision had been reached to place all the colored children in a separate school "when financially practicable." This condition was never reached.

Evidence of some prejudice at a date much earlier is given in Benjamin Drew's "North Side View of Slavery." Drew came to Canada about 1865 to see how the refugees were making out in the new land and to see how far they improved their condition in freedom. He makes out a strong case against slavery by showing that freedom made men out of the former chattels. He mentions prejudice against the negroes in the city schools but praises the work of the Colonial Church and School Society. The bulk of the negro children seemed to be in the care of this society.

A. T. Jones (colored) is quoted by Drew as he was quoted by Howe eight or nine years later. He speaks of a "second-hand prejudice" among old country people but thought that there would be less of this were it not that practically all the refugees were poor and ignorant and so did not properly represent their race. Frances Henderson told Drew that there was "much prejudice" against the negro and cited cases where negroes had practically been turned away from hotels. John Holmes (colored) said there was still some prejudice but not as much as there used to be. He speaks of colored people having been insulted when they came out of white churches.

John D. Moore (colored) mentioned prejudice amongst the lower class of whites but praised the protection of the law and was philosophical about any feeling among the whites.

Rev. S. R. Ward, writing about the same period, says in his "Autobiography of the Fugitive Negro" that "there is not a town in Canada where the respectable colored people enjoy more of the esteem of the best classes than London."

"Here, too," he adds, "the lower classes are, according to their custom, negro haters."

Causes of Prejudice Against the Negro

It is not difficult to understand why in a city like London there should arise some of this ill feeling. To some extent the black men came into the unskilled labor market in competition with the lower classes of whites and wherever this occurred, whether in the United States or Canada, there was some feeling aroused. A second influence was that of wealthy southerners who sojourned in Canada and were popular in the society of the day. I have been told that during the Civil War a number of southern men left their families in London, some of them living at the Tecumseh House. There would be no sympathy among these people for runaway slaves and their attitude would be reflected among some of their Canadian friends. A third influence lay in the suspicion of all things Yankee. The fact that the northern Yankees were fighting the negro's battle would tend to arouse some ill feeling against the refugee who was likely to be regarded as having stirred up more turmoil than he was worth. Rev. Dr. Proudfoot speaks of the prejudice as being due to Americans who had come over to Canada. In 1863 there would be both southern refugee whites and northern scalawags in London, neither of whom had much use for the colored people.

Canada Always Protected Negro Rights

This must be said for Canada, that though there was in some places a prejudice against the negro he was always protected in his rights by Canadian law. Instances where any lawlessness was shown towards the black men are exceedingly rare. There is a case recorded in Kent County where a number of white men attempted to stop a negro building his home on his own land. They tore down each night what he would build up in the day until he presented himself with a gun and gave them warning that he would protect his property. Then they left him at peace. I have found no instance of this or anything approaching it in London. The chief difficulty here had to do with the schools. Outside of that there was practically no trouble of any kind.

The Siebert Map of the Underground Railway

Prof. W. H. Siebert, of the Ohio State University, worked out some years ago the varied and tortuous routes by which the fugitives from the south came to safety in Canada. His map of the "underground railroad" would have been worth thousands of dollars to the slave owners of any southern state before the war. Along the northern boundary of New York and Pennsylvania, that is on Lake Ontario and the Niagara frontier, there were ten points from which the fugitive crossed to Canada. These were Ogdensburg, Cape Vincent, Port Ontario, Oswego, some port near Rochester, Lewiston, Suspension Bridge, Black Rock, Buffalo, Dunkirk and Erie. Of these the four on the Niagara River were the most important and brought the greater number of runaways to freedom. Refugees coming in

at any of these points tended to go to Toronto, St. Catherines, Hamilton and in a few cases to Brantford.

The Ohio ports brought more to this district, particularly to London. On Lake Erie there were eight stations that were the termini of the long trips from the slave south. These were Ashtabula, Painsville, Cleveland, Sandusky, Toledo, Huron, Lorain and Conneaut. Refugees leaving those ports landed in the majority of cases at Long Point, Port Burwell, Port Stanley or Point Pelee though a few would land on the Detroit River. The Detroit River was the most important of all places of entry to Canada. At Fort Malden (Amherstburg) as many as thirty a day entered Canada, while probably as many more came in at Windsor and Sandwich.

