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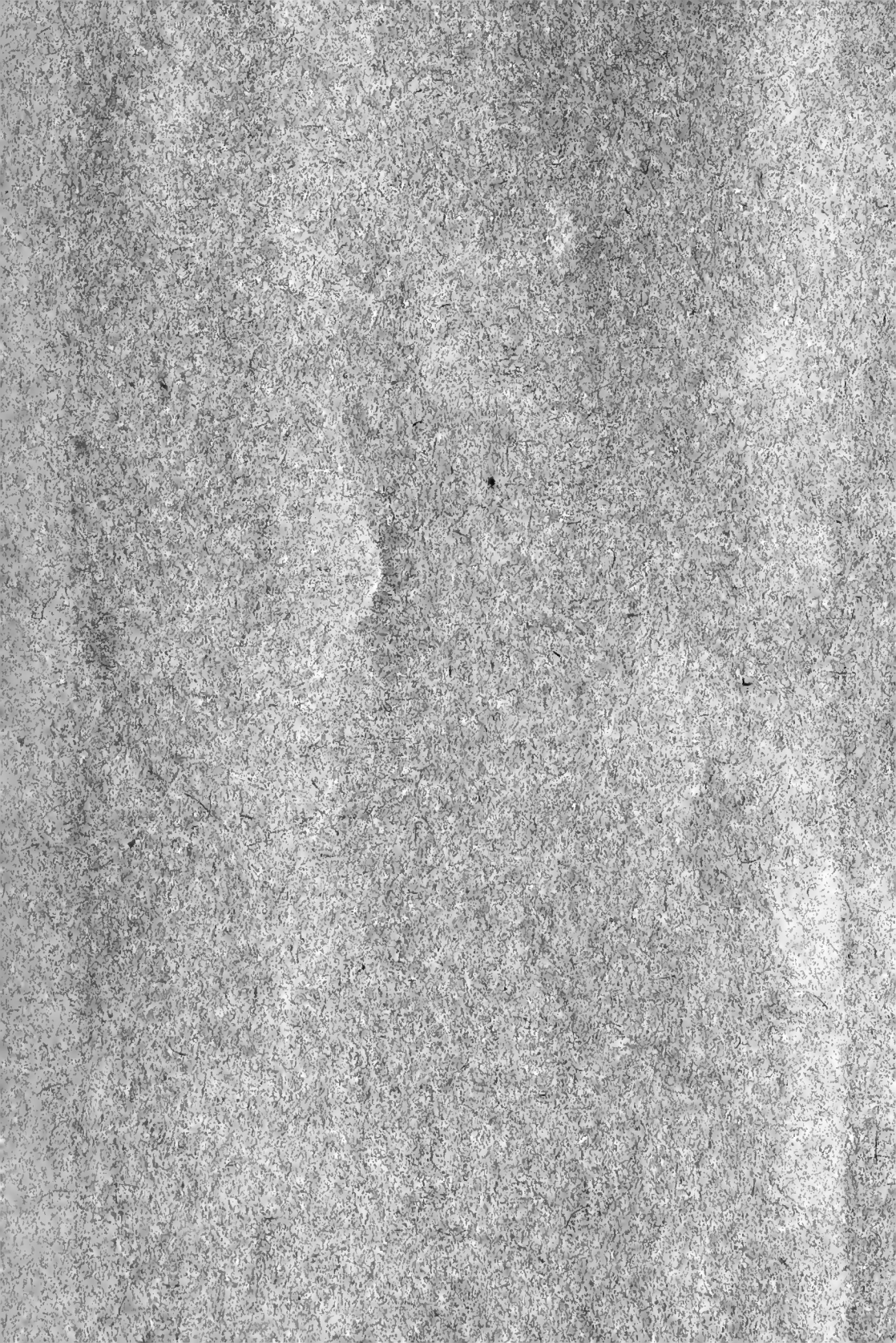
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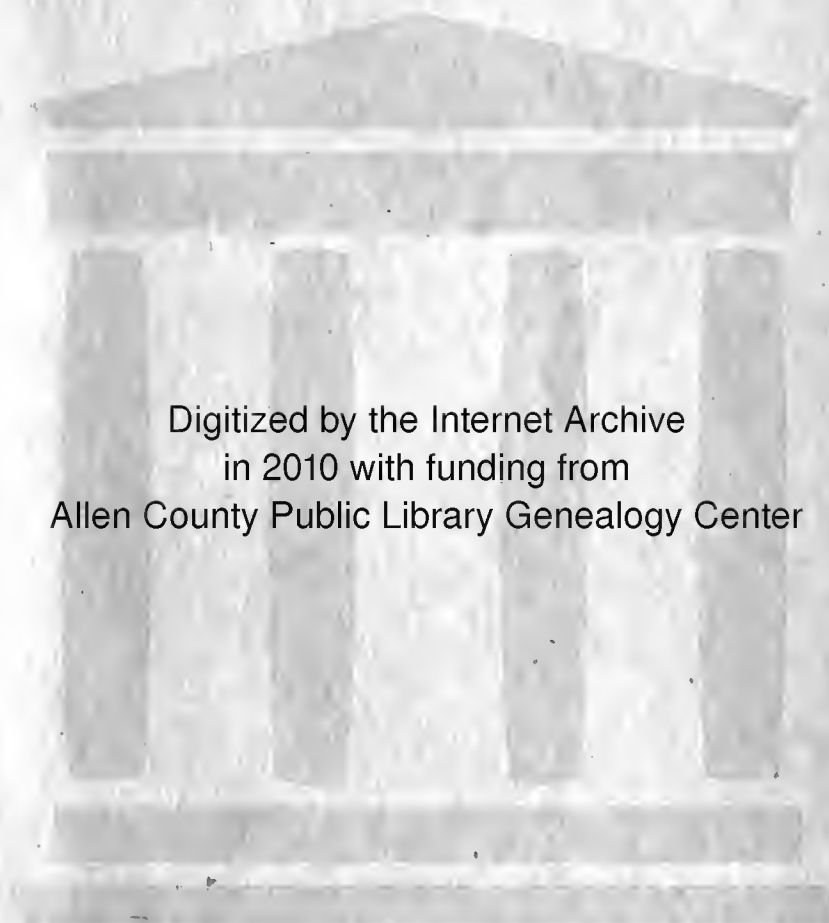
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VOLUME VII

1911

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VOLUME VII.

Contributed articles are indicated by *italics*, authors of articles by SMALL CAPS, and books and papers referred to, by quotation marks.

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THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. VII

MARCH, 1911

No. 1

HISTORY OF CANALS IN INDIANA.

*BY HOWARD PAYNE COMSTOCK,
Earlham College.*

THE history of any country or nation will show that the arteries which carried the first thrills of civilization into its borders were the waterways. The natural waterways have ever been the first paths of pioneer exploration. America's rivers were thoroughly explored along the Eastern coast for the vain chance of finding a connection with the Pacific ocean, then unknown. After the early settlers came, they followed the rivers westward as much as they could.

In the natural evolution of the settling of the country, we find the explorers pushing westward. "The discovery of a portage connecting two rivers leading into new regions was a most valuable discovery for the French," [Johns Hopkins University Series, No. 21, Early History of the Wabash Trade Route, p. 11] who early used the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers in their expeditions to the Mississippi Valley in furtherance of their fur trade. Such a chain of natural passage was as but the kind act of Providence in furnishing them a means of opening up all the adjacent territory, without the hazards of an overland trail.

The early routes from Lake Erie to the Mississippi basin were by means of the Ottawa river, Lake Nipissing, Green Bay, the Fox, Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers, with two or three portages thrown in. Then a portage was established at the lower end of Lake Michigan, and this in turn yielded to the route from Lake Erie, down the Maumee, across a short portage to the Wabash river, then down this river to the Ohio and into the Mississippi. This trail became as well worn as a muskrat slide, numbers of which lined its banks. This became known as the "Wabash Trade Route," which was such an important factor in the devel-

opment of the Old Northwest. French settlements sprang up along the route and later the French forts formed a strategic line of watchdogs against trespassing by the English.

But the greatest need was the ability to cross from one natural waterway to another and thereby connect the various water routes that were being used. Where short portages existed this could be overcome, but there were many localities which would require many weary miles of portage and were practically prohibitive of accomplishment. Some artificial means of making such connections were constantly being planned, but none were put into practical operation.

And to prove that the agitation for canals in the early history of our State was but a natural outcome of necessity and development, one has but to refer to the systems of the old countries of Europe. A natural evolution has been going on in all these countries, and we find to-day that the leading countries have had to resort to the artificial means of furnishing waterway transportation by making canals. "Comparative cheapness and facility with which goods may be conveyed by sea or by means of navigable rivers seem to have suggested, at a very early period, the formation of canals. From the best authenticated accounts of ancient Egypt, that country was intersected by canals." [Lalor, *Encyclopedia of Political Economy*, etc., Vol. I, p. 331.]

Canals, partly for irrigation and partly for transportation, have existed in China from an early period. The Italians were the first people in modern Europe to plan and execute canals. The Dutch in the Netherlands, and especially in Holland, have a network of canals, built above the fields that the water from inundations may be pumped into them and be carried away. France started a canal in 1605 and completed it in 1642. Thus, in the midst of our investigation of the causes for and the attempt to build canals in Indiana, we must not lose sight of the fact that there was feasibility about the whole matter.

When Indiana came into the Union as a State in 1816, she brought with her the growing interest in the canal question. Governor Jennings, in 1818, made a fervent appeal to the Legislature to consider the question of a system of canals and roads.

[Message, Jennings, 1818.] The State was becoming populated, and there was no natural outlet for the produce of the territory except to the southern markets. In this the counties along the Wabash and the Ohio were especially fortunate.

At this early date the plan for a canal connecting Lake Erie with the Wabash was beginning to take definite shape. It began as a Federal enterprise, and, after much talk and spirited debate in the halls of both State and national legislatures, a bill was finally passed by the national Congress in 1824, [Ann. of Congress, 1823-4, p. 788; Vol. I, p. 1602] providing for a survey of the proposed canal with a grant of land ninety feet on either side of the right of way. The surveying was left to the State and was required to be finished within three years. Congress had some time previous to this granted to the State 3 per cent. on the sales of all public lands, "to be reserved for making public roads and canals." This was expected to form a nucleus for beginning the work.

Government surveyors soon made their reports. Part of the territory through which the canal was to run belonged to Ohio, instead of all being within the limits of Indiana, as had been supposed. Therefore, the territory granted to Indiana by Congress and which lay in Ohio was authorized to be conveyed to Ohio. [U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. IV, p. 306.] The Indiana Legislature passed an act "providing means to construct the portion of the Wabash and Erie Canal within the State of Indiana." [Laws, Ind., 1829-30, Ch. 8, p. 13, Jan. 28, 1830.] This act provided for a board of commissioners elected by the House and Senate, on joint ballot, all vacancies to be filled by the Governor. The powers and duties of the commissioners were fully set forth. A supplemental act, [Laws, Ind., 1831-2, Ch. 1, p. 3 to 9] January 9, 1832, accepted Joseph Ridgeway, Jr.'s location and estimate of the middle section of the canal, "to connect the waters of the Wabash river and Lake Erie, embracing the St. Joseph feeder, and the canal line thence to the Little river." The estimate of the entire cost was \$1,081,970. The canal fund was constituted so that it would consist of moneys arising "from the sale of lands donated by the United States to this State for the

construction of said canal." Thirty-two miles of the canal were placed under contract this year.

By act of January 31, 1833, [Ind. Laws, 1832-3, Ch. 57, pp. 48-51] the canal fund was to be deposited in bank and all loans to individuals were to be strictly prohibited. The remaining part of the middle section was to be put under contract.

