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FUGITIVE SLAVES IN OHIO

By Forest I. Blanchard, M. A.

This resume of the Fugitive Slave movement in Ohio is intended to serve as a connecting link between the institution of Slavery below the Mason and Dixon line and the Ohio River and the fugitives who located in Canada (an excellent account of which appeared in the April, 1936, issue of this Bulletin). A compilation of facts has been made from some of the outstanding authorities of this anti-bellum movement.

Authorities

The original and outstanding authority is Professor W. H. Siebert, of the History Department of Ohio State University. During the present decade two valuable regional researches have been made for advanced degrees under Professor Siebert's guidance, namely, The Underground Railroad in South Central Ohio, by Stanley W. McClure, and The Underground Railroad from Southwestern Ohio to Lake Erie, by Edward O'Connor Partee. The university library at Ohio State and the Oberlin College library have excellent bibliographies on this subject. The credit for the factual material in this article is due to the above excellent authors and to innumerable writers who for the past century have written on the movement of the Fugitive Slaves and the Underground Railroad in Ohio.

The Underground Railroad

The Underground Railroad was a route from slave territory to a free territory. The territory between had many citizens who were opposed to slavery, hence aided the fugitives to escape. "Thus it happened that in the course of sixty years before the outbreak of the war of the Rebellion, the Northern States became traversed by numerous secret pathways leading from Southern bondage to Canadian Liberty".[1] The reader will remember that slavery was excluded from the Northwest Territory by the Ordinance of 1787, and that England had freed the slaves in her colonies in 1838.

Ohio and Its Early Stations of Underground Railroad

"By 1815 fugitives were crossing the Western Reserve in Ohio, and regular stations of the Underground Railroad were lending assistance in that and other portions of the state."[2] Returning soldiers from the War of 1812

1 Siebert, The Underground Railroad, Chap. 2. 2 Ibid.

reported the favorable attitude in Canada toward slaves. Escaped slaves returned from Canada to the South to aid others to escape. Abolitionists and Whites spread the news of Canadian freedom in the South. Quakers aided fugitives all through the North, as did New Englanders, in places to which the Yankees had moved, as in the Western Reserve. Former Southerners in Ohio who disliked Slavery aided the fugitives. The Covenanters, the Presbyterians and Wesleyan Methodists were against slavery and their adherents often aided refugees. Various regions in Southern Ohio, localities in Logan and Harrison Counties, negro settlements at various points, often of runaway slaves, localities in Jackson and Brown Counties, negro groups in Oberlin, Portsmouth, and Cincinnati, were among some of the many agencies who did much to aid the fugitives. The geographic situation of Ohio and the character of many of the early inhabitants caused the earliest development of aiding the fugitives to be along the Ohio River.

Early Leaders

From 1815 to 1817 underground lines were established. Owen Brown of the Western Reserve, father of John Brown of Osawattomie and Harper's Ferry fame aided slaves and was among the first known to do so. The Ottawa Indians were among the earliest friends of the fugitives in Western Ohio.

Fugitive Slave Law

In 1812 a negro was forcibly released at Worthington and sent on to Sandusky. From 1820 on the aiding of fugitives in Ohio increased, probably being the heaviest from 1840 to 1850. It was heavy from 1850 to 1860 after the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which being too severe aroused opposition and "stimulated the work of secret emancipation." There was an increasing activity from 1830 to 1840 on the Underground Railroad. This was because of the negroes fear of being sold into the far South. Cotton fields were being opened there at that period due to the removal of the Indians from the Gulf States. Many think the 1850 decade was the period of greatest activity in the North. At any rate the movement of fugitives into and through Ohio was continuous from the beginning to the end.

Origin of Name—"Underground Railroad"

There has been considerable written discussion upon the probable origin of the term, Underground Railroad. Some authorities think that the term was first used at Columbia, Pennsylvania, because slaves disappeared there, hence pursuers said "There must be an Underground Railroad somewhere." Many writers perfer the statement made at Ripley, Ohio, by the puzzled pursuer of a runaway, after he had lost sight of the negro who swam the river, "The nigger must have gone off on an underground road," the expression later being changed to Underground Railroad after the advent of the steam roads.

Secrecy of Movement

"The Underground Railroads supplied the reason for the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850". [1] Not so much attention was paid to the Underground Railroad as an institution because of its secrecy. It was continuous for two generations. Not many who took part were noted persons of the Anti-Slavery movement, but were usually quiet persons. Little information about this institution was reduced to writing, and much that was written was destroyed through fear, especially induced by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Underground operations practically ceased with the beginning of the Civil War.

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1 Ibid.

Early Slave Laws

The first Fugitive Slave Law was passed February 12, 1793. It provided a five hundred dollar fine for aiding fugitive slaves. A master or an agent could arrest a runaway wherever found and take him before a local magistrate or federal judge for a certificate to take the prisoner back to the original state. People felt this law unfair, hence violated it and uniformly successfully evaded it. In 1839, Ohio passed a law to secure the recovery of slave property. It remained a law only four years. The second Fugitive Slave Law passed by the National Congress was a part of the Compromise of 1850, and had more severe penalties attached. This law only increased the resentment in the North, where activities became so great that rewards were offered in the South for the abdication or assassination of leading Abolitionists at Ripley and in Adams County. Secrecy was thus necessary, hence, travel by night was the usual method. The special modes of passing along information was called the "grape-vine telegraph". Special signals were used to gain admission to a house, as the owl signal. "In the early days of the Underground Road fugitives were generally men." [1] As the number increased and women and children came, horseback and vehicle were used. Railroads were later used. The routes were more or less zigzag, secrecy rather than speed being the usual necessary element. When a slave arrived at a station, he was usually concealed.

Organization and Stations

The Underground Railroad had no formal organization, although railroad terms were used, as station-keepers, agents, conductors, as figurative terms. They helped to mystify the public. The work of the Underground Railroad was everywhere spontaneous. If there was any real organization, it was rather in the matter of the division of the work. The stations at Mechanicsburg were among the most widely known in Central and Southern Ohio, there being three or four roads going north from that village to the land of freedom. The fugitives were usually destitute and had to be fed, clothed, given money and such protective measures as were immediately necessary.

Routes and Methods

After 1850 "surface lines" railroads were used to convey fugitives to the lakes, because after that time rail connections with the Great Lakes were made. "There were probably more surface lines in Ohio than in any other state." [2] The old Mad River Railroad or Sandusky, Dayton, and Cincinnati Railroad began to be used as early as 1852. The Sandusky, Mansfield, and Newark Railroad was sometimes used, also the C. C. C. to Greenwich; the Cleveland and Canton from Zanesville; and the Cleveland and Western from Alliance to Cleveland carried fugitives. River boats were used on the Ohio to carry fugitives, and lake boats from the Ohio lake ports to Canada. Slaves were aided to escape from courts, jails, etc.