Dr. A. M. Ross, of Toronto, who made daring trips into the slave states in the fifties, spreading news of Canada among the slaves and in several cases helping them to escape, describes the experiences of a negro man and woman who were finally landed in London, coming in via Port Stanley. Dr. Ross was mixed up in the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry in 1859 but a few months after that tragedy, while the south was still excited, he decided to renew his operations and accordingly went to Harrodsburg, Ky., giving out that he was a Canadian looking for a farm. He amused himself hunting in the woods in his leisure and the man with whom he was bargaining for a farm allowed a very intelligent mulatto to accompany him. The slave told Ross that he had been separated from his wife one month after they were married, the woman being sold to a hotelkeeper in Covington, and that he himself was likely to be sold down the river to Texas. He begged Ross to try and get them both to Canada. The latter explained to him that if he wanted liberty he would have to be ready to sacrifice for it. He explained to him that if he reached Cincinnati he would be sheltered and protected and gave him the name of people there who would be ready to aid. Ross further said that he would go to Covington and try and get the women away and that the two would be united in Cincinnati. On the following Saturday night the negro, Peter, made good his escape, being aided by the compass and other necessaries supplied him by Ross. On the Friday, Ross went to Covington and put up at the hotel where Polly, the women, was owned. The hotelkeeper told Ross that he had paid $1,200 for her, but was inclined to grumble because she wouldn't take up with his negro man. He promised her a good lashing if she didn't give in and told Dr. Ross that he knew how to manage such. He would send her down to New Orleans where she would bring $2,000 because she was "likely."

Ross managed to get a word with the woman secretly and told her that her husband intended to run away, and that she was to make an effort to join him in Cincinnati. Ross promised to help her. He then went over the river to Cincinnati, but on Sunday night, at midnight, he recrossed the river in a small boat, met the negress at a point agreed upon and in an hour had her in Ohio. Putting the woman in a cab they drove to a point near the friend's home, then dismounted and entered the house by the rear door.

Ross told her that as soon as her husband arrived they would both be sent on to Cleveland where he would meet them and help them on to Canada. He accordingly went on to Cleveland to make further arrangements and in a few days received word that Peter had arrived safely, though with badly torn feet. A few days later another letter reached Dr. Ross stating that freight car No. 705 had been hired to convey a box containing one package of "hardware" and one of "dry goods" to Cleveland. The key of the car was enclosed. The train of which this car was part was due in Cleveland on a Tuesday evening. That morning Dr. Ross drove into

Cleveland from the home where he had been stopping just outside the city and as he passed one of the chief hotels who should be standing outside but the Harrodsburg farmer, the owner of Peter. They made their way unobserved by the slaver and went to the harbor where after a long search they found a schooner loading for Port Stanley and sailing the next day if the weather were favorable. The captain agreed to stow away the two fugitives and to carry them to Canada. Toward night Dr. Ross went to the freight depot and met the train bearing the precious shipment. He unlocked the door, went in and closed the door after him. There was no sign of life but he called in a low voice "Peter." The reply came at once. "Yes—massa, shall I open the box?" There were the two poor creatures in a drygoods box just sufficiently large for them to sit up in. They were helped out, placed in a closed carriage, driven to the harbor and hidden in the schooner. After midnight sail was made and Port Stanley reached the following evening.

"When our little vessel was safely moored alongside the pier," says Dr. Ross in his narrative, "I led my two companions on shore, and told them that they were now in a land where freedom was guaranteed to all. Two happier beings I never saw. We kneeled together on the soil of Canada and thanked the Almighty Father for His aid and protection. Next day I took them to London and obtained situations for both Peter and his wife."

Proposed College for Colored People at New Haven

At the first annual convention of free colored people in the United States, held in Philadelphia, June 6-11, 1831, it was decided to establish a college at New Haven, Conn. The people there, however, had no liking for the establishment of a colored school in their midst and a strong resolution was passed against it which was signed by Dennis Kimberly, the mayor, and Elisha Monson, the town clerk. This was in September, 1831, and the decision was then made to establish the college at Wilberforce, Upper Canada, and it was on behalf of this, as well as the general education of the colony, that Rev. N. Paul appealed to the charitable of Great Britain.

In the library of Mr. J. Davis Barnett, of Stratford, there is a small pamphlet, printed at London, England, in 1832, which contains references to the Wilberforce Colony and to Rev. N. Paul, then in England as its agent. The credentials of Paul are given and an appeal made on behalf of his work. "We shall be opening an asylum," says this appeal, "and a vista of hope, always growing, for all the enslaved people who may succeed in making their escape thither. Canada will be a city of refugee for God's poor. The thousands who might resort thither to us would form one of the most formidable bulwarks of our safety should we ever again be there assailed."