In 1834, [Ind. Laws, 1833-4, Ch. 14, pp. 49-54] a loan was authorized for \$400,000 on a credit of forty years for the completion of the Wabash and Erie canal; but redeemable in whole or in part after twenty-five years at the option of the State, at not more than 6 per cent. interest. The contracts on the canal were directed to be let. A survey from Logansport to the mouth of the Tippecanoe river was ordered, as well as a survey of a route down White river.

The agitation concerning the Ohio end of the canal was a source of worry to the Indiana enthusiasts. Ohio seemed to be very slow about taking up the proposition. Indiana, accordingly, February 1, 1834, [Ind. Laws, 1833-4, Ch. 152, pp. 359-360] passed a joint resolution by which she gave up claims to lands in the State of Ohio granted to Indiana by Congress, on the following conditions:

1. The State of Ohio must construct, keep in repair, and maintain a canal of given dimensions to remain a public highway.
2. No excess toll would be exacted of this particular canal.
3. Ohio must complete her portion before March 2, 1837.
4. Ohio to accept these terms and conditions, and notify the Governor of Indiana by March 31, 1834.

Ohio had started several improvements of her own, and she hesitated upon entering another huge undertaking. She finally accepted the compact of February 1, and the last of her surveys having been taken and the route settled, the contract for her portion was let in 1836. [Doc. Journal, No. 2, p. 2, 1837.]

In the meantime Indiana had gone ahead in her work. The first ground was broken at Fort Wayne, [Cass County Times, Logansport, March, 1832] February 22, 1832, and by 1834, a "small part had been completed and the first canal boat launched. The first section of thirty-two miles, from Fort Wayne to Hunt-

ington, was opened July 4, 1835." [House Journals, 20th Session, p. 12.] The cost of this portion was \$232,000. [Cockrum, A Pioneer History of Indiana, p. 535.]

It was at this stage of the game that Indiana began to grow reckless. During the period of the canal experiment, reports of the success of internal improvements in general in New York and Ohio began to make the people in Indiana anxious to keep in line. The sentiment seemed to prevail that if a little was a good thing, it would pay to take a long chance and do the thing up brown. Accordingly, in 1835, the result of the increased agitation became focused in the Legislature in the shape of the "Mammoth Bill," so-called because of the gigantic operations for which it provided. In fact, it was a system of State-wide internal improvements, with an estimated cost of \$5,910,000. These proposed works included an extension of the Wabash and Erie canal from the Tippecanoe river to Lafayette, and a perfect network of roads, turnpikes, canals, etc. The bill was left over till the next session in order to gather information concerning it.

The summer campaign became wrapped up in the internal improvement question. While the State was later accused of entering foolhardily into something with her eyes shut, yet the question was discussed pro and con as no other question had been. The improvement issue was hard fought. Because of the fact that every part of the State was affected and interested in the outcome, no sectionalism could be sprung. The main question for final consideration was whether the new railroads would ever supercede the canals. That was where the difficulty lay, to be found out many years later. At that time the expense of operating the crude type of locomotive seemed to shut out forever the possibility of the railroad becoming a dividend producer.

The elections over and the Legislature in session the following winter, the question of internal improvements was transferred to the halls of the Legislature. On January 27, 1836, was enacted into law the famous Internal Improvement Act. [Laws, 1835-6, Ch. 2. Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub., Vol. II, p. 19.] This act provided for:

1. Whitewater canal, and a connection between it and the Central canal by canal, if practicable, if not, by railroad.

2. Central canal.

3. An extension of the Wabash and Erie canal from the mouth of the Tippecanoe river to Terre Haute, and thence to connect with the Central canal.

4. A railroad from Madison, via Indianapolis to Lafayette.

5. A macadamized turnpike from New Albany to Vincennes.

6. A railroad, if practicable, if not, a macadamized road from Jeffersonville, via New Albany and Salem to Crawfordsville.

7. The removal of obstructions to navigation of the Wabash river, between its mouth and Vincennes.

8. The Erie and Michigan canal or railroad.

The bill went through the House with a vote of sixty-five to eighteen, and through the Senate by a safe two-thirds. The Speaker of the House had called attention to the seriousness of the act, and Governor Noble had recommended an expenditure of ten million dollars toward the improvement movement. [Doc. Journals, 1837-8; Gov. Message, Dec., 1836.] The bill, which met with the favor of public sentiment, created a Board of Internal Improvements, consisting of nine members, appointed by the Governor, three of whom should have their terms expire every third year. At this point one should consider the method of the work, so that an intelligent understanding of the progress of the work can be had. The method of appointing each commissioner to superintend a certain portion of the entire system led to rivalry between them. Every one wanted his locality to be benefited first, and wanted the approval of his community by securing a speedy completion of his local part. Thus we can see the handwriting on the wall for the entire system.

Cockrum, [Cockrum, Hist. of Ind., Ch. 23, p. 533] in his opening statement on the canal question, says: "If the wise counsel of Governor Hendricks in his message to the Legislature in 1822 had been followed, a great misfortune to the financial interests of the State would have been averted and a great many of the attempted improvements would have been finished and become paying properties, from which the State would have derived a handsome

revenue, as other States, which were more careful in the construction of their public works, did. Instead of attempting to construct ten or twelve expensive works at the same time, if there had been two or three of these carried to completion and placed in condition to be operated, all that were needed of the many which were attempted to be constructed would have been finished. It was proved to the satisfaction of all that many of these properties would have become paying investments." [Cockrum, Hist. of Ind., Ch. 23, p. 533.]

However, the work went merrily on. The Wabash and Erie canal was completed to Wabash, July 4, 1837. The section between Wabash and Peru was opened the same month. Logansport was reached September, 1839, while the original terminus, the Tippecanoe, was reached in 1841. [J. H. U. Series, No. 21, p. 56.] The bill of 1836 had provided for the extension of the Wabash and Erie canal from the mouth of the Tippecanoe to Terre Haute, one hundred and four miles, and the first section as far as Lafayette was finished July 4, 1843. The estimate of the entire extension was \$1,500,000, but the total amount expended was only \$408,855, no work being done below Lafayette. [Cockrum, History of Indiana, p. 538.]

The Whitewater Canal Company was incorporated January 21, 1826, [Laws, 1825-6, Ch. 21, pp. 29-36] with a capital stock of 40,000 shares, of \$25 each. Provisions were made for organizing, and the company was permitted to appropriate the lands and materials of other persons. The laborers on the canal were excused from all military duty. The canal was to start near Lawrenceburg, thence to the county of Wayne, and thence to the Wabash river near Fort Wayne. The width of the canal was to be at least forty feet at the bottom, and must be commenced in two years. This time was later extended. [Laws, Jan. 23, 1827.] In the general improvement system bill of 1836, the Whitewater canal was taken up.

The route was fixed as "connecting on the west branch of the Whitewater river, at the crossing of the National Road, thence passing down the valley of the same to the Ohio river at Lawrenceburg, and extending up the said west branch of the White-

water above the National Road as far as may be practicable; also, a connection between the said Whitewater canal and the Central canal, by canal, if practicable; if not, by railroad." [Laws, 1835-6, Ch. 2, p. 7.] An appropriation of \$1,400,000 was made. Provision was made whereby, if Ohio should refuse to build that portion of the canal which ran within her limits, a railroad should be built along the State boundary between the two points.

The little town buzzed with importance on September 13, 1836, when the contracts for the various sections were let, under the auspices of the State, at Brookville. By 1839, about one-half of the work between Brookville and Cambridge and the entire canal of thirty-one miles from Brookville to the Ohio river was completed. The work cost \$1,099,867, while the rents and tolls had been \$9,902.41. [Laws, 1841-2, Ch. 8, pp. 37-45.]

On January 20, 1842, the Legislature chartered the Whitewater Valley Canal Company, with a capital stock of \$400,000. The State ceded her interest in the Whitewater canal because of the pecuniary embarrassment of the State of Indiana, which had caused an entire suspension of all operations on the canal for about two and a half years. Further reason was given as, "the cost of superintendence and repair upon that portion of said canal now finished, exceeds the entire income from both tolls and water rents, and is an annual tax upon the State Treasury, and likely to so continue, if left in its present condition, . . . and, whereas, an immense amount of work done upon and materials supplied for the said canal are rapidly going to destruction, and will soon be quite useless, unless said canal is soon completed at a large additional expense." [Laws, 1841-2, Ch. 8, pp. 37-45.]

The Whitewater Valley Canal Company took charge of the improvement, and, under the private enterprise, finished the canal through Laurel and Connersville as far as the National Road in Cambridge City in October, 1843. The total cost was \$743,000. [Ind. Mag. of Hist., Vol. V. No. 4, p. 164.] The old canal can still be seen as one goes down the main street in Cambridge City.

The Hagerstown Canal Company was incorporated February

15, 1841. [Laws, 1840-1.] By 1847 this company completed the canal from Cambridge City to Hagerstown. We are told that this canal soon fell into disuse except "as a source of water power."

The Central canal was to commence "at the most suitable point on the Wabash and Erie canal between Fort Wayne and Logansport, running thence to Muncietown, thence to Indianapolis, thence down the West Fork of White river to its junction with the East Fork of said river, and thence by the most practicable route to Evansville on the Ohio." [Laws, 1835-6, Ch. 2, pp. 7-8.] Provision was made, however, that if more practicable, the board should "select the lower Pipe creek route in the line north from Indianapolis, then and in that case, a feeder shall commence at Muncietown and communicate with said Central canal at some convenient point on same. For the construction of which Central canal and navigable feeder, the sum of \$3,500,000 is hereby appropriated." [Laws, 1835-6, Ch. 2, pp. 7-8.]

The Central canal was to be two hundred and ninety miles in length. The work was "completed from Broad Ripple to Indianapolis in the spring of 1839, and the water was turned into it. It was formally opened on June 27, 1839." [Indianapolis Journal, Aug. 12, 1900, p. 16, c. 4.] This was the only portion finished, though a "great deal of work was done between Indianapolis and Wabashtown, and the canal was almost completed from Indianapolis to the bluffs of White river when the Board of Internal Improvements failed." [Ind. Mag. of Hist., Vol. V, No. 4, p. 165.] The canal was finally sold "for \$2,400 to Shoup, Newman and Rariden, of New York, who assigned their purchase to one Cromwell, and a deed was made to him by the Legislature." [Indianapolis Journal, Aug. 12, 1900, p. 16, c. 4.] After passing through several transfers, the Indianapolis Waterworks Company bought it, in whose possession it still remains,—a remnant and silent souvenir of one of the greatest movements that Indiana ever attempted for the public progress and prosperity.

The Internal Improvement Act of 1836 further provided for a "survey and estimate to be made of a canal, if practicable, if not a railroad, from the Wabash and Erie canal at or near Fort Wayne,

by the way of Goshen and South Bend, and Laporte, if practicable, to Lake Michigan, at or near Michigan City, to be called the Erie and Michigan canal, or railroad; said route to be kept within the limits of the State. [Laws, 1835-6, Ch. 2, p. 9.]

The Erie and Michigan canal never got much farther than the paper stage, for it was never completed. The Legislature provided for a loan of not more than \$10,000,000, on a credit of twenty-five years, at not more than 5 per cent. interest. [Laws, 1835-6, Ch. 2, p. 9.] Several routes were surveyed and in turn rejected as infeasible. In the Auditor's report, October 31, 1852, the total expenditures made on the route was \$160,708.87. Attached to it was the laconic notation, "There have been no receipts." [Doc. Journals, Reports, 1852, p. 87.] The only portion of the work available was the water power at the Northport feeder dam, which, by an act of the Legislature, was conveyed to Noble county for school purposes. [Doc. Journals, Reports, 1852, p. 87.] Thus ended that canal.