Fugitives were passed on to friendly neighbors until they came to Canada. These fed and sheltered them and came to be called agents, station keepers, or conductors on the Underground Railroad. Five Southern Ohio families were said to have aided more than a thousand fugitives to flee to Canada before 1817. [3] Thousands of fugitives found rest at Ripley, Adams County. Certain Ohio citizens aided from one hundred to two hundred and even up to five hundred to escape. A multitude came to Oberlin and no one was ever finally taken back to bondage.

1 Siebert, Chap. 2. 2 Ibid. 3 Chap. 4.

Anti-Slavery Centers

The Scriptures, the Golden Rule, and the Preamble to the Constitu were the bases for their principles. Quakers, Covenanters, and New Engl colonies were the best helpers, apparently. The many stations in the East and Northern parts of Ohio may be safely attributed to the large propor of New England settlers in these districts. Southern settlers in Brown Coun and adjoining districts are said to have been regularly forwarding escap slaves to Canada before 1817. Scotch colonies in Morgan and Logan Coun were centers of Underground service. The Covenanters of Northwood, ne Bell Center, Logan County, sent the fugitives on from their station to San dusky. Students of Geneva Hall College (located there) aided, someti taking them as deer (game) in wagons to Sandusky. Germans seemed to good to fugitives, too. From the time of Fox (the founder of Friend England) on, the Quakers were opposed to slavery. Southern Quakers move to Springboro and Salem in Ohio, being hostile to the institution of slave Abolitionists who were members of the Methodist Church founded a separa organization in 1842, the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America. Slav holders were excluded from holding membership. This organization form many stations for the Underground Railroad, at Washington and Urban Tuscarawas County, and in Piqua.

Presbyterians were inclined to be anti-slavery in spirit. A Free Pre byterian Church was founded in Ripley. This place aided much, the fame Reverend Rankin being one of the outstanding figures in assisting fugiti in Ohio. In several other Ohio counties the Free Presbyterian Church aide fugitives. The Covenanters aided in Adams County as well as in Logan County and other regions. "The religious center of Ohio most renowned for the aid of fugitives was the Congregational Colony and College at Oberlin

Oberlin

From 1835 on, Oberlin was a hotbed of abolition. It received that year a large body of anti-slavery members from Lane Seminary at Cincin From 1835 to 1860 Oberlin was a busy station for five converging lines. A sign board on the road north and a tavern sign bore the figure of a run ning fugitive. A democratic legislature in the state four times threatened to repeal the college charter.

Other Leaders

Abolitionists were more likely to be Whigs than Democrats. The Mi souri Compromise of 1820 driving the wavering ones away from the party that supported it, and the slave power. The Liberty and Free Soil parties were formed principally of Abolitionists. Many prominent people aided the fugitives, among them Doctor Townsend, Doctor Kirkland, Harriet Beecher Stowe and relatives, and Joshua R. Giddings. Many Ohio ministers aided the fugitives, the most famous of all was the Reverend John Rankin who came from the South to Ripley, on the Ohio River, where "for many years the lights beaming through the windows of this parsonage were hailed by slaves fleeing from the soil of Kentucky as beacons guiding them to a haven of safety." "Many persons of respectability, more courageous than the great majority of their class at that time, not only enrolled themselves in the new anti-slavery societies, but made it a part of their duty to engage in the de fense of fugitive slaves." Salmon P. Chase of Ohio defended so many legally that he gained the title of Attorney-General for fugitive slaves. Levi Coffin of Cincinnati, about the most effective of all Ohio participants was a Quaker

1 Ibid.

and a business man. As a compliment, he was called the president of the Underground Railroad. He helped more than three thousand fugitives to escape in thirty-three years.

Ohio Best Fitted for the Underground Railway

Ohio had the best conditions for the Underground Railroad, as it had a long contact front with the slave territory (Kentucky, about 275 miles; Virginia, about 150 miles), and crossings could be made at almost any point. Also the character of the early Ohio settlements helped, as the New England colonies in the northern and eastern parts; the Quaker, Covenanters, Anti-Slavery Southerners, and negro settlements in the southern and southwestern parts; and some Quaker settlements in the central and southeastern portions of the state. "Family ties, church fellowship, and agressive anti-slavery leadership,—journalistic and political,—the leavening influence of institutions—like Oberlin College and Western Reserve College. [1]—all contributed to propagate a sentiment that was ready to support the fleeing slave; and thus Ohio became netted over with a large number of interlacing lines of escape for fugitive slaves." "Underground Railway operations culminated chiefly at Cleveland, Sandusky, and Detroit, lead by broad and defined routes through Ohio to the border of Kentucky." "The Ohio-Kentucky routes probably served more fugitives than others in the North." [2]

The tributaries of the Ohio River on both sides aided the escaping slaves to traverse through Ohio. "Concerning the number of paths that were in Ohio, it is almost impossible to obtain a definite and correct idea. The location of the state was favorable to the development of new lines. With the steady increase in the number of slaves fleeing across its southern borders; and in the process of development, it was natural that the various branches should intertwine and form a great network." [3]

There were possibly twenty-five or more lines across Ohio. Routes sometimes diverged at points to meet the needs of special occasions, as when in greater danger from pursuit. The slaves owners and agents often intruded into the Ohio region, hence the routes were many and divergent, as complex routes were one of the best safeguards. There were four branches out of Cincinnati. At Oberlin five lines converged.

The towpaths of the canals were thought more safe than public roads, hence were used by fugitives, as the Ohio Canal. The railroads were also used. "The Old Mad River Railroad bore many dark skinned passenger from Urbana, if not from Cincinnati and Dayton, Ohio, to Lake Erie. [4] In Eastern Ohio the Cleveland and Western Railroad, from Alliance to Cleveland was much patronized during several years by instructed runaways." "Ohio may lay claim to eight terminal stations, all comparatively important." The best known were, Ashtabula Harbor, Painesville, Cleveland, Sandusky and Toledo. The less important ones were Huron, Lorain, and Conneaut.

Principal Stations in Ohio

Ashtabula Harbor, Cleveland, and Sandusky were each the terminus of four or five lines of the Underground Railroad; while perhaps only two or three lines ended at Toledo and Painesville; with one each at Huron, Lorain, and Conneaut. "Thousands of fugitives found crossing places along the Detroit River, especially at the city of Detroit. [5] The numerous routes of Indiana, together with several of the chief routes of Western Ohio, poured their passengers into Detroit. Slave catchers often went to Detroit. Amherstville (Ft. Malden or Amherstburg, may have been the greatest or principle

1 Siebert, Chap. V. 2 Ibid. 3 Ibid. 4 Ibid. 5 Ibid.

terminus of the Underground Railroad of the west) and Black Rock were terminals, also Malden and Port Burwell, in fact "it is impossible to tell how many cities, towns, and villages in Canada became terminals of the Underground System." Fronting directly on Lake Erie were twenty or more of these terminals. Windsor, Sandwich, Amherstville, New Canaan, Colchester, Kingsville, Buxton, Port Stanley, Port Burwell, Port Royal, Long Point, Fort Erie, and St. Catherines were the most important. There were negro settlers too at Chatham, Dresden, Dawn, Sydenham, London, and Wilberforce on the Thames River; Brantford on the Grand River, and Sarnia on the Huron River. It is known that this record is not complete.