A statement is then given of the amounts received by Rev. N. Paul up to July 20, 1832, for the establishment of a college for emigration and for education in general. The amounts are not large, that for education being credited to the Society of Friends at Leighton.

The Anti-Slavery Society of Canada

The Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, was founded at Toronto in 1851 and in pursuance of its work proceeded to establish branches in various cities, London being one of the earliest. In Sept. 1852, Rev. S. R. Ward, a colored man, visited London and preached in the Methodist New Connexion Chapel (the present Salvation Army Citadel). Following his visit

the branch of the Anti-Slavery Society was formed with the following officers:

President, Rev. William McClure, pastor of the Methodist New Connexion Chapel.

Secretary-Treasurer, Rev. Robert Boyd, the pastor of the Baptist Church (now Wrighton's hide warehouse).

Directors: Rev. W. F. Clarke, pastor of the Congregational Church, then on King Street; Rev. John Scott, first pastor of St. Andrew's Church; Dr. Salter; John Fraser; Dr. Wanless; William Rowland and A. B. Jones.

The history of Middlesex says (page 357) that the opening of a fugitive chapel followed the organization of the branch of the Anti-Slavery Society and that other measures were taken, looking both to the comfort of the refugees and also to means for rescuing slaves in the south from their inhuman conditions. The same work speaks (page 36) of a refugee chapel and alms house being established here by the Colonial Society, of which Rev. Isaac Hellmuth was in charge. The Colonial Church Society's school is mentioned in the London Directory for 1856-7. Rev. Mr. Dillon was head of the mission in London at that time. He is mentioned in Drew's "North Side View of Slavery." He gives account of conditions in London among the refugees.

The first annual report of the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society has a brief reference to the Wilberforce Colony. This is dated March, 1852, and says that the colony then has about 20 families and is not flourishing.

Colonization of Negroes One Phase of Struggle to End Slavery

There is no great success to record in connection with the attempt to found in Wilberforce a colored Utopia. The same idea, in varying form, was attempted at other places in this province, usually with more success. All these attempts are of interest as one phase of the great struggle then under way to end the whole system of slavery. By giving colored refugees homes and land and opportunity to make a living, Canada was striking a blow at the whole system of human bondage. That blow, joined with the titanic blows administered by the forces at work in the United States, culminated in the Civil War with its vast cost of lives and treasure, the outcome of which was the wiping out of the stain that for so long a period had rested on the land of liberty.

John Brown, the Abolitionist

In the history of Middlesex (1889) the statement is made on page 36 that "in May 1858 John Brown, with his abolition lieutenants, Kagi and Stevens, resided in Canada, passing their leisure hours at London or Hamilton and their working hours at Chatham, drafting the constitution of their proposed provisional government of the United States."

It was in April of 1858, that Brown was in this part of the country on his first visit to Canada. Osborne P. Anderson, describes his visit to Chatham as follows: "The first visit of John Brown to Chatham was in April, 1858. Wherever he went around, though an entire stranger, he made a profund impression upon those who saw or became acquainted with him. Some supposed him a staid but modernized Quaker, others a solid business man from "somewhere" and without question a philanthropist. His long white beard, thoughtful and reverend brow and physiognomy, his sturdy measured tread, as he circulated about with hands under the pendant coat tails of plain brown tweed, with other garments to match, revived to those honored with his acquaintance and knowing of his history, the memory

of a Puritan of the most exalted type" (A Voice from Harper's Ferry, 1861, page 9).

Brown's visit to Canada was really the prelude to the disastrous raid on the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry' the design of which was to strike a blow at slavery by making all slave property unsafe. R. J. Hinton, in his "John Brown and His Men," says on page 70 that "in the early part of April, John Brown visited St. Catherines, Ingersoll, Hamilton and Chatham in Canada West to prepare for the convention he wished to convene just before he entered on his active work. He was also reported at this time at Sandusky, Ohio, and Detroit, Mich. I have found no direct evidence that Brown ever visited London though it is not at all unlikely that he was here in 1858, conferring with the fugitives and with the friends of the fugitives in this city.

If the story of Canada's relation to some of the striking episodes of the abolition movement and the Civil War could be known we would doubtless have some marked surprises. How many, for instance, know that on August 7th, 1864, there took place in this city a conference between three commissioners of the Confederate States government and representatives of the powerful secret political organization in the northwestern states known as the Knights of the Golden Circle, the object of which was to separate the northwestern states from the Union and form a second rebelling Confederacy.