The Eel River Crosscut canal, which was to extend from the Wabash and Erie canal at Terre Haute to the Central canal at the waters of Eel river, became a section of the Central canal.

The report of the Auditor of State, October 31, 1852, was as follows:

COST.

Central Canal, Northern division.....	\$ 889,067.94
Erie and Michigan	160,708.87
Wabash and Erie, east of Tippecanoe..	3,055,268.97
Wabash and Erie, west of Tippecanoe..	1,245,290.54
Eel River Crosscut, up to July 1, 1847..	436,189.88
Central Canal, Southern division.....	575,646.49
Wabash and Erie	9,169.94
	\$6,371,342.63
Total cost	\$6,371,342.63

RECEIPTS.

Central Canal, Northern division.....	\$ 20,756.00
Wabash and Erie, east of Tippecanoe..	1,174,611.83
Wabash and Erie, west of Tippecanoe.	526,847.61
	\$1,722,215.44
Total receipts	\$1,722,215.44

Excess expenditures over receipts.....	4,649,127.19
Excess expenditures, Whitewater Canal	1,092,373.63
	<hr/>
Total excess of expenditures over receipts on these works.....	\$5,741,500.82

The Legislature authorized the survey of the East Fork canal from Richmond, in Wayne county, along the valley of the East Fork of Whitewater to intersect the Whitewater canal at or near Brookville, in Franklin county. [Laws, 1836-7, Ch. 21, p. 74.] The Board of Internal Improvements were directed to use the State engineers on this survey, who were working on the other parts of the works of the State.

Colonel Torbet, the engineer, in his report says: "Richmond, situated at the head of navigation, with its vast water power, extensive capital and enterprising inhabitants, might become the Pittsburg of Indiana. . . . The stock subscription for this Richmond-Brookville canal was opened April 21, 1839. The Richmond Palladium of April 27, 1839, states that Franklin, Union, and Wayne counties had taken \$215,000 worth of stock, of which \$50,000 was taken by Richmond." [Laws, 1836-7.]

Bids were let in 1839. About one and a half miles of excavation was made near Richmond, and some similar excavations were made near Fairfield. The only use made of any of this work was when Leroy Marsh erected a gristmill on one portion near Richmond. This mill was still in operation a few years ago.

It is also interesting to note that in 1818, January 28, the Legislature incorporated the Jeffersonville-Ohio Canal Company. [Laws, 1817-8, Ch. 27, pp. 57-67.] The charter was granted because of obstructions in the Ohio river near the Great Falls. Right was also granted "to raise by lottery, a sum not exceeding \$100,000, and the money thus raised (after defraying all the necessary expenses) shall be divided into two equal moieties," one moiety going to the State and by the State applied to the purchasing of the stock of the company, and the other moiety going to the company toward completing the canal. On January 22, 1820, the State purchased two hundred shares of the capital stock of the company. [Laws, 1819-20, pp. 135-6.]

The Jeffersonville and New Albany Canal Company was incorporated February 8, 1836, [Laws, 1835-6, Ch. 59, pp. 240-5] with a capital stock of \$600,000, of \$100 shares, with the purpose of "going around the falls of the Ohio river in the State of Indiana."

The Wabash and Maumee Canal Company was another mushroom organization incorporated February 10, 1841, with a capital stock of \$50,000, in \$50 shares. [Laws, 1840-1, pp. 88-90.] This was organized to construct a "canal at a point where the Maumee and Barren creeks form a marsh in the county of Gibson, thence to a point on the Wabash river at or near the Crooked bayou."

In the report of the engineer in 1835, we also find that a Michigan and Wabash canal had been proposed. The engineer gives the results of the surveys of the southern and northern routes for the proposed canal. [Doc. Journals, Reports, 1835.]

Again, we find that the Warren County Canal Company was incorporated January 15, 1844. [Local Laws, 1843-4, Ch. 16, pp. 31-35.] This company was given power to unite the Wabash and Erie canal with the Wabash river in Warren county. Nothing was ever accomplished. We find also that in 1828 the Legislature passed an "Act to establish a canal to connect the navigable waters of the Wabash river with the navigable waters of the Miami of Lake Erie." [Laws, 1827-8, Ch. 7, pp. 10-12.]

Several minor companies tried to establish local canal propositions, but they were all doomed to a premature death and are not worthy of mention. These many companies were never of any real import to the public weal.

The State debt had increased to enormous amounts, and in 1845 the State was confronted by two problems of vast and far-reaching importance,—that of completing the Wabash and Erie canal, and that of managing the State debt. [J. H. U. Series, No. 21, p. 63.] These two problems were so interconnected that they needed to be settled together.

In order to protect their interests, the dissatisfied creditors in both Europe and America appointed Mr. Charles Butler as their agent. He investigated the conditions and framed a plan whereby the bondholders might realize on their investments. "Pay us

by your State tax and otherwise a portion of the interest on your public debt, and we shall be willing to look to the revenues of the canal (Wabash and Erie) for the balance," was his plea. [J. H. U. Series, No. 21, p. 65.]

After the most strenuous effort on the part of Butler, the Legislature finally passed the "Butler Bill," [Laws, Jan. 16, 1846] as it was popularly called. It was in two parts. The State agreed to pay the interest and ultimately the principal of the one part out of taxation. The creditors agreed to look to the revenues of the Wabash and Erie canal for the interest and principal of the other half. [J. H. U. Series, No. 21, p. 71.] The canal was then turned over to a board of trustees, one of whom should be chosen by the Legislature and the other two by the bondholders. The provisions of the bill merely placed the canal in trust for the benefit of the bondholders and did not turn it over completely to them, as has erroneously been supposed.

Mr. Charles Butler was chosen president of the board at its first meeting in May, 1847. The canal was formally turned over to the trustees July 1, 1847. [Doc. Journal, Part 2, No. 11, 1847.] In 1853 it was finished to its Ohio river terminus at Evansville, with a total length of 459 miles. The reports of the trustees show that the canal was prosperous from 1847 to 1856, but from the latter date the tolls began to diminish. In 1852, the tolls and water rents reached the high mark of \$193,400.18. [Doc. Journal, 1852.]

In 1874 the canal was abandoned, and on February 12, 1877, the court ordered the canal to be sold in order to satisfy the suit of some Indiana bondholders. Speculators purchased the right of way and lands, but no attempt was made to repair and maintain the canal. [J. H. U. Series, No. 21, p. 87.] The canal became disused and ruined and soon became ossified as a money-making institution.

Many reasons have been advanced as to why the canal system failed. While local conditions entered into the question; while the State attempted too many things at once and could thereby concentrate her efforts on no one improvement; while the season of successful use of the canal for transportation was only about

eight months of the year and therefore it must lie idle the rest of the time; while the interference of storm and weather caused delays of weeks at a time, thus proving a great annoyance and often a money loss; while all these things tended to work against the success of the canal, yet with it all we can see that the canal was but one step in the evolution of the transportation facilities of the country. It was a cog in the wheel of progress.

The canal was no longer sufficient to meet the needs of business activities. The railroad era begun to dawn. The Wabash and Erie canal was paralleled by the Wabash railroad. Products could be transported cheaper, swifter, and with less likelihood of delay, by the railroads than by water. Competition has ever encouraged speed, safety and cheapness in transportation, and the canal era was doomed from the economic standpoint.

As an illustration of the growth in the means of transportation, the writer was vividly impressed in a recent visit to the little town of Andrews, situated midway between Huntington and Wabash. In his boyhood days he used to play along the old towpath bordering the half-filled portions of the Wabash and Erie canal which ran parallel to the Wabash river. On the opposite side of the river ran the Wabash railroad. On the recent trip, he reached his destination by riding on a through car of the Wabash Valley Traction Company. The track of this line was built on the old towpath of the canal. There lies the representation of a history itself. The river is still doing business at the old stand, but is no longer used at that point for transportation in boats and canoes, as was the case in the days of the pioneers. The old canal bed can still be discerned at points as a memoir to the early struggle for development of the State. The railroad [Wabash Valley Railroad completed to Lafayette, June 20, 1856. J. H. U. Series, No. 21, p. 78] is a living monument to one of the prime essentials of the nation's prosperity.

As a final step in the present methods of easy and convenient transportation, especially in a local way, the traction line is plying its business upon the crumpled ruins of the almost forgotten canal beds. In this evolution, the survival of the fittest takes place as

in all other lines, and the fittest is that which meets the existing needs of the country.

Recent agitation has sprung up for a new canal system. The first annual convention of the Indiana Branch of the Rivers and Harbors Congress met at Indianapolis, January 21 and 22, 1908, for discussion on this project. This is a question in itself, however, and, like the railroad question, cannot be treated in this paper. "There are two things to be kept in mind in regard to this agitation," said Governor Marshall in an interview with the writer, "and they are: (1) you must have a ditch of the proper dimensions before business can be transacted, and (2) you must have the water to fill it." That is the essence of the situation. In this question, the conservation of natural resources will play a prominent part. It is reasonable to suppose that, with the deforestation of the State, the length of seasonable navigation will be apt to be less than it was in the forties and fifties. An appropriation bill in the United States Congress for a canal connecting Lake Michigan and Lake Erie was recently defeated, though this is the most favorable and reasonable canal that Indiana could build.

Thus we have traced the history of the canal era in the State of Indiana from its conception, through its inauguration, through its many trials, failures and partial successes. We have seen the mistakes that were made and the "what might have beens," and we have noticed that the downfall was certain. And yet, we should not say that the canals were a complete failure. On the other hand, let us rather compare them to the outgrown dress of the State's growth and development.

HISTORY TO ORDER.

BY GEORGE S. COTTMAN.

IT is pretty well understood by those who have undertaken it that the attempt to write honest and useful history on a commercial basis, as most literature is supposed to be produced, is worse than discouraging. One is not even in the category with the poet and the philosopher in this respect. If these rise above a certain standard they stand a chance of a recognition that means remuneration, for there is really a large sprinkling of people who know good poetry and good philosophy. The discrimination as to values in history is by no means so wide. Readableness is the first requisite; truth is quite secondary, and hence there is slim chance for a money compensation commensurate with the historian's slow, onerous toil as he burrows mole-like through documentary darkness. Hence, again, it is that a large proportion of our writers of histories (meaning reputable histories) are men who can "afford" to indulge their talent. Either they are blessed with a competence which places them above the daily needs, or, as more frequently happens, their history is, so to speak, a by-product of a paying vocation that is tributary to it, such as a chair of history in a college. It is to such as these that we must, as a rule, look for our painstaking, searching studies that require time with nothing to distract, and that do not demand direct compensation. He who does not enjoy some such advantage, no matter what his aptitude, is, to say the least, sadly handicapped and crippled. One does not have to go beyond the local field to find this illustrated. The father of Indiana history, John B. Dillon, managed to produce one book that will give him a place of honor in our annals so long as those annals survive. The price he paid for his work makes him the most pathetic figure in our history. A gentle, kindly, lonely old man, who never knew wife or child, he died in a barren room wholly alone and with every evidence that worry and want, and even the need of food and medicines hastened his departure. Not Otway's starving in

his garret was more tragic. William Wesley Woollen's book of biographies, which has never been adequately appreciated, was a labor of love that never paid the printer. If there has been one Indiana writer more than another whom nature intended for a historian of the higher order, it is Jacob Piatt Dunn. His historical output for years has been two or three volumes and a few intermittent short studies worked out as other business permitted. In contributions of a yet more local character, an occasional reminiscent pioneer, with a genuine interest in the times of which he was a part, has made some contribution of real value, but these too, have all been works of love.