Many fugitive slaves are known to have lived in Columbus and Akron. Sometimes lazy whites would help capture fugitive slaves in Ohio by watching the houses of Abolitionists. This seems to have been more prevalent in the southern part of the State.

Fugitive slaves sometimes settled in Ohio and helped other fugitives to Canada, as at Columbus. Escaped negroes would return and aid others to escape, but among the whites in Ohio there was no desire to abduct slaves from the South. This was almost universally true, even at Oberlin, the Reverend Calvin Fairbank being a notable exception to this rule. He was an Oberlin College product, was twice imprisoned for aiding slaves to escape, serving seventeen years and four months in total. He aided forty-seven slaves to escape without a capture.

Growth of Opposition to Slavery

After the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 the Underground Railroad was more efficient than ever, due to the opposition to the law in the North. In 1855 there was a twenty-five per cent increase in Underground Railroad work in Ohio over any other year. In Ashtabula County a protest meeting was held at Hartsgrove against the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. They agreed that they would aid fugitives and those who helped them. Ohio even passed personal liberty laws.

This dislike of the Fugitive Slave Law and the increased aid given the fugitives in Ohio can be elucidated by a brief resumé of the federal laws.

The first Fugitive Slave Law passed February 12, 1793, allowed no jury trial, and imposed a fine of five hundred dollars for assisting a fugitive. To aid fugitives the "no slavery" clause of the Ordinance of 1787 was appealed to. But the Supreme Court at Washington declared that the clause in the Ordinance prohibiting slavery applied only to people living in the borders of the Northwest Territory, and that it did not impair the rights of those living in states outside of this domain. It was decided that the state governments did not have to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 in the Prigg vs. Pa. case. This caused a more exacting clause of execution to be inserted in the second Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. In fact the second law was really passed by Congress "to increase the facilities and improve the means for the recovery of fugitives from labor." The penalties for aiding fugitives was greater and machinery was made for actually restoring runaways to their owners from the Northern States. There was no provision for a jury trial, and a claimant or his agent could arrest without legal trial under both laws. The second law increased northern aid to fugitives instead of curbing it, in spite of the penalty attached.

Sometimes suits for damages by the owners of fugitive slaves resulted in favor of the owner, but this was not always the case. In the famous Oberlin-Wellington rescue case only two were convicted with light sentences

out of a total of thirty-seven tried. Several prominent attorneys of Ohio aided fugitives in court cases.

The Fugitive Slave Laws were annulled by Congress, June 25, 1864.

"The number of cases of kidnapping that occurred along the southern border of the free states between 1793 and 1850 helps doubtless to explain the development of numerous initial stations of the Underground Railroad during the period. Profitable cotton raising in the far South caused slaves to be sold from the border states, hence many ran away for liberty." [1] "During the earlier years of the Road's development the pursuit of runaways was not so common as it came to be after 1840, and later after the passage of the second Fugitive Slave Law in 1850". Reverend John Rankin, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Ripley wished to free the slaves without delay. He said, "that the safety of the government and the happiness of its subjects depended upon the extermination of slavery". He was an unusually active agent of the Underground Railroad.

Politics

The three decades from 1830 to 1860, as the period of greatest activity among the fugitives, require the most attention in order to understand fully the extent of this movement from slavery to freedom. It is necessary to approach the period from various angles. "The conditions prevailing in the North and South during the decade 1840-1850 were in one particular more favorable to the escape of slaves: the decision in the Prigg case in 1842 took away much of the effectiveness of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, and thus made pursuit little less than useless." [2] The Liberty party was formed in 1840-50 and various Northern States passed laws in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793.

The South tried repeatedly to get a stricter fugitive recovery law and finally accomplished it in 1850 as a "part of the great scheme of compromise for the adjustment of the difficulties threatening the perpetuation of the Union at the time." By this time negroes were even escaping from the far South as stated by Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. "That slave owners counted on deriving benefits from the law appears from the great number of attempts at once made to reclaim runaways and the frequent prosecutions of those guilty of facilitating their escape." [3]

The period sometimes designated "the era of slave hunting" began in the North. Rescues were frequent and slaves were purchased of the owner when recovered, by former neighbors of the North.

The Underground Railroad did its most thriving business in all parts of the North during the decade from 1850 to 1860.

Harriet Beecher Stowe

Harriet Beecher Stowe's home in Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, was a station on the Underground Railroad. Her residence in Cincinnati and visits in Kentucky gave her the personal experiences which were portrayed in her book, Uncle Tom's Cabin. Eliza's escape across the ice actually took place at Ripley. The boys who read this book in the 1850's, voted the Republican ticket in 1860, and fought against slavery during the succeeding war.

Federal and State Courts in Conflict

"In Ohio incidents arising out of the operations of the Underground Railroad became the occasions of serious contests between the state and federal authorities";[4] as a case at Mechanicsburg May 15, 1857, concerning Addison White and the later arrest of citizens by a U. S. marshal, who aided his escape.

1 Siebert, Chap. X. 2 Siebert. 3 Ibid. 4 Siebert, Page 334.

"Another example of open violation of the slave law which resulted in conflict between federal and state courts, exists in the famous Oberlin-Wellington rescue case." On September 13, 1835, a runaway was arrested near the town of Oberlin, where he had been living for more than two years. A crowd from Oberlin released the prisoner at Wellington. Many were arrested and two convicted. They were finally released, as the Lorain County grand jury had indicted some of the slave catchers. The United States government and the Lorain County officials agreed to drop the whole matter.

Danger of Slave Insurrection in South

The Underground Railroad lessened the danger of slave insurrection in the South. Many of those capable of becoming leaders among the negroes were among those who escaped to Canada and the North. Forty-seven were aided by one man at the Alum Creek Settlement, Delaware County, in five months, from April to September, 1844. "Now, along Ohio's southern boundary there were initial stations, but at least twelve important lines of travel, some of which were certainly in operation before 1830". Computing from these twelve lines there may have been 40,000 slaves aided through Ohio from 1830 to 1860. Up to 1857 the American Colonization Society had only transported 9502 to Africa, hence the Underground Railroad was much more effective in removing negroes from the South. Professor Seibert has actual record of 1540 Underground workers in Ohio. In all other states combined, 1670. These figures are obviously much below the actual number that aided fugitives at various times.

One Cause of Civil War

Some Southern Congressmen said that millions of dollars worth of slaves were lost annually before the war. Ohio repealed her personal liberty laws in 1858. This was to conciliate the South. A half dozen other Northern States did this just at the outbreak of the war. The adoption of the thirteenth amendment swept away all slavery in the United States. "It is safe to say that the Underground Railroad was one of the greatest forces which brought on the Civil War, and thus destroyed slavery."

The Railroad's Routes in Ohio

A citizen of Ohio would naturally be interested in the routes used to carry the fugitives across the state. He would be interested in knowing the towns, villages, and localities used as stations along the routes. A great deal of information has been collected by various writers upon both routes and stations, as well as station keepers. Let us examine some of these interesting records.