Midwest Historical Notes

Henry Clay's Colony In Indiana for His Family Slaves.—Elkhart, Ind., Jan. 4.—Special Telegram.—A few miles north of this city is a settlement exclusively of colored people, and known as Calvin Center. In fact, the entire township in which Calvin Center is located is occupied by colored people, nearly all of whom are farmers on a large and successful scale.

The township has no small degree of interest attaching to it, both from a historical and sociological standpoint, as some of those who now live there and the ancestors of the present generation were slaves on the plantation of Henry Clay, the great Kentucky statesman, and for long and faithful servitude were granted their freedom by him a few years prior to his death.

Henry Clay, in recognition of the faithful services of a number of his old family servants, and in a spirit of characteristic generosity, gave them their liberty and conveyed them to Ohio, where he bought them lands and located them. He returned to Kentucky, and but a few weeks afterward, while sitting on the veranda of his plantation home one evening in a reverie, he was aroused by a loud shout, and, looking up, saw the entire band of his emancipated slaves plodding down the road toward him, swinging their hats and sunbonnets and shouting hosannas of gladness that they were again on the old familiar grounds. In response to his questioning they informed him that they had become so homesick that they could stand it no longer, and, pulling up stakes and disposing of their live stock and goods, they had walked the entire distance back to Kentucky to spend their remaining days in the fields they had known so well.

Clay had some pet theories in regard to his scheme, and was chagrined in being disappointed at its outcome. He decided to make another effort, and, after disposing of the Ohio lands he had bought for them, he again loaded them up. Concluding that he would remove them to a more distant point, whence they would not be so likely to walk back to Kentucky, he landed them in Calvin township, a few miles north of this city, which was then scarcely a village, and there they have stuck ever since, multiplying and prospering even more in both respects, it may truthfully be said, than their white neighbors of the surrounding townships.

If Henry Clay's theory was a sociological one—that the negro could be made self-respecting, independent, and self-sustaining, he was right in it, for under the thrifty care of his pioneer ex-slaves, the broad and fertile acres of Calvin have been made to yield most bountifully, and today the most prosperous farmers of that section are to be found among the colored people.

The colored people showed great shrewdness in getting possession of hundreds and hundreds of acres of the hardwood timber land that abounded in their neighborhood before the matter of timber supply assumed the importance of a question, and as the result they are today the owners of nearly all the hardwood timber in this locality, and have an absolute monopoly of the hard fire wood market in this city and the surrounding towns of less importance. In the summer time they push their farming, and in the winter haul wood and saw logs, and by this means always keep themselves supplied with ready money, having the advantage in this respect of a majority of their white friends. Some of them also do an extensive charcoal-burning business.

There used to be a great deal of lawlessness in Calvin, and serious cutting and shooting affrays were common occurrences, the last affair of this kind being the murder of a young colored man named Aikens by two young colored men named Wilson and Allen, a few years ago, for which the perpetrators are now serving terms in the penitentiary. But lawlessness has become

a thing of the past in Calvin, and now the colored people of that section are looking after the educational interests of their offspring as ardently as are the whites, and a majority of the young men and women have good educations.

Everything throughout the township has a thrifty appearance; the original cabins have either been converted into sheds or pulled down and replaced with neat, commodious frame and brick buildings, many of them of considerable pretensions, while no better barns can be found anywhere.

Some of the old "uncles" and "mammies" who came here in their youth from the Clay plantation, are fond, when approached on the subject, of dwelling on their experiences on the Clay place, and relate many anecdotes of their old master, of whom they always speak with every evidence of reverence and solemnity, and designate as "Mahstah Clay."

Among the younger generation the negro dialect has entirely disappeared, and good manners and intelligence are everywhere apparent. They have a very creditable brass band and orchestra, have their school literary societies, and keep well in line with their white neighbors of the surrounding townships.

There is no better exemplification any where of the fact that the negro, when thrown entirely upon his own resources, can make his way in the world, than is afforded in Calvin. Some of the present residents have gone there since the war, and nearly all of them own productive, well-stocked farms, the result of their own hard work. Many of them were soldiers in the civil war, and wear the G. A. R. badge with every evidence of pride fastened generally to the front of their hats.

Any white man who has business in their section is always treated with marked hospitality, and the merchant in this city or in Edwardsburg or Cassopolis, who can command a good share of their trade, is regarded by his less fortunate fellows with envy.