And yet in spite of all this, we find that the publishing of local history goes industriously and prosperously on, as any one may see if he will but consult certain fast-filling shelves in the State Library, where the gilt-edged, opulent-looking tomes are being added just now with particular rapidity. In short, there are at least two large publishing companies, each with an organized corps of men in the field, whose business it is to see that every (paying) corner of our fair State be rescued from oblivion. The State is worked by counties, and the counties selected are, naturally, those richest not in historic interest but in well-to-do farmers and hustling, booming business men. To the publishers the historical portion of the work is, as a rule, less than secondary, its chief value being its service in giving title and pretense to the book. Occasionally there is found in a county an old-time resident who is competent to write a history of it, of more or less value, but where such a chronicler is not available a stock man or professional compiler is put into the field who has a happy faculty for scraping together fragments and rounding them into readable form in the expeditious style of one who can make good as a space-filler. A manager of one of these firms informs me that he has a man of this sort who is a "cracker jack." A short sojourn in any locality, be it in Indiana or Maine or California, is all that is necessary in order for him to write a "history." The gentleman so boasting was quite innocently unconscious of any absurdity on his part. His sense of fitness was much like that of the hustler engaged in the business of publishing religious books who, with

an eye to something popular, called for a "bright and snappy life of Christ." His idea of a history was the loose, unconfirmed local traditions compiled in undigested form with a view to readability and flattering appeals to prospective purchasers of the work. Evidently he had no idea whatever of what a local history ought to be, of the exact relation between its value and its truthfulness, and of the difficulties in getting at the truth. He knew nothing, evidently, of the arduous search for light and sources that must attend even so small a thing as the history of a county; of the ransacking of courthouses, of the careful sifting of material and the trained historic judgment requisite to pierce to a historic truth or probability. He knew nothing of historic values and probably cared less, for they were not in his line, which was to publish a book for money. I am not blaming him any more than I would blame that other man for wanting the "snappy life," and I only cite him to illustrate how difficult it is for poor Clio to come unto her own, and what ignominy she has to suffer.

But, as said above, these histories are but a secondary part of the work that are issued in their name. A history of a locality, no matter what its quality, commands more interest than a mere book of indiscriminate biographies, but the biographies are, from the publishers' viewpoint, the all-important part of the work and the history merely a floater. The foundation of the whole publishing scheme is a certain pitiful human vanity out of which the shrewd publisher makes capital. The select four hundred of his grouping are those who, for the sake of a page or so about themselves, will subscribe for the work at a figure ranging, I am informed, from ten to twenty dollars. How adequately a community is represented by a discrimination so determined may be imagined. On the theory that every man is more or less a human document, even this kind of biography, however, might be of value if it were done with an honest regard for truth, but our astute publisher doubtless knows better than to invalidate his business by harboring senseless ideals. He is skilled psychologist enough to know that what his patrons hunger and thirst for first of all is something flattering—something that will hypnotize a man into the belief that he is in the public eye, that will make him

feel good while he is alive and look well after he is dead. The corps of workers is trained accordingly. The man who does the interviewing collects from the subject all the nice things that he can and the man who writes the "biography" from these works in the "taffy" with the touch of an artist. The direct, dignified style that obtains in a high class biographical work would not be tolerated for a moment. Stock virtues and honors are tacked onto the subject wherever possible. He must by all means be a "prominent citizen," and the merits monotonously attributed to him are such as folks on a certain plane think everybody ought to have.

Lest, however, a continuance of the subject should lead me into crotchets, it may be as well abruptly to discontinue it. After all, there is no remedy to be suggested, and it may be that after a fashion the commercial history publisher is doing a sort of service. I only wished to call attention to history "as she is wrote."

“OLD TIPPECANOE.”

BY W. H. MYERS.

ON last Decoration Day, when the whole country was paying its homage to the dead heroes, I visited the tomb of General William Henry Harrison, at North Bend, Ohio, and was grieved at the lack of attention this great man received.

Here was the grave of the ninth President of the United States—the great warrior who whipped that cunning Indian leader, Tecumseh, at Tippecanoe, and forever broke up the Indian depredations in this territory.

There were no flowers, not even a flag, until the writer placed a small one in a crevice of his old-fashioned brick vault.

It is a shame that this once beautiful spot should be so sadly neglected and forgotten.

The old vault is fast falling into decay. It is overgrown with rank weeds, that are not even cut. Surely such is not a fitting resting place for a President of the United States—a great Indian fighter—a governor of the great Northwest Territory—the man who made it possible for the white settlers to remain in this territory.

This tomb is located on a commanding knoll at North Bend, Ohio, in full view of the site of his famous old “Log Cabin” residence. It is an ideal place for a magnificent monument that would commemorate this great man, but here it is practically neglected and uncared for, seemingly forgotten.

Unless you were acquainted, you would not know who rested therein. There is not a single mark on the tomb so to indicate.

As a boy I always had a great deal of admiration for “Old Tippecanoe,” and how my boyish heart would swell with pride when the steamboats on the Ohio river would salute as they passed by. It has always been my wish and desire to see his burial place surmounted by a suitable monument, but it would appear that the country has entirely forgotten him.

Is it time that the people of the United States be advised of this

state of affairs and brought to a proper realization of the debt they owe General Harrison, particularly the people of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

This historical spot should be preserved. Many others with not half the wealth of history have been taken in hand by the government and societies, but this one remains unnoticed.

Close by this tomb was established the first settlement between the Miami rivers, in the great Symmes Purchase. Symmes City was founded in 1788 by Judge John Cleves Symmes, who purchased the territory between the two Miami rivers.

Just to the west is that famous old landmark, Old Fort Hill, with its ancient fortifications, erected long before the Indian, at the mouth of the Great Miami.

Just to the east, along Indian Creek, are the ruins of the first grist mill erected in this territory.

Along the brows of the adjacent hills are the remains of the immense apple and peach orchards set out by General Harrison.

This, the scene of many a bitter battle between the white settlers and the wily red man, seems to have been forgotten entirely; all over the country we see historic spots made into parks, yet this passes neglected.

The commanding site of this old tomb could not be better adapted for a fitting tribute to the memory of "Old Tippecanoe." It is a beautiful knoll, were it put in shape, with the broad Ohio river at the foot. Here the river makes a grand sweep to the south. Standing on this knoll, you can see up this beautiful valley for five miles, and down the river for two miles. It is one of the most picturesque spots I have ever had the pleasure of viewing. It is within easy distance of Cincinnati, and can be reached by electric trolley and two railroads. It would be an ideal place for a national park.

President Harrison rests in a common brick vault with a rusty iron door, with several members of his family, one of them being John Scott Harrison, his son, the father of Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, but there is not a single thing to inform the public that he lies within.

Near by, in the "Old Congress Green," lie the remains of Judge

John Cleves Symmes and other members of President Harrison's family.

To the east stood the famous "Log Cabin" of General Harrison. Some of the old orchard trees are still standing, and the writer picked a green pear from one of them recently. To the north, in the present limits of the village of Cleves, are the remains of the mansion of Judge Symmes, facing the Great Miami river.

General Harrison stood high in the esteem of his countrymen. The Legislature of Kentucky, after the battle of Tippecanoe, passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That Governor Harrison had behaved like a hero, a patriot and general, and that for his cool, deliberate, skillful and gallant conduct in the battle of Tippecanoe, he well deserves the thanks of the nation."

General Harrison was distinguished by a generosity and liberal feeling. With ample opportunity for amassing immense wealth, he disdained to use his public situations for private emolument. He was too rigidly honest to permit himself to engage in speculation, and his chivalry was too sensitive to permit him to use the time belonging to his country for private benefit. After nearly fifty years' devotion to his duties, for the good of his country, he left at his death but little more to his family than the inheritance of an unsullied reputation.

Why then should not the people of this great and glorious nation, for whom he devoted his life, remember him in a fitting manner? It has built magnificent monuments to less deserving.

AN IMPORTANT FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.

AN interesting pamphlet has recently been secured by the State Library, entitled, "The South Bend Fugitive Slave Case, involving the Right to a Writ of Habeas Corpus," published at New York, and "For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 48 Beekman St.," dated 1851. The immediate occasion of the pamphlet was a suit by George Norris, of Boone county, Kentucky, against Leander B. Newton and others, of South Bend, Indiana. From the pamphlet it appears that George Norris claimed to have been the owner of a negro, David Powell, and his wife, Lucy, and their children. According to his story, these negroes, who had been allowed large freedom of movement, disappeared on October 9, 1847. After searching for them in various places in Indiana, Norris claimed to have discovered them living in a negro settlement in Michigan. Norris and his associates surprised the family in the absence of the man and took the woman and three sons and drove off with them. At South Bend the party was overtaken by pursuers, who secured and served a writ. In the trial before the county court by which the writ was issued, the negroes were ordered released. Meanwhile, however, Norris had secured a writ from the United States court and held the negroes prisoners by force and display of weapons until they were taken into custody. Action was then brought against Norris for this display of arms and threats (this action was afterward dismissed) and a writ of habeas corpus for the release of the negroes secured, and the next court day, Norris failing to appear, the local court ordered the negroes released, which was done in the presence of all the other interested parties.

Norris later (December 21, 1849) brought suit in the United States Circuit Court, District of Indiana, against Leander B. Newton and others, of South Bend, these parties being those involved in the release of the negroes on writ of habeas corpus, to recover damages for the loss of the negroes. The case was tried before Judge McLean in May, 1850, and, in accordance with the instructions of the judge, the jury returned a verdict of \$2,856

damages against the defendants. The pamphlet utters a vigorous protest against this decision and the principles involved in it. Added interest is given the case by the fact that it occurred during the agitation and discussion that led up to the Compromise of 1850, one of the more important items of which was the Fugitive Slave law, compelling the Federal officials to take charge of the return of fugitive negroes and putting the whole matter almost entirely into the hands of the Federal courts.

THE INDIANA CENTENNIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM BUILDING: TWO DOCUMENTS.

1. The statement of the case. A circular issued by the State Librarian and the Indiana Historical Society.

A PLEA FOR AN INDIANA STATE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM BUILDING AS A PERMANENT MEMO- RIAL FOR THE CENTENNIAL OF INDIANA'S STATEHOOD — 1816-1916.

WHY NOT?

Indiana ought to celebrate the centennial of her admission as a State in 1916. Everybody admits that, but how? Expositions are overdone, and nearly every recent one has been a costly failure. Moreover, they are temporary only—a sensation for a few weeks, and then only a memory. Why not celebrate by a permanent memorial monument of some kind?

The State Capitol is badly overcrowded by its permanent occupants. The Legislature is hindered in its work by want of committee rooms. This trouble increases yearly as the State grows. Why not make the centennial memorial monument a building that will relieve the pressure on the Capitol?

The two things in the State Capitol most easily removed, and least connected with the business offices, are the State Library and the State Museum. They occupy more room than any other departments, and yet they are so crowded that they have been forced to refuse donations. They are devoted to the preservation of the history of the State—one its written history, the other its battle-flags, historical relics of war and peace, etc. Why not make the Centennial Memorial Building a place for these two, and build up a great free historical museum for the people of the future?

By adopting this plan we shall always have something to show for our money, instead of having a legacy of debt to wrangle over, as has been the case with most recent expositions. We will have something that will be a perpetual source of pleasure and profitable information to all visitors to the State's capital. Can

you think of anything that would be more lastingly popular? Then why not?