One of the natural routes led from Cincinnati up the Miami Valley, through Dayton, Troy, Piqua, Sidney, across the divide to Wapakoneta, Ottawa, Grand Rapids, and Toledo. Other fugitives came from the Ohio River by various routes to Zanesfield in the upper Mad River Valley, thence to Rushsylvania, Kenton, Dunkirk, Findlay, Bowling Green, and Perrysburg to Toledo. Others went from Dayton northeast to Marysville, and by a network of routes to Lake Erie at Sandusky, Lorain, and Cleveland.

A network from the Ohio River from Ironton to Marietta, led to Coshocton, with two routes to the lake at Sandusky and Cleveland. From this network of routes from Ironton to the Pennsylvania boundary, many routes led northward, some near the eastern boundary line of the state to Cleveland, Painesville, Conneaut.

There were more routes across Ohio than elsewhere, the shorter di-

tance and friendly aid would help explain this. There were probably twenty-five or more points along the Ohio River at which the Slaves crossed to cover a perfect network of routes to the lake. There were about a half a score of outstanding paths among this maize of routes.

One line of the Underground Railroad was thought to have been founded about 1816. It crossed the Ohio River near North Bend in the southwest corner of the state and followed streams to the Upper Auglaize and Blanchard's fork, passing near Wapakoneta to Ottawa, to the Grand Rapids of the Maumee, which could be easily forded most of the year and on to Malden. It used Indian villages at Wapakoneta (Shawnee Indian) and at Ottawa, and probably an Ottawa village on the Maumee.

Hiding Places for Slaves

Towpaths along canals were considered safe routes and were used at night. They could easily be followed by the negroes without a guide. "One of the main lines of the Underground Railroad which traversed Ohio from South to North began at Ripley, in Brown County, on the Ohio River and ran through Highland, Fayette, Madison, Franklin, Delaware, Marion, Morrow and Richland counties to Greenwich in Huron (County) whence branches ran to the lake north through Erie County and northeast through Lorain and Cuyahoga Counties." It had switches and loops and connections with other lines. The Alum Creek Friend's Settlement at Morengo in Peru Township, Morrow County, was an outstanding point for the refugees. [1] One of the houses at the Alum Creek Settlement had secret rooms in both attic and cellar for fugitives. This Quaker settlement used other Quaker settlements as stations. There were from six to ten station keepers at the Alum Creek Friends' Settlement. One member had sixty fugitives in a single month in the 1850's. Twenty ate dinner at one time. Some of the fugitives came to Alum Creek from Mechanicsburg, which was another outstanding station on the Underground Railroad, and was called a "Black Abolition Hole". Three distinct routes led through Mechanicsburg and had connections with various other routes. It was surrounded by a territory hostile to the anti-slavery movement. There was a route west of this village through Springfield and Urbana, but as that route became watched, slaves were taken through Mechanicsburg usually coming from Ripley. Two routes led from Ripley, one to Hillsboro, Wilmington, and Zenia; the other through Washington Courthouse to London. Some of the station keepers at Mechanicsburg aided many fugitives to safety.

The town of Ripley, along with Oberlin, may be thought of as among the most romantic of the smaller localities which aided the fugitives. The story told by Rush R. Sloan, a lawyer of Sandusky, who was actively engaged in the Underground Railroad work, cannot well be forgotten. "In 1831 a negro named Tice Davids ran away from Kentucky. His master pursued him so closely that when he reached the Ohio River near Ripley, he was obliged to plunge in and swim across to avoid capture. His master secured a sheriff and started after Tice. He kept him in view until he reached the Ohio Shore when the negro disappeared. After a long search his master said he thought the 'nigger must have gone off on an underground road' ". [2]

Siebert's Map

Professor Siebert's map shows a complexity of lines across Ohio. This exacting scholar explains thus:—"The point to be noted is the relatively large number of interlaced lines by which Ohio is crossed. [3] The general

1 Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quarterly. 2 The Underground Railroad—Scott.
3 Light on the Underground Railroad—Siebert.

trend of these are of course toward Lake Erie. The explanation of this multitude of fugitive trails through Ohio is a little complex, the complexity can easily be disentangled. The state's geographical position and the reach of its southern boundary gave it a longer line of contact with slave territory than that possessed by any other state. It bordered Kentucky with some 275 miles of river frontage, and Virginia with 150 miles or more. The crossing of this Jordan of the slaves was made at almost any point where a boat could be found.

That the character of the early settlements in Ohio is a factor not to be omitted is proved by the close network of paths which zigzag from Marietta across the Western Reserve to places of deportation on the lake, linking together many little communities where New England ideas prevailed. With Joshua R. Giddings, these communities claimed to have borrowed their abolition settlements from the writings of Jefferson, whose "abolition tract" Giddings said "was called the Declaration of Independence."

The zigzag character of the routes has just been mentioned. It deserves perhaps some emphasis, as also the radiation in frequent cases of several lines from one center, and the horizontal connection of routes which, roughly speaking, are parallel. The features mentioned are characteristic, and serve to show that the safety of the fugitives was never sacrificed by the Abolitionists to any thoughtless desire for rapid transit. Zigzag was the sure mode. It was one of the regular devices to blind and throw off pursuit, just as was conveyance by night. In times of special emergency travelers would be switched off from one course to another, or taken back on their track and hidden for days or even weeks, then sent forward again.

It can scarcely be doubted that the circuitous land route from Toledo to Detroit was a natural expedient of this kind. Slave owners and their agents were often known to be on the lookout along the direct thoroughfare between the places named.

Many slaves traveling by night were guided by the north star. These fugitives were usually the more intelligent and daring of their race. Many had secured the elements of an education—this prompted them to escape. Most of the fugitives came from the border states, hence frequently were soon in Canada, the stations being more or less about twenty miles apart.

The greatest activity geographically was in the southern part of the state because not only did practically all of the slaves enter Ohio by crossing or coming up the river into the state, but also many of the fugitives remained in the southern portion of the state for various periods of time. Numerous escaped slaves permanently settled in negro communities without advancing so far above the river.

Stanley W. McClure's Researches

An excellent study of fugitive activity in south central Ohio has been made by Stanley W. McClure. This careful student has developed many of the routes and stations as well as station-keepers. Some of his interesting discoveries will be noted. "There were numerous points along this river (Ohio) through which branches of the Underground Railroad passed to the interior of the state and on northward. The most important of these points of entry into the central section of Ohio were Point Pleasant, Gallipolis, Burlington, Proctorville, Ironton, Hanging Rock, Wheelersburg, and Portsmouth. A perfect network of branches of the Underground Railroad led from these places on up through the central counties. From some of these points the branches extended for a distance and then divided and subdivided making it very difficult to trace courses accurately. In the northeastern part

of the state where the Quakers and New England settlers were numerous, there were many branches of the system. In the southwestern portion, northeast of Cincinati, where there were many Quaker pioneers, the same condition is evident. These branches led northward to the shore of Lake Erie. The main ports reached by these were Conneaut, Ashtabula, Painesville, Cleveland, Lorain, Sandusky, and Toledo. From the Lake Erie shore the fugitives found passage by boat to Buffalo, Port Burwell, Port Stanley, Pelee's Point, and Detroit. Wherever in Ohio were found Scotch Covenanters, Wesleyan Methodists, New England Congregationalists, Quakers, or communities of free colored people, there the trembling fugitive was sure to find the care and assistance he needed. The waiting rooms were empty hogsheads in old warehouses, lofts over wagon-shops, belfries, churches, cellars whose entrances were trap-doors, hay stacks, and the like."