Editor's Note: Henry Clay (1777-1852) had fifty slaves on the "Ashland" farm of 450 acres near Lexington. Perhaps ten of these were house or personal servants, fifteen too young or too old to work and twenty-five to till the 450 acres. In his last days Clay was much distressed to learn that one of his best slaves was dead and another was sick thus necessitating the replacement of these two. He wrote from Washington instructing his son John to hire slaves rather than purchase if he could. Otherwise he might purchase. Clay purchased many slaves but is said never to have sold one. He was always willing for his slaves to earn their freedom. By will, all the slaves on his estate were to be freed upon reaching a certain age and were assured not only of an elementary education but provision was made for their future so that they might not drift into idleness or want. (See "The True Henry Clay" by Rogers.)

"The American Renaissance" by R. L. Duffus, a recent accession to the library, devotes five pages to the Toledo Museum of Art. The first paragraph follows: "There is no art museum in the United States, I am sure, which holds a larger place in its community than does that at Toledo." The author pays fine tribute to Edward Drummond Libbey and George W. Stevens whose united enthusiasm and untiring efforts created the great institution.

A Flourishing Historical Society.—The financial report of date, October 31, 1935, shows The Filson Club of Louisville to be in splendid condition, with total resources of $237,465.89 and accounts payable of $377.04 and a membership of 530. Louisville had a population of 307,745 in 1930.

Old Texas Money Received Here. Bills Dated 1839 and 1840; Issued by Republic.—A quest of 50 years for a set of currency issues of the Republic of Texas made by Walter J. Sherman, president of the Historical Society of

Northwestern Ohio, was rewarded yesterday when he received five of the bills from a friend in Texas.

Odin M. Kendall, a lineal descendant of Gen. Sidney Sherman, who raised a regiment of Kentucky fighters at Covington, Ky., and took part in the Battle of San Jacinto in the Texas revolution, sent the currency to Mr. Sherman.

Gen. Sherman was the author of the war cry "Remember Goliad and the Alamo." He not only fought for Texas' independence but also later helped to finance the Confederate states and Mr. Kendall sent along some of the more plentiful Confederate notes and a coupon bond.

The Republic of Texas currency, however, includes one each of the $50, $20, $10, $5 and $1 pieces. They were engraved by a firm with establishments both in New Orleans and New York. The bills bore engravings of Indians, fair women, vessels, and the big "lone star" in several places. They were signed by Mirabeau B. Lamar, first president of the Republic of Texas. The bills were dated in 1839 and 1840. —Toledo Times, March 10, 1936.

The Beaver—an illustrated magazine of the North, published quarterly by The Hudson Bay Company, is one of the most interesting of our many exchanges. The latest number—March, 1936—is one of the very best. It devotes much space to aviation in the Arctic regions including a beautifully illustrated feature article entitled "Wings Over the North Magnetic Pole" by E. Green, giving the complete log of Walter Gilbert covering his epic flight of 1930.

The Territorial Papers of the United States, Volumes I, II and III are a recent accession to our library. Volumes II and III are devoted exclusively to the Northwest Territory.

Mystery Is Solved—Tecumseh Buried on Walpole Isle, Chief Mee-Mee Murmurs—By the Associated Press—Windsor, Ont., March 11—Chief Mee-Mee of the Ojibway Indian tribe said today that he knew the answer to the secret of the whereabouts of the bones of Tecumseh, the famous Indian chief who died fighting Americans in the battle of Moraviantown, October 5, 1813.

He declared that the bones rested at the Soldiers' club on Walpole island, Ontario. Their whereabouts have been a mystery to historians.

Mee-Mee said that Chief Shawnoo, warrior comrade of Tecumseh, was instigator of the movement to bring the great chief's remains to Walpole island.

In the dead of night, 83 years ago, or 40 years after Tecumseh's death, three Ojibway braves traveled to Moraviantown, dug up the bones from the battlefield where he died heroically after the British General Proctor had fled, and brought them back to Chief Shawnoo. The three traveled by canoe with the bones.

Chief Shawnoo set up a flagpole over the spot where he buried the bones and flew a Union Jack from it. When he was dying he asked to be buried seven feet west of the flagpole.

His grandson, remembering Chief Shawnoo's dying request, provided the information which led to rediscovery of the bones. In 1892 Indians dug under the flagpole, found the bones covered by a thick section of wood and a piece of birch bark. The pipe of the great chief also was there, Chief Mee-Mee declared.