RESOLUTIONS OF THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Whereas, There is a general feeling of the citizens of the State that Indiana should appropriately celebrate the centennial anniversary of her admission to the Union, and the great significance of this event is historical; and

Whereas, The State's chief agencies for the preservation of her history are the State Library, in which are preserved the printed and written records of her history, and the State Museum, in which are preserved the battle-flags and other mementoes of the deeds of her people in war and peace, the specimens of her native flora and fauna, and other historic material of great interest to the people of the State; and

Whereas, In the overcrowded condition of the State Capitol both of these institutions are impeded in their proper work, and in some cases have been obliged to refuse donations, on account of lack of space for their care, of material that is liable to be lost for lack of place of keeping;

Resolved, That the General Assembly be requested to prepare for such centennial celebration by provision at its coming session for an adequate permanent building, on grounds adjacent to the State Capitol, for the housing of the State Library and State Museum, and other agencies devoted to the preservation of historical material.

Resolved, further, That all citizens of the State who believe that Indiana has a history in which her people may take a just pride and who feel that it should be carefully preserved and handed down to all future generations, be requested to use their influence now to have such preparation made that said proposed Centennial Memorial Building may be erected and prepared for dedication by December 11, 1916.

THE STATE GEOLOGIST.

Indiana is replete with natural resources such as attract the man with limited capital. Indiana has invited investment in

brick, tile, stone, cement, coal and pottery plants, all drawing their raw materials from our State's inexhaustible store, and, with few exceptions, these investments have given good returns.

The advertising encouragement and impetus given these investments are largely the work of the Department of Geology and Natural Resources of the State of Indiana. Along with the economic phase of the work, a proper balance has been maintained with the scientific or scholastic demands of the State. Extensive surveys of the natural history of the State—the fauna and flora—have been maintained, and there are now in progress exhaustive surveys of soils and water-power sites of the State, which will be completed in the next two to four years.

The soil survey will be of greatest importance to the farming interests of the State, and the water-power problem, when completed, will be of inestimable value to the people generally.

With all of this, the Department of Geology, and the State Museum—the people's greatest advertising mediums for its natural resources—are inadequately supplied with room for the proper conduct of its work. Hundreds and thousands of dollars' worth of maps, charts, plates, records and specimens, that should be properly displayed or made a part of the State's permanent history, are now stored in the basement of the State House for want of room and space where people can see and examine them.

For the above reasons and many others we could give, there is an imperative necessity for a suitable building adjacent to the State House for the housing of the Department of Geology and the State Library. From an economic standpoint, if from no other, the State can well afford to invest in additional room for these departments, and we urge the present Legislature to appropriate the means to bring this about.

EDWARD BARRETT.

WAYNE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Resolved, That the Wayne County Historical Society heartily concurs in the movement for the erection at Indianapolis of a suitable building, at the State's expense, for the accommodation of the State Library, and the the several educational, historical and scientific associations of the State; and

That we deem the time opportune and the need urgent enough to demand its immediate and careful consideration by the General Assembly.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY.

The History Club of Indiana University passed the following resolution:

As an appropriate method of celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of Indiana's admission to the Union, a Memorial Building should be erected by the State in Indianapolis, which will serve as the Library Building and Historical Museum, for the sake of preserving all the documents, papers and materials relating to the history of Indiana that may come into the possession of the State. Such a building, with its library equipment, would be a valuable educational center and a resort for students engaged in research.

Similar resolutions have been passed by the Indiana Library Trustees' Association, Indiana State Federation of Women's Clubs, Indiana Library Association, Indiana State Board of Education, and many others of the historical and scientific societies of the State.

Indiana is behind other States in the preservation of its history and in the care of its valuable relics and specimens of its natural resources. Other progressive States have already erected buildings for this purpose. Wisconsin has spent more than a million dollars on its State Historical Library Building; Connecticut has a new State Library Building; the New York State Library and Educational Departments will soon move into a \$4,000,000 building; Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa have either finished or are now finishing similar structures; the Pennsylvania State Library and Museum now have possession of the former State Capitol. The time is opportune for Indiana to provide for its Library and Museum. To do this by 1916, the present Legislature must take action.

DEMARCHUS C. BROWN,
State Librarian.

C. B. COLEMAN,
J. P. DUNN,
C. W. MOORES,

Committee of the Indiana Historical Society.

2. The law providing for the first step toward the building.

SENATE BILL No. 228.

A Bill for an Act Relating to the Celebration of the One-Hundredth Anniversary of the Admission of the State of Indiana into the Union by the Construction of a State Educational Building.

[Read the third time in the Senate and passed, February 7, 1911; ayes 37, noes 6. Passed with amendments in the House, passed as amended in the Senate, and signed by the Governor on March 1, 1911.]

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That there is hereby created a commission composed of five members as follows:

One holdover Senator appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor; one Representative appointed by the Speaker; the State Librarian, and two members appointed by the Governor. This commission shall be known as the Indiana Centennial Commission.

The members of the commission shall serve without compensation, but shall be allowed their necessary expenses while engaged in the business of the commission.

Any vacancy occurring in the commission shall be filled by appointment by the Governor, and any member may be removed by the Governor for cause.

Sec. 2. Within sixty days after this act takes effect, the commission shall meet, on the call of the Governor, at the State Capitol, and shall organize by electing a chairman and a secretary from among their number.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the commission to formulate plans for the celebration of the centennial of the admission of Indiana into the Union by the erection of a State building and its dedication in 1916, to be known as the Indiana Educational Building. The plan of such building shall provide for the proper housing of the State Library and Museum, Public Library Commission, and the educational and scientific offices of the State.

Sec. 4. The commission shall have the power to determine upon a site for such building; to take options upon the property necessary for the location of the building, and for the necessary

grounds surrounding such building, and bind the State for the payment of such options.

Sec. 5. The commission shall invite the competition of architects in the formulation of plans, and shall for that purpose advertise the fact that the commission is considering plans for a State Educational Building, in at least two newspapers of general circulation, for a period of two weeks, specifying the maximum cost of such building. The commission is empowered to employ such clerical assistants as may be necessary.

Sec. 6. The commission shall report to the General Assembly at its session in 1913, setting forth in detail the location of the proposed building and the cost of the grounds for such location, and the plans which may have been submitted for such building and the approximate cost thereof, together with recommendations as to the choice of the plans for such building, the ways and means for its construction, and such other matter as may aid the General Assembly in making the necessary appropriations and providing for the construction thereof by the commission, and its dedication in 1916 on the occasion of the centennial of the admission of Indiana into the Union.

Sec. 7. When the plans shall have been approved by the General Assembly and the necessary appropriations therefor have been made, the commission shall proceed to purchase the necessary grounds and to construct such building in such a manner and under such conditions as may be prescribed by the General Assembly.

Sec. 8. Said commission shall consult with the board of park commissioners of the city of Indianapolis, and the board of commissioners of the county of Marion, as to the purchase by the State of Indiana, the city of Indianapolis and the county of Marion of any real estate for such educational building and grounds, and accept, subject to the approval of the next General Assembly of the State, tentative proposals as to the proportional share of the cost of such property and the ownership thereof when so purchased, and shall report the same to the next General Assembly for its ratification or rejection.

Sec. 9. The sum of \$1,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated to carry out the provisions of this act.

JUDGE H. C. DUNCAN.

THE papers of the State announced the sudden death of Judge H. C. Duncan at his home in Bloomington, on January 30. Judge Duncan was one of the most widely known and respected citizens of Monroe county, and probably engaged longer in the practice of law there than any one else in the county. He has long been active in all public interests. He served in the army during the Civil War and has been at the head of the local interests of the Grand Army of the Republic.

In historical circles, Judge Duncan is known as one of the leaders in the Monroe County Historical Society. He contributed an article upon Austin Seward to the September, 1908, number (Vol IV, No. 3) of this magazine, and a year later an article of his upon Judge James Hughes (Vol. V, No. 3) was published. In both of these papers Judge Duncan showed a knowledge of the local history of the State and a sympathetic understanding of a type of life that is passing away among us, together with a literary skill that made him an honored member of the guild of historians. His death leaves us the poorer in the ability to recall and to describe the earlier life of our country.

BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

THE death of Benjamin S. Parker at his home in Newcastle on the 14th of March has taken from us one of the most honored contributors of this magazine. Mr. Parker has been more widely known for his poetry than for his interest in historical matter, but there are few men in the State who have had a deeper interest in our local history or have done more to advance its study and preservation. He himself has written quite a little on this theme. His articles upon Pioneer Life in each of the four numbers of the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History of Vol. III, 1907, and his sketches of Pioneer Features in the first number of Vol. IV, 1908, will be recalled by all our readers for their lively description of Central Indiana more than a half century ago. Mr. Parker was born in Henry county, February 10, 1833, and spent most of his life there. He retained a vivid recollection of manners and customs as well as of people. He was vitally interested in everything about him. He never courted popularity or fame, but always showed the most unaffected sympathy with the life about him. He lived in close touch with people, with nature, with places. It was this that made his poetry, though perhaps not great, absolutely genuine and well worth reading. It was this same quality that made him in taste and in influence an historian.

Mr. Parker was one of the promoters of the Henry County Historical Society, our most active county historical organization. The fine building which that society now occupies, its valuable collection of early agricultural and domestic implements, of books, and of other relics, are due probably as much as to his work as to that of any other man. He gave much of his time to these matters. One of the last meetings he attended was the conference of State and local historical societies held in connection with the gathering of the American Historical Society at Indianapolis during the Christmas holidays this winter. Though even then in declining health, he evinced the liveliest interest in the work of his own society and in the meeting of the national association. A few

weeks after his return home he became seriously ill and his death followed a lingering sickness of nearly two months. In the interest which he has stimulated in local history no less than in his writings, both poetry and prose, he has left an enduring legacy.

It is not necessary here to give full account of his long and useful life nor of his many activities. That has been and will be done elsewhere. But a short sketch may not be out of place. His early life was spent on a Henry county farm. Shortly after the Civil War he went into business at Lewisville. He taught school for some time in Henry and Rush counties, speaking frequently at educational, literary and religious gatherings. He studied law at one time but never practiced at the bar. He wrote a good deal for various newspapers, and from 1875 to 1882 was editor of the Mercury at Newcastle. He published several small collections of poetry at different times, his first volume, "The Lesson, and Other Poems," appearing in 1871, and his last, "Noontide," in 1905. Perhaps his best known poem was the "Cabin in the Clearing." Some of his work was included in Coggshell's "Poets and Poetry of the West" (1860.) He was the second president of the one-time celebrated Western Association of Writers.

In 1880, Mr. Parker was a Republican elector on the national election, and cast the official vote of his district for Garfield and Arthur. In 1882, he was appointed consul to Sherbrooke, Canada, and remained in office during the administration of Arthur. In 1900, he represented Henry county in the Indiana House of Representatives.

INDEX OF HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN INDIANA NEWSPAPERS.

DECEMBER, 1910—FEBRUARY, 1911

*PREPARED BY FLORENCE VENN,
Reference Librarian, Indiana State Library.*

Abbreviations: Ind., Indianapolis; mag. sec., magazine section; p., page; c., column.