Secret Hiding Places

Secret rooms were fitted out behind Dutch ovens, in barns, houses, etc. Great secrecy was used in passing on these fugitives. Private carriages, stage-coaches, farm-wagons, railroad coaches, steam-boats, canal boats, and ferry boats were used in trnsporting the passengers over the Underground Railroad which has been called "the safety valve of slavery", as it let the spirited and insubordinate ones escape who would have made trouble in the South.

Canada—the Final Refuge

The slaves usually wanted to go to Canada where they were truly free and could not be captured. This was not true in the northern states as the slave holder had a legal right to pursue and capture his fugitive slave which he could not do in the foreign country of Canada.

Slaves escaping from North Carolina and Virginia would come down the Kanawha Valley and cross the Ohio River from Point Pleasant. They would pursue their course northward to Porter, or if the crossing was made at Gallipolis, they would be sent northward to Porter from either the white or colored stations there. Slaves were often captured near Porter due to the fact that several people there helped the slave hunters. Hence a branch line was developed by turning back toward the river to fool the slave hunters. The route led from Porter to Vinton County and on to Athens County. Some of them were then taken northward by the Athens and Zanesville road. Some slaves were harbored at New Lexington. The basement of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Deaverstown was used as a hiding place. One branch seems to have led from Athens to Lancaster along the Hocking River Valley. From Lancaster the route led to Granville and then connected with a route leading up the Ohio Canal. Oberlin was the objective by either route.

Ironton, in Lawrence County, was an important center for Underground activities. Most of the slaves who crossed into Lawrence County seemed to have used the upper portion of the Gallipolis-to-Zanesville route. Another important route from the Ohio River at Portsmouth followed the Towpath of the Ohio Canal to Columbus. Chillicothe does not seem to have been a regular station as it was not a region of anti-slavery folk, having been settled by people from Virginia and Kentucky. Shelter could be found in the colored quarter at that place, however, as many of them were freed slaves themselves. The Towpath northward to Circleville was used by the runaways and then onward toward Cleveland. Some of the refugees would stop in the colored section of South Columbus, although the Capitol City was not inclined to be anti-slavery in sentiment. A route led northward from Colum-

bus, through Clintonville, Worthington, into Delaware County and on to the Alum Creek Friends' Settlement in Morrow County.

From there several branches led northward. Sometimes slaves were taken via Westerville to Delaware or Morrow Counties, or from Westerville to Central College, to Granville, and connected with a route from the South to Oberlin. "To throw off the slave hunters a route was opened from Columbus to Granville then to Oberlin." This became the usual route from Ripley and points farther west on the Ohio River via Columbus. "Routes from Ripley and points west to Columbus were largely determined by waterways, or church communities, as Presbyterians and Quakers. Many of the routes through Adams, Brown and Highland counties followed the trails of the old Mound Builders, and Indians, and later White highways." [1] One was along Kenton's trace from Manchester in Adams County on the Ohio River up through West Union to Ross County, then through the Rocky Fork Gap to Painter Creek Valley, then up that valley and on to Fayette County, thence on to the Columbus region. Another route led from Ripley to Hillsboro and via various routes northward. Washingtn Courthouse, not being an Abolitinist center was evaded. Columbus seems to have been more or less on these deviated routes just mentioned.

Trap Doors, Disguises, Etc.

At Clintonville fugitives were concealed behind piles of hickory wood in the rear basement of a little church on High Street. On East Main (then Friend) Street, in Columbus, near Alum Creeek, was an old barn in which fugitives were sheltered and fed who were on their way up to the Alum Creek Quaker Settlement. At South Salem, a Presbyterian minister usually hid the runaways in a basement room which had been walled off in such a way that it could not be detected from the main cellar. The only entrance into this hiding place was by means of a trap-door from the room above, the trap-door being concealed under a table and rug. [2] Another place of concealment was a dark attic of a house, through the knotholes of which the inmates watched the slave catchers. Much care was taken in transporting the fugitive slaves. "They were often disguised, conveyed in covered wagons, or under false bottoms of the vehicles, or piled around with bags of wool or potatoes. [3] Sometimes they were hidden in loads of hay and in a few instances they were shipped by rail concealed in boxes. Various means of transportation were used. Sometimes the negroes would be sent alone, and given instructions to follow a certain road, river or canal, until they should come to the home of the next station. Wagons were the most commonly used, especially for women and children. One conductor had a special six-seated covered wagon built for Underground use, which became famous throughout southwestern Ohio as the Liberator. It traveled thousands of miles carrying negroes." [4] The Ohio River was crossed by fugitives in skiffs, steamboats or sailboats. The Mayflower plying between Sandusky and Fort Malden carried so many of the escaped slaves that it became known as the Abolition Boat.

Different types of disguises were used. Negro men were dressed as women, and women as men, one negro being dressed as a nurse, "the fugitives themselves frequently resorted to disguises before reaching free soil." [5]

One of the operators at Ironton "was a Methodist preacher who was also the owner of twenty-two iron furnaces in the neighborhood. He was a staunch Abolitionist and because of his befriending the fugitives, was known as the Black Man's Friend. He had a big barn close to the railroad station

1 McClure. 2 Ibid.
3 Partee—The Underground Railroad from Southwestern to Lake Erie—p. 13.
4 Ibid., p. 16. 5 Partee, p. 22.

and the Presbyterian Church in Ironton. He kept a covered wagon and four horses just for the purpose of transporting his black passengers. Sometimes fourteen or fifteen negroes were harbored in his barn at one time."

A colored operator from Ironton became known as the "Red Fox" of the Underground Railroad, as he was tall and thin, had an Indian complexion, and resorted to many tricks and ruses in order to throw the "nigger chasers" off the trail. All told he aided about seventy-five runaways to reach the Poke Patch Settlement. On several occasions he was closely followed by pursuers. This Poke Patch colored settlement in Gallia County was a safe place of refuge for the refugees, as no slave hunters ever dared to search for them in that locality. A large number of colored people had settled at Berlin Crossroads farther north and cooperated with the folks of Poke Patch.

"The town of Worthington was settled by a group of men from Connecticut and was an Abolitionist center from the beginning." In 1836 an Anti-Slavery Society was organized in Worthington. Three miles north of Worthington was a well known station which successfully passed on more than two hundred slaves, some of whom were taken to Delaware and the Quaker Settlement on Alum Creek in Morrow County. The vicinity of Westerville had several stations, one of them being the home of the president of the college.