Bancroft Revealed as Arch-Traitor—Show Franklin's Secretary as Betrayer of U. S.—Boston.—The American embassy in Paris was little more than a branch office of the British secret service during Benjamin Franklin's mission to France, and prolongation of the American Revolution was due, more

than any other single cause, to information which Franklin's confidential secretary sold to the British foreign office, according to Burton J. Hendrick in the Atlantic Monthly.

The arch-traitor of the Revolution was not Benedict Arnold, but scholarly Edward Bancroft, M. D., who completely bamboozled Franklin, furnished Britain with copies of all letters to and from the Continental congress, of all transactions and correspondence with foreign powers and who betrayed his country with disastrous consequences for more than eight years, states Mr. Hendricks, twice winner of the Pulitzer prize for American biography.

"Bancroft contracted to furnish details about every ship sailing from France to America—its officers, crew, its cargo, especially war munitions, its port of departure and date of sailing, its projected course, so that British warships might be most advantageously placed for interception. Ship after ship cleared French ports for America, only to be scooped in by the British cordon and taken to England. From May, 1777 to 1778, congress received no message or correspondence of any kind from its ambassadors in France for all ships carrying them were captured," asserts Mr. Hendricks.

He attributes the fact that Bancroft was able to carry on his espionage to Franklin's carelessness, lack of perspicacity and devotion to an old friend for Franklin was repeatedly informed of Bancroft's activities by Arthur Lee, member of the American mission to France.

"Franklin even took Bancroft to the peace conference that ended the Revolution, Bancroft being still on the British pay roll, and Franklin went to his grave without losing faith in the associate who so successfully sold out his country," asserts the writer.

"From 1776 to 1781 it is not too much to say that the British foreign office was better informed of American activities abroad than was congress itself. Not a thing happened in Franklin's embassy which did not instantaneously find its way to Downing street and Windsor, for the man who took chief delight in reading the reports of British spies was George III himself.

"Over Bancroft's own signature we have a conscientious catalogue of his betrayals, written for the British secretaries of state, and of his interview with the latter, which brought him a pension of £200 for life. He provides, perhaps, the most calamitous instance of misplaced confidence in American history," concludes Mr. Hendricks. —Press Item.

Robert E. Lee on the Ohio-Michigan Boundary Line Survey.—After leaving Fort Monroe, Lee was an assistant in the Chief Engineers office at Washington during the years 1834-37, and in the summer of 1835, aided in running the Ohio-Michigan boundary line.

—Dictionary of Am. Biography, Vol. XI, P121.

Young Man, Go Manage a City.—A promising career for young men is city management. Today city managers run the business of about 450 cities. This year, at least 12 more are campaigning for the plan; many others will shortly follow the city-manager band wagon, sick and tired of wasteful, obsolete, politics-ridden municipal government.

Each of these cities will employ not only a trained city manager, but professionally qualified experts in all subordinate municipal jobs. To qualify for such jobs young men must be college graduates, and engineering training is valuable. Courses designed for prospective city managers are offered at the universities of California, Michigan, Stanford, Syracuse, and the Texas A. and M. College. The International City Managers' Assn., So. Drexel Ave. and E. 58 St., Chicago, offers extension courses covering the entire field of municipal administration. —Walter B. Pitkin in The Rotarian.

The unknown author of the poem: "To the Man Who Takes My Place," appearing in our January, 1936, number, has been discovered by Dr. N. Worth Brown, of Toledo. His name is Louis E. Thayer and his poem first appeared in an old pamphlet on "The Brown Family," by C. H. Brown, published in Vermont long ago.

Wild Turkeys and Wild Deer are being released by the Indiana Department of Conservation and protected from the hunter's gun. Natural propagation and additional liberations will, within a few years, give Indiana an abundant supply of deer and wild turkey for the family dinners on Hoosier holidays. —Outdoor Indiana, December, 1935.

Proposed Migration of the Canadian French to the Ohio Valley.—Recent researches among the archives of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs discloses the details of a little known project under consideration near the end of the Seven Year War (1754-1760) between the French and English, which ended so disastrously for the former and gave Canada and most of the French possessions in America to the British.

The Montreal French were to settle near the junction of Ohio and Great Miami, those from Three Rivers near the junction of the Ohio and Cumberland and those from Quebec near the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi. The people were to be settled in the new country by villages just as they had lived in Canada. Minutest directions were given for fortifying the country from the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico and the immigrants would share in the riches of the Louisiana Country. It was planned to build a fort and city at the junction of the Alabama and Mobile Rivers and encourage the soldiers and settlers to intermarry with Choctaws who were represented as being very devoted to the French.