- Birner, John. Death of St. Joseph county pioneer. South Bend Tribune, Jan. 23, 1911, p. 4, c. 3.
- Black Hawk war. Dr. Wishard recalls the assembling of militia at Indianapolis, Ind. News, Feb. 3, 1911, p. 9, c. 5.
- Boundaries. Indiana-Kentucky boundary affected by slavery question. Evansville Courier, Feb. 5, 1911, p. 5, c. 1.
- Chickamauga, Battle of. Some stories of the 84th infantry and 5th battery at Chickamauga. Ind. News, Jan. 27, 1911, p. 8, c. 3.
- Coffin, Rhoda. M. Reminiscences of early Wayne county. Richmond Item, Feb. 10, 1911, p. 4, c. 2.
- Confederate soldiers. Government proposes to erect bronze tablet to unidentified dead. Evansville Courier, Dec. 14, 1910, p. 5, c. 4.
- Constitution. Changed conditions since forming of constitution of 1851. South Bend Tribune, Feb. 20, 1911, p. 3, c. 1.
- Curry, William W. Sketch of life. Richmond Palladium, Feb. 16, 1911, p. 3, c. 1.
- Electric railways. First electric street-car line run in South Bend, South Bend Tribune, Feb. 11, 1911, p. 20, c. 1. Ind. News, Feb. 11, 1911, p. 13, c. 4.
- Evansville. Progress in the past decade. Evansville Courier, Jan. 1, 1911, p. 45, c. 4.
- History of interurbans in Evansville. Evansville Journal-News, Jan. 29, 1911. Interurban and manufacturers section, p. 1.
- Gas. Early gas fields and franchises in Delaware county. Muncie Press, Jan. 26, 1911, p. 4, c. 6.

- Governors. Dr. Wishard describes some that he has seen. Ind. News, Feb. 3, 1911, p. 9, c. 5.
- Hackleman, Pleasant A. A forgotten hero. Muncie Star, Jan. 2, 1911, p. 4, c. 5.
- Indiana. Pioneer drummer tells of runs made in early days. Ind. News, Dec. 29, 1910, p. 3, c. 6. Lafayette Courier, Jan. 4, 1911, p. 8, c. 2.
- Odd items of Indiana history found in old newspapers. Ind. News, Feb. 1, 1911, p. 4, c. 6. Evansville Journal News, Feb. 4, 1911, p. 5, c. 1.
- Indianapolis. Death of only surviving first settlers. Ind. Star, Feb. 17, 1911, p. 5, c. 5.
- Lincoln, Abraham. Isaac Jenkinson's recollections of him. Richmond Palladium, Feb. 14, 1911, p. 1, c. 1. Richmond Item, Feb. 14, 1911, p. 1, c. 7.
- Visit to Lafayette in 1861. Lafayette Courier, Feb. 11, 1911, p. 1, c. 4.
- Reminiscences. Ind. Star, Feb. 12, 1911, p. 14, c. 2. Muncie Star, Feb. 11, 1911, p. 4, c. 3.
- Visits to Indianapolis. Ind. Star, Feb. 12, 1911, mag. sec. p. 1. Terre Haute Star, Feb. 12, 1911, mag. sec. p. 1. Muncie Star, Feb. 12, 1911, sec. 2, p. 1.
- McCormick, Amos D. Death of only surviving first settler of Indianapolis. Ind. Star, Feb. 17, 1911, p. 5, c. 5.
- Story of his trip to Indianapolis in 1820. Ind. News, Feb. 17, 1911, p. 18, c. 4.
- Miami Indians. Will press old land claims. Ft. Wayne Journal-Gazette, Dec. 27, 1910, p. 3, c. 5. Ind. News, Dec. 24, 1910, p. 3, c. 3.
- Mother Theodore. May be first North American saint. Terre Haute Star, Dec. 11, 1910, mag. sec. p. 1. Muncie Star, Dec. 11, 1910, sec. 2, p. 1. Ind. Star, Dec. 11, 1910, mag. sec. p. 1.
- Newspapers. Early newspapers of Delaware county. Muncie Press, Dec. 8, 1910, p. 4, c. 6.
- Delaware county times of November 26, 1868. Muncie Press, Feb. 16, 1911, p. 6, c. 6.

- Parrett, John W. Death of aged pioneer minister. Terre Haute Star, Jan. 11, 1911, p. 10, c. 2.
- Prohibition. Indiana's only state-wide prohibition law recalled by Dr. Spottswood. Ind. News, Feb. 27, 1911, p. 10, c. 6.
- Regimental histories. Stories of the 84th at Chickamauga, Ind. News, Jan. 27, 1911, p. 8, c. 3.
- Rerick, J. H. Death of prominent South Bend physician. South Bend Tribune, Jan. 23, 1911, p. 1, c. 6.
- Schools. Vote for free schools in 1848 and 1849. Ind. News, Dec. 8, 1910, p. 6, c. 2.
- Seal. Buffalo on seal was true to Indian life. Ind. Star, Dec. 11, 1911, mag. sec. p. 6.
- Spottswood, Edward. Reminiscences of. Ind. News, Feb. 27, 1911, p. 10, c. 6.
- Stone River, Battle of. Reunion of survivors. Ind. News, Jan. 2, 1911, p. 24, c. 2.
- Underground railroad. Incident at an Indiana station. Ind. News, Feb. 18, 1911, p. 19, c. 1.
- Vanderburgh county, Green River Island may be ceded by Kentucky. Evansville Courier, Feb. 5, 1911, p. 5, c. 1.
- Vernon. History and description. Ind. News, Feb. 11, 1911, p. 15.
- Wabash and Erie canal. Old bond comes to light. Ind. News, Jan. 25, 1911, p. 3, c. 7.
- Owner seeks a buyer. Ind. Star, Feb. 24, 1911, p. 12, c. 5.
- Wayne county. First schoolhouse. Richmond Item, Dec. 17, 1910, p. 7, c. 3.
- Rhoda Coffin's reminiscences. Richmond Item, Feb. 10, 1911, p. 4, c. 2.
- Woods, W. J. Old drummer tells of pioneer travels. Lafayette Courier, Jan. 4, 1911, p. 8, c. 2. Ind. News, Dec. 29, 1910, p. 3, c. 6.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

EDITORIAL.

The State of Indiana has taken the first step toward the erection of a suitable State Library and Museum building by providing for a commission to select a site, secure options and adopt plans, and by providing \$1,000 for the necessary expenses of the commission. The need of this and the law recently passed are shown on another page of this number. It is gratifying that the law has been passed and that there was so little opposition to it. Many will perhaps feel that the proposed building is overloaded, that the educational and scientific offices of the State should be retained in the Capitol, where other administrative offices are housed, and that the centennial building should be specifically a library and museum. This, however, is a matter that will doubtless be worked out satisfactorily when plans are more fully developed.

It is to be hoped that the commission will build its plans for the future, and on a large scale. While all citizens would deplore any extravagance, we should recognize that the State Library and the State Museum should be provided with a building of a monumental design suitable to the celebration of a century of statehood, and above all that these are growing institutions and that ample space must be provided if they are not to be again hampered and crowded into comparative uselessness. Other States have provided funds of a million dollars and more. We should not be niggardly nor spoil the opportunity of the future by a temporary and false economy. If we can not with some of our neighbors have a million dollar building, it is surely not unreasonable to expect a future expenditure for the building itself of at least half of that amount.

NOTES.

The committee of women in charge of the Robert Dale Owen memorial has finished its work and recently presented to the State of Indiana a beautiful bust of Mr. Owen, well mounted upon a tall granite pedestal. The memorial stands at the south entrance of the State Capitol, facing the building. It is altogether a fitting tribute to a man who not only championed the rights of women and did most effective work to secure these rights in the second constitutional convention, but who was one of the ablest men and one of the greatest the history of Indiana can show.

The Indiana Historical Society is in receipt of an important request for information about one Ephram Johnson and family, who lived in or near the city of Indianapolis in 1862. Any one possessing information should communicate with this magazine.

Mrs. Harriet Retz, teacher of history in the Manual Training High School of Indianapolis, has been compelled by illness temporarily to relinquish her work. Her place is being taken by Mrs. Hope Whitcomb Graham, of Butler College. Mrs. Retz is expected to resume her work before the end of the present school year.

The Legislature having provided the necessary funds, the work of the Department of Archives of the State Library will be resumed. Professor Harlow Lindley will be at the head of the department as formerly.

Indiana University has established a graduate fellowship in history, the holder of which is to devote himself between now and 1916, under the direction of Prof. James A. Woodburn, to the study of Indiana history, with a view to the production of an historical contribution to the centennial of the admission of Indiana to the Union. This action marks another step in the direction of the development of graduate work at Indiana University, which is a matter of congratulation for all the educational interests of the State. It is also another witness of the service of the University to the public interests of Indiana. If the editor is not

mistaken in his information, it was Professor Woodburn who first suggested, some years ago, that the centennial should be celebrated by the erection of a centennial library and museum building, a project which now bids fair to be realized within the next four years.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE PEACE OF MAD ANTHONY.

[Frazer E. Wilson. 122 pp. Illustrated. Published by the author at Greenville, Ohio, 1909.]

This book is a revision of the author's earlier "Treaty of Greenville," and consists essentially of papers appearing in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society's publications, and in the Ohio Magazine. It gives a detailed, readable and accurate account of the Indian troubles in the northwest, culminating in Wayne's victorious campaign, and of the Treaty of Greenville itself. The illustrations of monuments, views and medals, and the maps, add to the interest and clearness of the narrative.

DELAWARE COUNTY.

[G. W. H. Kemper, M. D., editor. 2 vols. Vol. I, 542 pp. Illustrated. 1908. Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago. Sold by subscription alone.]

Another of the county histories frequently noticed in this magazine, the manufacture of which is described at length in this number. Few people get to read them except the subscribers, and as they read only their own autobiographical sketches, little historical value is attached to them.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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No. 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE CONSTITUTIONS.

BY CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN.

[A paper read before the Illinois Historical Association, May 17, 1911.]

UNDER this heading I want to present a few considerations of a rather general character brought home to me casually during work involving some incidental study of State constitutions, chiefly in the old Northwest Territory.

I was at the outset rather pleasantly surprised to find these constitutions an interesting study. Ambassador Bryce, in his *American Commonwealth*, long ago (1888) observed (Chap. XXXVII., Vol. II., p. 434) that "the State constitutions furnish invaluable materials for history. Their interest is all the greater because the succession of constitutions and amendments to constitutions from 1776 till to-day enables the annals of legislation and political sentiment to be read in these documents more easily and succinctly than in any similar series of laws in any other country. They are a mine of instruction for the natural history of democratic communities. Their fullness and minuteness make them, so to speak, more pictorial than the Federal Constitution. They tell us more about the actual methods and conduct of the government than it does."

There is not only interest, there is room for humor, also, in the study of the State constitutions. Mr. Bryce finds our State constitutions surprising in places; he exhibits many provisions, especially in the bills of rights, as objects of curiosity, and occasionally jokes at them, as in the observation that "twenty-six States declare that 'all men have a natural, inherent and inalienable right to enjoy and defend life and liberty, and all of these except the melancholy Missouri, add, the natural right to pursue happiness.'" (Chap. XXXVII, Vol. II, p. 424.) He refers to

them as "documents whose clauses, while they attempt to solve the latest problems of democratic commonwealths, often recall the earliest efforts of our English forefathers to restrain the excesses of medieval tyranny." (Chap. XXXVIII, Vol. II, p 442).

Other things besides Mr. Bryce's amused complacency throw a cheerful ray across the path of the student of State constitutions. The innovations in at least nine new State constitutions cause Eastern writers to make the most mournful and pessimistic comparisons with the time-honored Massachusetts instrument. Professor Stimson, of Harvard University, in his very convenient compilation of "The Law of the Federal and State Constitutions of the United States" (1908), deplors the inaccessibility of State constitutions. "In Georgia it is not procurable. * * * Some States like New Hampshire and Ohio do not print them at all with their general laws. Oregon and other States entirely omit constitutional amendments, while hardly any State follows the example of Massachusetts in printing the constitution in its correct form every year. * * * While the usual compilation of the laws of New York and the official compilation of Georgia and several other States commit the last inanity of printing the State Constitution alphabetically under C, as if it were an ordinary law" (p. XXI.) His exasperation finally reaches the height of exclamation points. "Owing to the negligence or stupidity of the State authorities in not printing these [amendments] with the annual laws, this [a complete list of constitutional amendments] is a difficult matter to ascertain. In Oregon, indeed, where laws and constitutional amendments are adopted by popular initiative, the Secretary of State complains that they are 'full of bad spelling, punctuation, omissions and repeated words'!" (p. 123).