"A notable characteristic of the Underground Railroad was the element of secrecy involved. Often the closest friends, most intimate neighbors, and even members of the same family knew nothing of the secreting and forwarding of the fugitive. This secrecy was maintained not only because of the severe penalties of the law that would be visited upon those convicted of aiding escaping slaves, but also to keep the information from neighbors who were unsympathetic or from children and others who might reveal what was going on." [1]

One operator near Marion "had a number of secret rooms in his house and tunnels leading from his cellar to the barn and corn crib to outwit the slave hunters who came there."

A Quaker in western Shelby County hid the fugitives in a corn field, and when aroused at night by the slave hunters, offered to accompany them in their search. In searching the corn field he would succeed in getting himself separated from the rest of the party and then halloo to learn their whereabouts, waving his "punched lantern" as he apparently searched. The slaves eluding his voice and lantern escaped discovery and were taken on northward at a convenient time.

"One station-keeper of Urbana saw the owners of seven fugitives approaching his house, while the slaves were eating their breakfast. He pulled back the table and hid them in the potato hole under the puncheon floor. After searching the house, the owners offered the station-keeeper two dollars a day to go to Sandusky with them and help hunt for the runaways. This offer was accepted, and after his return the farmer reported that the fugitives were sent to Canada by railroad with tickets bought with their masters' own money." [2]

Operators of Railroad—High Character

"The operators of the Underground Railroad were, taken as a whole, an unusually shrewd and capable lot of men and women. If they had not been, many more fugitives would have been recaptured than the few who were actually taken. In not a few centers hundreds, or even thousands of fugi-

1 Ibid., p. 13. 2 Partee, p. 24.

tives were assisted, while in very few cases were any ever returned to slavery." 1

These operators as a class were people of high character. This fact is shown by the lack of criticism in the literature concerning the activities of these operators of the Underground road. One of the more successful operators says "that no institution has ever existed in this country whose business was transacted with more perfect fidelity, more profound security, more harmony in the working of its complicated machinery, and yet with such tremendous results." 2 However, Underground workers were often shunned and even mobbed in their own communities when these neighborhoods were anti-slavery.

The conductors were usually men, sometimes boys, and occasionally women.

1 Ibid., p. 26. 2 Ibid., p. 29.

Midwest Historical Notes

THE WHIPPING POST AND THE PILLORY IN MISSOURI.—In a day when Missouri could boast few jails and no Penitentiary, the whipping post and the pillory were common instruments of justice. Every courthouse in Missouri, according to one authority, had either one or both. To early residents of Missouri, it seems, they were unquestioned and established institutions.

The use of the whipping post in Missouri dates back to the Spanish regime. Daniel Boone, who served as Syndic of the Femme Osage District during the Spanish period, is said by historians to have used the whipping post in administering justice. The pillory, while not definitely traceable back to the Spanish regime, though it probably existed then, is known to have been in use in the early days of Missouri's territorial government. By the middle 1820s, when Lafayette made his memorable visit to St. Louis, the whipping post and pillory which stood in the center of the courthouse square in full view of the public must long have been familiar objects to St. Louisians.

The year 1826 marks the beginning of the end of the whipping post and the pillory in Missouri. In that year, part of the law of 1825, which provided punishment by the whipping post and pillory for persons convicted of setting up and keeping gambling devices, was abolished. Further changes in the law of 1825 were made in 1829 and 1833. Finally on March 20, 1835, a new criminal code was approved which abolished the whipping post and pillory excepting for certain offenses committed by slaves. Imprisonment in the State penitentiary, which institution had been provided for by the law of 1833, was substituted for punishment in the case of offenses which had formerly been punishable by the whipping post and pillory.

SALE OF SLAVES AT COLUMBIA, IN 1864.—From the Columbia Missouri Statesman, Jan. 29, 1864.

On Monday last there was at this place a Sheriff's sale of 22 slaves belonging to Mr. John W. Rollins, for cash, as follows:

To J. T. McBain, Alex, aged 43 years	$ 132.00
To J. A. McQuitty, Green, aged 30 years	80.00
To Dr. J. W. Roberts, Charles, 30 years	150.00
To G. C. Swallow, Levi, aged 25 years	208.00

To J. W. Lamme, Essex, aged 30 years	$ 135.00
To J. W. Lamme, Joe, aged 21 years	140.00
To F. Herndon, William, aged 13 years	161.00
To D. Guitar, Jerome, aged 8 years	70.00
To J. W. Lamme, Eddy, aged 6 years	51.00
To A. L. Vandiver, Winny, aged 55 years	101.00
To M. S. Matthews, Mary, aged 40 years, and her child Odon, aged 18 months	106.00
To Robt. Schwaby, Hannah, 35 years	25.00
To D. McQuitty, Margaret, 30 years	50.00
To J. W. Lamma, Lucy, 30 years	145.00
To J. W. Lamme, Harriet, 16 years and two children	170.00
To J. W. Lamme, Fanny, 12 years	85.00
To J. A. McClancy, Julia, 10 years	135.00
Mrs. W. F. Switzler, Laura, 9 years	93.00
To M. S. Matthews, Morgan, 4 years	43.50
Twenty-two negroes	$2,080.50

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.—(Editor's Note:) On January 1st, 1863, President Lincoln issued his Proclamation of Emancipation providing among other things that all persons held as slaves within any state or any designated part of a state, the people whereof, shall there be in rebellion against the United States, shall be thence forward and forever free.

Slavery was finally abolished throughout the United States by the Thirteenth Amendment which was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, William H. Seward, dated December 18, 1865. It was rejected by Delaware and Kentucky and conditionally ratified by Alabama and Mississippi and Texas took no action.

RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY INCLUDE: A fine copy of Willis Thrall's Map of Ohio, published at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1833, showing the Village of Port Lawrence in the Territory of Michigan and the Village of Maumee in Wood County, Ohio.

A ticket in the Scioto Bank Lottery at Chillicothe in pioneer days, with an endorsement on the back reading, "These tickets were sold to raise money to build a Presbyterian Church."

Robinson's History of Greene County, Ohio. This volume is the fifty-eighth of the collection of County Histories, leaving thirty yet to secure, there being eighty-eight counties in Ohio.

A complete set of Toledo city directories, including the valuable number one of 1858.

Photostat of the John Mitchell Map of 1755.

Birdseye view of Toledo, 1876.

U. S. A. and C. S. A. bronze belt buckles of the Civil War period.

(1780) "The Journal of Robert Rogers the Ranger," who in October, 1760, was commissioned to receive the surrender of the Western French Forts. (1783) "The Battle of the Thames" by Colonel Bennett H. Young and (1784) a fine engraved map of Ohio by Willis Thrall issued in 1833 showing the site of Toledo in the Territory of Michigan (1785).