It was believed that the 60,000 emigrants from the Canadian Country would become rich in the Valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi and the Mother Country would benefit proportionally. The loss of Canada to the English would be nothing but the loss of the French inhabitants would be irreparable. Eventually in Louisiana would be established a base of supplies for all the French possessions in the West Indies—a suggestions which appealed strongly to Napoleon forty years later.

With the Peace of Paris, (1763) the plan to transport the French Canadians to the Ohio and the Mississippi came to an end. Had the emigration occurred, the history of the Mid-West would have been greatly affected.

—The Canadian Historical Review, September, 1935.

Because of John James Audebon's sojourn of ten years (1810-1920) at Henderson, Kentucky, his admirers in that city hope to establish a shrine to this world honored hero, which will prove a mecca for all bird lovers.

The story of his life in the Mid-West is told in a fascinating manner in the Kentucky Progress Magazine for November, 1935.

The Annals of Toledo in the library of the Society have been enriched by the DUNLAP PAPERS recently received from Mr. Morris Dunlap, Consul to Dundee, Scotland, whose family has been prominently identified with the delevolpment of the City from its founding in 1835 and its charter of 1837.

Celebration Director Goes to Arkansas.—Mr. A. R. Rogers of West Newton, Massachusetts, who completed his work for the Commission as Director of Celebration on October 19, has moved into the recently established offices of the Arkansas Centennial Committee as Director of that state's cele-

bration to be held next year. His new address is Box 1300, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Connecticut Tercentenary, 1635-1935—Attendance at Events, Observances and Exhibitions.

STATE	No. of Events	Attendance
Under direction of Commission Committees	32	631,81
LOCAL		
Under direction of local Committees	1,433	2,402,14
CO-OPERATIVE*		
Under State and Local Committees		
Connecticut Religious Observance	635	696,19
Connecticut Education Day	1,154	321,92
	3,254	4,052,07

*Does not include estimated attendance of 965,763 at various school Tercentenary events during celebration program.

Four Pensioners of the War of 1812.—Four persons received pension in the year ended last June 30 for service rendered by soldiers in the war of 1812.

In his annual report, Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, administrator of veterans' affairs, listed them as:

Arminia I. Anderson, Cedar Grove, Ga., widow. Lydia Ann Graham Bushy Run, W. Va., widow. Carolina King, Cheektowaga, N. Y., widow, and Esther Ann Hill Morgan, Independence, Ore., daughter.

Other pensioners last year included:

Mexican war—294 widows.

Civil War—100,290 widows and children.

Indian wars—4,745 widows and dependents.

Spanish-American war—39,045 widows, children, and dependents.

World war—99,394 widows, children, and dependent parents.

—Associated Press.

The Archive of the Indies, Seville, Spain, was erected in 1598 to house the board which administered Spain's trade with the Colonies. This building was selected as the repository for papers bearing on the Empires relations with the New World. From the transfer of documents beginning in 1785, it has developed into the world's greatest treasure house of historical material bearing on the Americas under Spanish rule.

—Bulletin of the Pan-American Union.

An Act of Congress approved August 21, 1935, extends the powers and functions of the National Park Service in the Department of the Interior. Among other things, it provides for the acquisition in the name of the United States by gift, purchase, or otherwise, of property the title to which is satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior; the restoration, preservation, and maintenance of historic or prehistoric sites and buildings, and, deemed desirable, the establishment and maintenance of museums in connection therewith; the operation and management of historic sites, buildings, and properties; and the development of educational programs and services for the purpose of making available to the public, information pertaining to American historical and archaeological sites.

A general advisory body, the "Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments," is established, composed of not more than eleven citizens of the United States, to be appointed by the Secretary and to serve without salary. This board is to advise on any matters relating to national parks submitted to it by the Secretary; it may also recommend policies pertaining to national parks and historical and archaeological sites.

—Indiana History Bulletin.

Names Highway for Rogers.—Amarillo, Texas, Jan. 5.—Visitors to the Texas Centennial this year, marking the hundredth anniversary of the State's independence, will traverse a highway named in honor of Will Rogers. Highway 66, the Chicago to Los Angeles route which traverses Oklahoma and the Texas Panhandle, has been officially designated the Will Rogers Highway. One of the nation's principal traffic arteries, it is also the shortest course from Chicago to the Southern California metropolis. The highway passes through Claremore, the town that was "home" to the noted humorist. His birthplace is near there.