There are many things to tax one's patience in the study of the (approximately) 125 State constitutions in force at one time or another since 1776. For instance, the official and supposedly complete collection of State constitutions in F. N. Thorpe's *American Charters, Constitutions and Organic Laws* (otherwise entitled *Federal and State Constitutions*) published by the Government Printing Office, in the section devoted to Illinois omits

entirely the Constitution of 1848, and, though published in 1909, has amendments only down to 1900, thus omitting the amendments of 1904 and 1908.

Nevertheless, enough material is easily accessible and enough good work has been done to make it possible for any one to go into the subject as far as he wants to, and to get considerable enlightenment. The official seven-volume compilation of Federal and State constitutions edited by F. N. Thorpe, just referred to, though imperfectly and not well indexed, contains most of the official documents one needs, and can easily be supplemented so as to give one a collection complete to within the last two years. Then, beginning with Judge J. A. Jameson's *The Constitutional Convention*, a great work, though written to prove the untenable proposition that the State constitutional convention is legally under the direction and subject to the authority of the State Legislature, with Bryce's luminous study in chapters XXXVII-XXXVIII of his *American Commonwealth*, and Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations*, there are a number of books and articles which not only incorporate an enormous amount of work and so save the time of the investigator, but are well worth reading. Among these I can only make mention of: Borgeaud, *Adoption and Amendment of Constitutions*; Professor Dealey, *Our State Constitution* (supplement to the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Massachusetts, 1907); Professor Garner's article upon *The Amendment of State Constitutions* in the *American Political Science Review*, February, 1907; Lobingier, *The People's Law*; Stimson, *Law of the Federal and State Constitutions of the United States*, 1908, and the *Year Book of Legislation* issued by the New York State Library. New York has been given an exhaustive treatise in the four-volume *Constitutional History of New York*, by Lincoln, which supplies most of the material for, if it does not often give the interpretation of the important constitutional developments in that State. The best recent piece of work with which I am familiar has been done by Walter Fairleigh Dodd, *The Revision and Amendment of State Constitutions*, 1910, an accurate, complete, convenient and convincing treatment of the subject. In

nearly every State, moreover, there are full records of the formation of the constitution in the shape of journals and debates of the constitutional conventions.

The general outline of the developments of written State constitutions from the revolution to the present generation, has been frequently traced and with tolerable unanimity. We are not a people of striking originality in our political life, and there is greater similarity between the constitutions adopted in different States at a given time than one would expect. The New England States have been slow to remake their constitutions. Three of them have lasted 115 years or over, and the average of the constitutions in effect just before New Hampshire adopted a new one in 1903 was nearly one hundred years. Other States have revised their constitutions more frequently, and, counting the New England States in, the average life of a State constitution has been about thirty-one years. These two facts, namely, that constitutions of different States tend toward a given model, and that there are frequent revisions, make it easy to distinguish certain periods, the first three of which are best described perhaps by Mr. Bryce (*American Commonwealth*, Chap. XXXVIII), though he omits some elements which have been decisive in many States, as the internal improvement episode in the Middle West. The first period covers the first thirty years of our independence, and constitutions formed during these years manifest a dread of and reaction from executive tyranny, together with a disposition to leave everything to the legislature. The legislature was supposed to represent not so much the whole people as the best people. The people themselves as a whole were not thought of as capable of much political action or wisdom. Everything for the most part centered in the legislature, the choice of governor, the control of the various departments of the government, even the making and changing of the constitution itself.

The second period extends from about 1805 to about 1846. States entering the Union during this time, or revising their government, drew up documents giving the people generally a larger part in the government. The suffrage was opened to all white male adults, nearly all offices were to be filled by popular election,

and terms of office were short, so as to pass the offices around more frequently and give what President Jackson called a "healthful action to the system" (Annual Message to Congress, 1829), and changes in the constitution were to be wrought chiefly if not solely through constitutional conventions elected by the people.

The third period began about 1845 or 1850, and was precipitated by the mistakes and incompetency of the legislatures, by the enormous development of log rolling and private legislation, and especially in this part of the country by the extravagant and dangerously large expenditure for internal improvements. In the old Northwest Territory, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois revised their constitutions, and the other States came into the Union with constitutions formed under this impulse. Important limitations, especially in financial matters, were put upon the power of the legislature, and a curb was placed upon private legislation. In general, great distrust of the legislature was shown. Generally the power and the length of term of the governor was increased. He was more than before regarded as the representative of the people—the fear of a strong executive was declining. The net result of this development was a relative conservatism. Change in State government became more difficult than before, and the policy of State governments became generally more conservative.

We have for some years been passing into a fourth period, in which is apparent a tendency toward more complete democracy. The lengthening of the constitution so as to make it a kind of direct popular legislation, the incorporation in new constitutions or grafting by amendment upon old ones of measures such as the initiative, referendum, recall and direct primary, are indications of the intention to bring the government more directly than before into the hands of the people.

In addition to this formal development of our State governments witnessed to by changes in their organic law, there has been steadily taking place the usual development of a more informal sort by judicial interpretation and by custom. As has been frequently remarked, the shorter life, the easier methods of

amendment and the greater detail of our State constitutions, have given less scope to judicial interpretation in our State than in our national history. The question of constitutionality in State courts is more frequently a matter of getting some clear meaning out of obscure or ambiguous phrases, of overturning laws through technical errors in their construction, in short, more artificial and less satisfactory than is the case with questions of Federal legislation and constitutionality. The repetition of this long and laborious process of construction is one of the strongest arguments against constitutional revision. Perhaps the most clearly established and universally developed principle of judicial action is this, that the State legislatures are bodies of residuary and not of merely delegated authority, or, to state it differently, that power not lodged elsewhere and not forbidden to the legislature may be exercised by that body. Yet even this character of some of the articles of some of the most recent constitutions, for instance, Oklahoma and the proposed constitution of New Mexico, seem to deny.

Custom has been, perhaps, more active in developing a new character in our State governments than is generally supposed. Party organization, the lobby, the growth of commissions, the non-partisan or bi-partisan reform of State institutions such as prisons, reformatories and asylums, centralizing tendencies in the management of local institutions, the socializing of education, care of the public health, and numerous other easily recognized developments, have transformed the conditions in which our political life is lived.

It is easy to see now that democratic government in our States is not the simple thing it was at first thought to be. The reaction from the strong executive of colonial days to the omnipotent legislature, and the reaction back toward a strong executive, the complicated and unsystematic efforts in new constitutions to correct acknowledged abuses, show the need of something more than abstract theory to guide us.

There are those who think that the old threefold division of government into the legislative, executive and judicial departments can no longer be maintained. Certain it is that few if any

recent State constitutions can be systematically arranged on that basis. They contain the divisions of the executive, the legislative and the judicial, and then a multitude of other provisions. Professor Dealey speaks "not merely of the three historic departments of government, viz., the executive, the judicial and the legislative, but also of the differentiations from these, the administration, the electorate, and that nameless agency which in every State has the legal right to formulate the fundamental law, an agency which for want of a better name may be called the 'Legal Sovereign.'" (Our State Constitutions, p. 2.) By "administration" he means the boards and commissions, the departments of state, treasury, education, the auditor, controller and other departments by which most of the expert work of State government is done. By the "electorate" he means the voters, considered not as the "sovereign people," but as a government agency acting under the constitution and possessing the power of appointment to office by election, the judiciary power through service in juries, and in some States the power of legislation through the referendum and the initiative. By the "legal sovereign" he means practically the constitutional convention, that is, the voters in their act of determining the fundamental law by which all other acts of government are determined. This he thinks "is the great agency through which democracy finds expression."

Whether we agree with this rearrangement or not, we can easily see that the simple outlines of government supposed in the revolution to prevail, are no longer sufficient and no longer prevail. Legislative, executive and judicial departments overlap in some instances (as legislative reference department, commissions) and leave gaps in others (workingmen's compensation laws, etc.) There is room for a still greater development of commissions or commissioners to deal with business and private interests than has yet taken place, and, as Mr. Bryce points out in the last edition (1910) of the American Commonwealth, the success in England of bodies with quasi-judicial powers in dealing with quasi-public interests would warrant a larger application of this department of government in the United States. Railroad, public

utilities and other commissions such as have been introduced in New York, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and, to some degree in most States, have apparently been an effective and convenient method of dealing with a heretofore complicated problem. I am not certain that our constitutions would not be simpler and more intelligible instruments if we abandoned the threefold division of government in them entirely and outlined our State government by the description of the organs of government and the functions of government as they are actually established, and did not try to bring them under the old categories.

The rise of new industrial and social conditions and new political devices not foreseen by the makers of our State constitutions has brought the amending power into greater prominence than formerly. For example, in New York, Indiana and many other States, any fair and effective workingmen's compensation act is almost excluded by the wording of the constitution, in some cases by an accidental phrase or two, and by the long standing judicial interpretation of the constitution.

There are many ways of amending constitutions in force in different States—on the initiative of the legislature by varying majorities in both branches, and the popular referendum in varying required majorities; or on initiative of a commission appointed for that purpose (New York) and referendum of the people; or by the initiative of the legislature and by action of a convention with or without a popular referendum; or even by action of successive legislatures with two-thirds majority in each house (Delaware).

It is even possible in some States to secure a sort of higher or second degree legislation by way of constitutional amendments. In cases where the constitution contains lengthy, detailed and complicated provisions which are really in the nature of legislation, ease of amendment is desirable and even necessary, if embarrassing situations are to be avoided. While there are objections to this sort of constitutions and to their flexibility, such as the complication of their judicial interpretation and the shifting of responsibility from the legislature, there is no inherent or demonstrated reason why this practice should not be admitted

into our governmental system. The tendency is certainly in this direction, as is seen in the greatly increased length of recent constitutions (Oklahoma, 175 pp.; Alabama, 69 pp., fine print; Louisiana, 144 pp.), and by the frequency of amendments. It has been figured that in the decade 1894-1904 there were 412 amendments to State constitutions formally and legally prepared, and 230 adopted. (Garner, *American Political Science Review*, pp. 245-6.) California is especially prolific in this respect, having adopted amendments 42 times between 1888 and 1908. (Stimson, p. 123.) This year in California, after the victory of the progressives caused an overturning in the State government, twenty-three amendments to the constitution have been submitted by the legislature to the people, providing among other things "for the initiative and referendum, the recall for all elective offices, including judges, and for woman's suffrage." (*The Nation*, May 11, 1911, Vol. XCII, pp. 459-460.)

Illinois and Indiana have constitutions among the most rigid in the United States. The requirement by the former is that a proposed amendment must be approved by "a majority of the electors voting" at the election, while in the latter a majority of the electors is required, and the judicial instruction has been that this means a majority of the people qualified to vote whether they vote or not (69 Ind. 505, 1880), though the court has also maintained that in the absence of registration the number voting shall be presumed to be the number qualified to vote (156 Ind. 104, 1901). These and other restrictions have made it extremely difficult to amend either constitution, so that in Illinois the agitation for direct primaries involved almost insuperable obstacles, and in Indiana of late years constitutional amendments have been apparently impossible. Indeed, the Indiana constitution has only been amended twice since its adoption in 1851, namely, in 1873 and in 1881. Governor Marshall has this year embarked in a revolutionary scheme of procuring the passage in the legislature, by the support of the Democratic members, of a bill submitting a new constitution to the people and providing means of counting the Democratic party vote as a vote for the constitution. The present constitution, while it provides a required process

for amendment, makes no provision for the calling of another constitutional convention, nor does it make any mention of the possibility of a new constitution. Governor Marshall and members of the legislature have argued that his leaves the door open for the legislature to submit a new constitution to the people. As far as Indiana is concerned, however, there would be just as much precedent for the governor himself submitting a new constitution to the people without the intervention of the legislature. All precedents call for a constitutional convention. If, on the other hand, the new constitution be, as is claimed by the opposition, not in fact a new constitution but a series of amendments to the old, the whole procedure is plainly unconstitutional.