RARE OLD RUINS DISCOVERED IN UTAH.—Blanding, Utah (Science Service).—Within eighty yards of a trail over which Zeke Johnson, custodian of the Natural Bridges National Monument, Utah, has walked for more than

twenty years, he has discovered a ledge full of prehistoric houses, including that rare find, a kiva or ceremonial building, with an almost complete roof and what is apparently the original ladder for entrance still in place.

Mr. Johnson was engaged in repairing the trail between the Augusta and Caroline Bridges—two of the three natural arches which the national monument was established to protect—and lunch time found him in a narrow canyon in which there is little sunshine at this time of the year. Seeing the sun bright and warm on a cliff about thirty feet above, he scrambled up to eat his lunch in the sunshine. "Imagine my surprise," he says, "when I saw a ledge full of houses within eighty yards of the trail over which I have walked for twenty years. There is one large kiva with the roof almost complete and a fine ladder standing in the hatchway, with the small willows still holding the rungs in place. I could not tell how many rungs are on the ladder because of the debris which the pack rats have piled up around its base; only three and a half feet show between the top of the pile and the hatch.

"Besides the kiva," Mr. Johnson continues, "there are two well-preserved stone and adobe houses with no roofs but walls which are in a fine state of preservation. A small barrel-shaped structure abuts against one of the houses. Six or eight rooms with walls of fine masonry but partly torn down also are on the ledge. There is a lot of broken pottery and flaked stone lying around. I picked up six arrow points and several broken ones."

Mr. Johnson adds that a few pits dug in the ruins indicate that some one had visited the ledge a long time ago, but that the kiva had not been touched. —New York Times, January 10, 1937.

OUR EARLIEST IMMIGRANTS.—Eastward across Bering Strait, up in the far northwest corner of the continent, came the Asiatic immigrants who were to people America and give it a varied assortment of Indian and Eskimo civilizations. Westward across the Aleutian Islands, at times, moved groups of emigrants, leaving the shores of America to go back to Asia, home of their forefathers.

Early immigrants and emigrants did not realize that they were pioneering trail-breakers or carriers of cultural knowledge from continent to continent. They were simple and primitive people no more advanced than a Stone Age state of living. That there was a route of westward travel, an exit route from America, across the Aleutian Islands, is the theory advanced by Henry B. Collins, Jr., of the United States National Museum.

Speaking before the American Anthropological Association in Washington, Mr. Collins pointed out certain features of prehistoric life that were similar in Kamchatka and directly across the way, in the Aleutian Islands and Southern Alaska. The aborigines on both sides used stone lamps, for example, and wore labrets as lip ornaments, and made houses with the entrance through the roof. And these, from archaeological evidence, Mr. Collins pronounces American fashions, which were carried back to Asia.

That emigrants carried those cultural ideas back to Asia, across the Aleutian Islands stepping stones, with boat journeys between, is argued by Mr. Collins on this ground: "These traits are widespread in Western America either in the interior or along the coast as far up as the Aleutian Islands. In Asia they are found only in a limited area along the coast nearest the Aleutian Islands. They were not found, originally, further north either in Asia or America, and therefore they could hardly have been carried west over the Bering Strait route."

Bering Strait, he concludes, was the main entrance to the American continent for the early immigrant waves, but was not important as a west-bound route. And the Aleutian Islands, lying 800 miles south of Bering Strait, were the main exit but were not used by east-bound wanderers headed for American shores.

—New York Times, January 10, 1937.

THE EVANGELINE LAND.—West of New Orleans there is the romantic Teche country—the "Evangeline land" in which the visitor hears the story of Longfellow's appealing heroine and sees the yucca-shaded grave in which Emmaline Labiche sleeps. The grave of the girl whose tragic story inspired the poem now is the center of an area which is being transformed into Evangeline National Park.

In the little churchyard at St. Martinville—the St. Mar of the poem—one can hear the true story of Evangeline, which has not the happy ending Longfellow gave it. Emmaline Labiche, after searching America for her lover, from whom she had been separated when the Acadians were driven out of Nova Scotia, found him beside Bayou Teche. But he had thought her lost and had married another, and Emmaline's heart was broken. For years she wandered along the Bayou, weaving the purple water hyacinth into wreaths for her hair, like Ophelia in Hamlet, until she died.

It is planned to make the new national park one of the most picturesque and romantic in America. With the St. Martinville Church and Evangeline's grave as its center, the park will extend several miles along Bayou Teche, and will extend north and south from Catahoula Lake to well south of the Old Spanish Trail.

Near St. Martinville and Emmaline Labiche's grave the traveler finds Avery Island, with its great salt mines and bird sanctuary, the home built by Joseph Jefferson the actor, and dark and brooding Catahoula Lake, the sacred lake of the Attakapas, where they made their human sacrifice.

—New York Times, January 10, 1937.

A MUSEUM TO HONOR AUDUBON.—This Spring new honors will accrue to the memory of John James Audubon when the first museum ever constructed for the great ornithologist and artist will be dedicated near Henderson, Ky., the city in which Audubon spent ten years of his life.

The tourist will be able to view a complete collection of the prints of the most popular naturalist of America when the structure has been completed upon its graceful hill. Many persons interested in Audubon are expected to drive through the Bluegrass State to this shrine.

The WPA is responsible for the designing and construction of the buildings in Audubon Memorial Park, and the project is sponsored by the State of Kentucky, the city of Henderson, the Transylvania Society and the Henderson Historical Society.

Blueprints show a museum, garden and gatehouse so arranged as to constitute a small estate within the park. The Norman style of architecture has been chosen, because of Audubon's ancestry and because it permits a round "birds' tower" with pigeonholes in the masonry where birds may nest.

The museum will consist of a main gallery, a wing and sufficient storage space to house the Audubon prints, among which will be the 100 prints now in the Public Library of Henderson.

The typical French gatehouse will have a cobbled courtyard for tables

and within a tearoom, a ticket office, quarters for caretakers and dormitories for hikers.

In addition to the print collection on the first floor of the museum there will be a "Kentucky Room" for the exhibit of relics of Daniel Boone and other contemporaries, and a "Transylvania Room" to honor this notable society of early settlers.

The second floor will be spaced to provide for the collection of stuffed birds, books, portraits and other mementoes of Audubon now at the Henderson Library and elsewhere. Thousands of dollars' worth of prints from the "Birds of America" in elephant folio size and a number of octavo sets of Audubon's works are owned by Henderson residents. Every important Henderson home has at least one Audubon print hanging upon its walls.

The Audubon Memorial Park is in itself an attraction for the tourist. The park contains more than 400 acres, contributed by Henderson citizens and others, and was laid out by the National Park Service. The roads and hiking trails—some of them Indian trails which existed in Audubon's time—were improved by the Civilian Conservation Corps. The park and the museum will be in the charge of the Kentucky State Park Board.

Originally this land was Audubon's favorite hunting ground and the stump of a huge beech tree upon which he had carved his name was found in these woods. From the highest point of the park the Audubon Memorial Bridge can be seen spanning the Ohio River. Audubon's little daughter, Lucy, lies buried in Henderson County, the exact spot unknown. A popular poetic expression to be heard at Henderson is "Only the birds know where Lucy Audubon lies."