Second Oldest Coeducational School.—Tiffin, Jan. 20—Heidelberg college here today had established a claim to the title of second oldest coeducational institution in the United States.

Oberlin, established in 1823, was the first coeducational college. Most histories list Antioch second in 1854. Heidelberg, however, was founded in 1850 on a coeducational basis and open to students of all sects and religious beliefs.

This information, brought to light by Prof. E. I. F. Williams here, has been forwarded to educational writers of the leading institutions in order that Heidelberg may be given proper credit for pioneering of these educational movements.

—Toledo Blade.

The Journal of Jay Cooke or the Gibraltar Records, 1865-1905, by James E. Pollard, was the first accession to the library of The Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio. We quote from the Ohio State Archaeological Quarterly for January, 1936, as follows:

"Jay Cooke's great claim to the gratitude of the nation was that he supplied the government with millions of money, swiftly and at critical times, in the financing of the Civil War."

"During the conflict he acquired the small island of Gibraltar in Lake Erie, off Sandusky, near the scene of Perry's victory over the British squadron in the War of 1812. On it he built a large, handsome mansion. To this retreat Cooke came often for relaxation and recreation for almost forty years. On his first visit, he provided there a volume in which were to be entered items which might be of interest, and as the years went by this Journal grew to consist of seven large books. All guests were to make notes in the Journal, which most of them did."

Part I comprises six chapters devoted to "The Island Retreat."

Part II comprises the six volumes of "The Gibraltar Records". The illustrations include:

Map of Lake Erie Island Region.
Jay Cooke at Gibraltar.
The Gibraltar Mansion.
Facsimile of Record of First Visit.
The Gibraltar Memorial to Perry.
Cooke's Admonition to his Guests.
Cooke's First Entry in the Autograph Book.

The Real Cause of the War of 1812.—We find the views of a Canadian writer in the transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society, Part IV, 1913, from which we quote as follows, viz: "But the real causes of the memorable struggle lay in the desire of the United States to conquer upper and lower Canada as well as the other British North American provinces, and thus annex their territories to those of the Great Republic."

They say the Kankakee is Coming Back, and that Indiana has a practical plan of restoring an hundred thousand acres of famous marshland to a wild life paradise. There never was anything quite like the old Kankakee marsh in Northwestern Indiana—the "Grand Marsh" they called it in its great days of sixty years ago. The super abundance of its feathered game and fur and fish was next to unbelievable. I have heard old men recall the mighty rush of wings as clouds of ducks rose before the guns of the hunters, listened to their description of creaking wagons hauling hundred pound bales of mink, otter, coon and muskrat skins into the railroad towns, and pictured the flat bottomed boats that sometimes sank under loads of bass and perch and pickerel. But the old Kankakee Marsh was drained and plowed out of existence. * * * * * * * * * Potentially the old Grand Marsh is still in existence, patiently awaiting the day of restoration. Sooner or later, nature is going to win, aided by ditch assessments and delinquent taxes. Then a thousand weed grown ditches are going to shut up permanently. Spring thaws and the rains will again flood the lowlands that were never intended for anything but a wild life paradise. * * * * * * When LaSalle discovered the Kankakee in 1679 at its source near South Bend, it was perfectly discribed by its Indian name: "Slow river running through a wide marsh." For 150 miles across the northwestern corner of Indiana it turned and twisted before joining the Des Plaines River, becoming the Illinois River and one of the tributaries of the Mississippi. The marsh comprised a million acres of fish and wild life paradise. * * * * * * Indiana conservationists are pinning their hopes upon the Federal Government for this partial restoration program under the National Policy for the acquisition of sub-marginal lands.

—Outdoor Indiana, February, 1936.

Blennerhasset Island in the Ohio River was at one time owned by Abner L. Backus of Toledo, who sold the property to the famous Englishman, says Waggoner in his History of Toledo.

Eugene Franklin Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929) of France arrived in New York in September, 1865, as American correspondent of the "Temps" at the magnificent salary of $30.00 per month, supplemented by whatever he could earn on the side. For several years he taught French in the Catharine Aiken School for Girls at Stamford, Conn. From this school he married in 1869 an orphan daughter of General Plummer of Civil War fame and took her to Paris to live in 1870. The Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio has recently acquired a valuable book by Clemenceau entitled "American Reconstruction, 1865-1870 and the Impeachment of President Johnson" comprising largely the articles written for the "Temps" immediately following the close of our Civil War.