—New York Times, January 10, 1937.

ANTIOCH HONORS WORK OF GREAT EDUCATOR—Nation-Wide Celebration Begins With Conference on Education in a Democracy.—Yellow Springs, Ohio.

On Friday and Saturday, Oct. 16 and 17, Antioch College will do honor to one of the most famous "first presidents" an American college ever had—Horace Mann. With the dedication of a statue of Mann and a two-day educational conference, Antioch will open formally the Horace Mann Centennial year that is to be observed throughout the United States in 1937. The Centennial commemorates the beginning of Mann's work for the public schools.

The topic chosen for the Antioch conference is "The Function of Education in a Democracy." Mann believed passionately in democracy and in a literate and enlightened electorate as its prerequisite. Accordingly, Dr. John Dewey of Columbia, educator and philosopher, will address the gathering on "Education, the Foundation for Social Organization." Dr. George F. Zook, director of the American Council on Education, has chosen the subject, "The Educational Program in a Democracy." Dr. Stephen Duggan, director of the Institute of International Education, will be heard on "Education, the Means to International Understanding." Dr. E. H. Lindley, chancellor of Kansas University, will deliver the opening address of the conference on "Educational Opportunity in a Democracy."

Other speakers and their topics are: Lillian Gilbreth, consulting engineer in management, "Education and Individual Advancement," and Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "Education and Social Progress."

At the dedication of the Horace Mann statue on Friday afternoon, the presentation will be made by Hugh T. Birch of the class of 1869, the donor;

the formal speech of acceptance by Homer C. Corry, secretary of the Antioch Board of Trustees, and Dr. Payson Smith, one of Mann's recent successors as secretary to the Massachusetts State Board of Education, will deliver the address of the occasion on "Horace Mann, Educator and Statesman." A play, "Testament of Faith," which depicts Mann's life, will also be presented during the conference.

When Horace Mann accepted, in 1837, the post of secretary to the Massachusetts State Board of Education, he was already 41 years old. When at the age of 52 he resigned that position in order to take up the anti-slavery battle in Congress, he had in a bare 11 years accomplished what we are still gratefully remembering after a century.

Mann found the schoolhouses of his native state badly built, the teachers incompetent and poorly trained, the texts pedantic. the equipment nil, methods obsolete, and the educational system totally decentralized, under the control of local politicians and religious bigots. By heroic effort, he banished religious sectarianism in the control of Massachusetts schools and in the textbooks; he established the first normal schools in the United States for the proper training of teachers; added to school equipment and established school libraries; and crusaded for more sanitary and more adequate schoolhouses. He protested vigorously, also, against the pedantic teaching methods current at the time, and the barbarous means of punishment and discipline then all too common.

In addition to these reforms, Mann traveled up and down the State, inspecting schools, addressing meetings, and organizing teachers; he compiled masses of educational statistics, wrote 12 masterly annual reports, and for 10 years edited The Common-School Journal, which he had started in 1838. Other states began to copy the Massachusetts school system even before Mann relinquished office and today American public school education is laregly built on the principles he enunciated.

Mann's fame as an educator, however, does not rest entirely on his achievements for the public schools. As president of Antioch College from 1853 to 1859, he instituted what might fairly be called the first "experimental college" in America. Under Mann, Antioch was a symposium of the "advanced" educational ideas of his day: coeducation, equal educational opportunity regardless of race, non-sectarianism, emphasis on student health, emphasis on the natural sciences, elective studies (so little understood was the term "elective" that it had to be explained in the college catalogue), some approach to student government, and stress on moral character. This latter stipulation, however, was not merely Puritanical; it was a realization on Mann's part that education deals with the whole individual, not merely his mind. Education, Mann belived, should prepare a student for all the exigencies of life—a belief upon which the new Antioch Plan of 1921 was likewise based.

Antioch College is still using the three old-fashioned but commodious brick buildings, dedicated by Mann in 1853; and to Mann, also, dates back Antioch's oldest tradition, the May Walk. Graven on a granite shaft that still stands on the campus are Mann's last public words, spoken at the commencement of 1859. "Be ashamed to die," he told those young people —"be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."

The statue of Mann to be dedicated at the conference is a second casting of that statue of Mann which was erected in the Boston State House grounds in 1865. The original was modeled two years earlier by Emma Stebbins, an American sculptor highly regarded in her day, and sent to Munich to be cast in bronze. Once cast, the artist's model was stored away in the foundry, to be forgotten under dust and cobwebs.

Nearly three quarters of a century later it was rediscovered in Munich

by a son-in-law of Hugh T. Birch, who as a small boy had known Horace Mann when he was president of the college. Mr. Birch thereupon ordered a second casting of the statue, which he is presenting to Antioch.

—Christian Science Monitor.

PERRYSBURG AND FREMONT—HOW NAMED—

"Washington City, April 12, 1816.

"Dear Friend: As you will have a town on the Miami of Erie, it will be well to think of the name it is to bear. The act does not give a name. Who is to christen it? I wish you would think on the subject, and let me have your wishes. For my part I will barely suggest to you that if it would be named Perryville, or Perrytown, or in some other form which may always remind us of the victory of Erie, it would be a good policy. We ought to make the best profit we can of the blood of our countrymen, which has been shed for the confirmation of our Independence.

"If it were left to me to name the town at Lower Sandusky, I should name it in honor of the gallant youth, Col. Croghan—and would say it should be Croghanville. I believe it is in your power to give the name.

"I am respectfully yours,

"Josiah Meigs, Commissioner of the General Land Office."

(To Amos Spafford, Collector of the Port of Miami)

DEPAUW CELEBRATES CENTENARY—Marking one hundred years since DePauw University was founded. DePauw-Greencastle day was observed on Wednesday, December 9, at DePauw, as the opening of the centennial program.

ANTHONY WAYNE CONQUERED THE OLD NORTHWEST TERRITORY.—"Wolfe it is said, gave Canada to England; but Wayne gave the whole territory between the Ohio and the Mississippi, comprising four states, to that peaceful immigration which has made that region the home of a noble civilization."

—"Major-General Anthony Wayne," by Chas. J. Stille.

A CALIFORNIA MEMBER SENDS WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT: "I have been reading your January Bulletin with great and increasing delight. I am sure none of the others equal it."

A NORWALK PEDAGOGUE IN PIONEER DAYS—The resourcefulness of a school teacher in early Huron county, Ohio, proves the worth of the saying that "Where there's a will there's a way." The teacher, Joseph Dana, was not equipped with paper or slates or pencils for writing, so he just instructed his pupils to trace letters and figures in the sand. In this way the children learned spelling, grammar and arithmetic.

—Anonymous.

THE REAL PATRIOTS—A woman attended a lecture on the Pilgrim Fathers. At the end of the lecture she said: "We have heard a lot about the Pilgrim Fathers. What about the Pilgrim Mothers who had to put up with the Pilgrim Fathers?"

—Edinburgh Dispatch.