It seems, however, only a matter of comparatively few years until many of the States of the Middle West which have not recently revised or substantially amended their constitutions will have to call constitutional conventions. These conventions have in the past undoubtedly represented the highest intelligence and the best character of the people, and have been in many respects the most successful element of our political systems. Yet it is doubtful whether the immediate future will be an opportune time for the formation of new constitutions. There is such a rapid change of political condition that constitutions would have to be made on the jump, and frequently the jump would be in the dark. The permanent effect of many recent devices, such as the direct primary, is not yet clear. The initiative and referendum, with much to commend them, have many vicious possibilities, and the recall may not be productive of a higher quality of officeholder. The short ballot is, perhaps, the one agitation now becoming acute which has the greatest promise and the least weight of objection against it, but even this probably can and should be tried out in city governments a little while longer before its effects can be absolutely counted on. In short, just as in the construction of dwelling houses so many new improvements are developing, such as the open-air sleeping porch, the sun parlor, electrical housekeeping and laundry appliances, that the perfect house of yesterday is unsatisfactory to-day, and prospective builders gain by waiting a while, so in the construction

of State constitutions the time for wise and permanent revision does not seem to be at hand.

Meanwhile experience is being accumulated and definite scientific information is becoming available. In our legislative reference libraries as well as in universities and text-books, a science of comparative legislation is rapidly taking form. We are becoming better able every year to judge accurately of conditions and to know the exact workings of political institutions. It ought not to be long before our law and constitution making bodies will have the advantage which the English Parliament enjoys of having expert commissions to study the effect of proposed legislation and expert political scientists to properly draft statutes.

PLYMOUTH CHURCH, INDIANAPOLIS.

BY JUNIUS B. ROBERTS.

[The following historical sketch of Plymouth Congregational Church was prepared several years ago by Mr. Roberts for a meeting of the congregation. It is an example of historical work which ought to be done much more generally than it is. It is the purpose of the editor to secure other similar church histories from time to time. A sketch of Plymouth Church, Indianapolis, is especially in order on account of the widespread influence which this church had, and its leadership, especially in Mr. McCulloch's pastorate, in introducing new methods and ideas in church work, as well as developing philanthropic work in the city generally. In our next number an account of Mr. McCulloch and his pioneer work in this direction will be presented. In this article Mr. Roberts confines himself to a description of the church itself. No one is better equipped for this work than Mr. Roberts. A trained historian, for years a teacher of history in Shortridge High School, he had long connection with Plymouth Church and an intimate knowledge of its workings.—EDITOR.]

A SUMMARY of the outward facts relating to the history of Plymouth Church could be made very brief. It would be the short and simple annals of the poor. It would be something like this: Born about August 9, 1857. In its struggle for existence it successfully weathered the various ills, ailments, weaknesses, discouragements and backsets that such organizations are subject to. It has been a power for good in this community.

Not one of the original founders of the church now survives, I believe, but some of its early members and active workers are still among its active supporters.

It has had nine ministers, whose terms of service lasted for various periods, the shortest being that of Rev. W. C. Bartlett, the first settled pastor, which lasted less than one year, and the longest being that of Rev. Oscar C. McCulloch, which lasted fourteen years, and was terminated by his death in 1892. Mr. McCulloch was the only pastor who died while connected with the church. The names of these ministers in chronological order are as follow:

Rev. W. C. Bartlett.....	May to August, 1858
Rev. N. A. Hyde.....	1858-1867
Rev. E. P. Ingersoll.....	1868-1871
Rev. J. L. Bennett.....	1871-1873
Rev. O. S. Dean.....	1873-1877
Rev. O. C. McCulloch.....	1877-1891
Rev. F. E. Dewhurst.....	1892-1899
Rev. H. C. Meserve.....	1900-1904
Rev. H. Blunt.....	1904-

This church has owned and occupied three houses of worship: The original Plymouth Church, northwest corner of Meridian street and Monument Place, now a part of the English Hotel; the second Plymouth Church, on the southeast corner of Meridian and New York streets, on ground now occupied by the Federal Building, and the third, on Central avenue, at Fourteenth street, which was acquired by purchase and remodeled.

The church, after its organization, until it built its first edifice, met in the Senate chamber of the old State House. During the erection of the second building the church services were held in the Grand Opera House. For several months after the sale of the second church building we were privileged to use the Jewish Temple on Delaware street.

On the business and financial side, Plymouth Church pursued a very steady and uniform course. It was always in debt. The various schemes and devices which have had to be resorted to to meet financial obligations, form a very considerable part of the records of its trustees.

The following passage in the records reveals the strain which was almost constant for many years. I am sorry to say that the clerk of that meeting seemed to lose his patience and his temper when he penned the following words (1864): "Brother X. Y. Z. prayed that God would give the trustees of the church 'courage,' " and then in parentheses, "It is the impression of some, especially the clerk, that money would be preferable."

At the time of the resignation of Rev. O. S. Dean, the financial condition of the church was quite desperate, and it resulted in the

sale of the church, or rather surrender of the church property, to W. H. English, who held a mortgage upon it. At that time the church had the extreme good fortune to secure Rev. Oscar C. McCulloch as pastor. His vigor, enterprise and hopefulness, aided by his splendid financial ability, resulted in the erection of the edifice universally known as Plymouth Church (par excellence), which for so many years was the center of much of the spiritual and intellectual life of this city.

From the organization of Plymouth Church to the present time, beginning with thirty-one members, there have been enrolled upon the records 755 names.

This church was born in the critical and troublous times just before the war, and its early years were in the midst of the awful struggles and the dread anticipations of the time that tried men's souls. Plymouth Church, along with most of the other churches of this city, was patriotic to the core. It contributed its due share of effort and sacrifice to the patriotic cause.

How doctrines, beliefs and policies vital at any given time may become obsolete, if not unthinkable, within the life of a single generation even is well illustrated by the following passage in the history of this church. To be appended to the Covenant and Confession of Faith, which was adopted August 3, 1857, W. T. Hatch offered the following:

“Resolved, As we who are about entering upon the organization of a Congregational Church, believe slave-holding to be a sin that should exclude a person from church membership, we will vote against the admission of any one who believes it to be right.”

The resolution was adopted, whereupon a reconsideration was moved and the further consideration of the question was set for the following Thursday evening. Upon reconsideration the resolution was adopted without amendment by a vote of ayes and nays. It required some courage for any church, and especially for one in feeble infancy, to take such a stand at that time. It requires the exercise of a very vivid historic imagination to picture to one's self the meaning and effect of such a proceeding.

Again, to a revision of the Rules of the Church, adopted in

May, 1862, the two following resolutions are of interest as illustrating some of the sociological conditions of the times:

“Resolved, That persons who make use of, or sell intoxicating liquors as a beverage are guilty of an immorality which should exclude them from membership in the Church.

“Resolved, That we believe the holding of human beings as property is a sin, the renunciation of which should be a condition of membership in the Church.”

Article XIII. in the Rules of the Church, adopted originally in 1857 and revised in 1862, reads as follows:

“The censures inflicted on offenders shall be—private reproof, public admonition, suspension, excommunication, according to the aggravation of the case.

“Notice of excommunication shall be given from the pulpit on the Sabbath.

“In case of private wrongs, the sufferer shall seek by private means to reclaim the offenders, nor shall the matter be brought before the church until all such means shall have been tried in vain. (See Matt. 18:15-16.) In cases of public and notorious offenses the matter shall be brought before the church without unnecessary delay. When a member is accused, he shall be seasonably furnished with a copy of the complaints and shall have a full hearing.”

These rules of discipline have to our ears a kind of thin and far-away sound, but, whatever may be their present validity, they have not always been a dead letter, in testimony of which listen to an extract from the minutes of the annual meeting of December 28, 1874, names being omitted:

“The clerk was then called upon to present to the church the cases of three (3) of the church members which were referred by the committee to the church for their final action (naming the three members.) The case of each member was taken up separately, the church committee stating to the clerk the facts in the case of each one, and showing that each one had been labored with faithfully and long, and due effort was made to induce him to forsake the evil of his ways and turn to the Lord, but all without avail.

“After some discussion of the matter, Deacon —— made the following motion in regard to the case of John L.: ‘Moved that we, the members of Plymouth Congregational Church of Indianapolis, in annual meeting assembled, suspend the said John L. from the communion and fellowship of Plymouth Congregational Church, together with the rights and privileges belonging to its members until at such time he shall return to the Lord with repentance of heart, renouncing all his sins and seeking forgiveness of God for his past transgressions.’ Said motion was seconded by —— and carried by a unanimous vote of the church.”

The same action was taken in regard to the other two offenders. As far as I know this incident is quite unique in the history of this church. Whether this is to be explained by the superior morale in the later church membership and the absence of offenders or to a letting down of the sense of responsibility for the conduct of its members, I leave for others to determine.

To those who have watched the course of Plymouth Church since the first twenty years of its existence, it may be a curious question as to whether it had any history on the ecclesiastical side. Did it ever stand for any type or form of theological belief? Indeed, it passed through a great transition. Its history ecclesiastically may be divided into two great periods. The first period is that of “strict construction,” and the second that of the “open door.” These terms are not exactly antithetical, but they connote very different situations and perhaps they differ more widely in the letter than they do in the spirit.

The idea of a church without a creed was hardly thinkable by the founders and early members of this church. And so among the first acts was to formulate a confession of faith, to which every one entering the church was expected to subscribe. Now, the first confession of faith was not of the deepest blue, nor did it contain all the fine points of Calvinism, but it was nevertheless of a decidedly cerulean complexion. And yet in the second year, or in 1859, it was thought desirable to strengthen somewhat the bulwarks of the orthodox faith by inserting a new article in the creed, as follows: “We believe that our first parents were origi-

nally holy; that they sinned against God and that all their descendants are unholy and disposed to sin, and, therefore, without redemption through Christ and regeneration by the Holy Spirit, are exposed to eternal death.”

This article was probably penned by the Rev. N. A. Hyde, since he was chairman of the committee which recommended its adoption, and was pastor at the time. At any rate it very well expresses the doctrine generally preached in the so-called orthodox pulpits of that time, and possibly it expresses the general orthodox belief at the present time, though I fancy that few well instructed preachers of the present would express it in precisely those terms.

The period of the “open door” commences with the accession of Oscar C. McCulloch to the Plymouth pulpit. It was the favorite watchword with Mr. McCulloch, and its adoption as the motto of the church marks the utter obliteration of all dogmatic statements in regard to theologic matters. Membership in the church after that time was based upon conduct and aspiration alone, the article upon membership in the constitution reading as follows: “All persons are eligible for membership who will unite with us on the basis of these principles and pledge themselves to carry out the objects of this church, it being distinctly understood and agreed that the applicant is not committed to any philosophy of faith, and that Christian spirit and Christian character shall be the only requisites of membership.”

Upon this platform thereafter Plymouth Church stood. There was no disposition manifested in any quarter to revert to the old creed, or Confession of Faith, as it was called, and, although this attitude on the part of the church has brought upon it more or less criticism from other denominations, it is a ground for satisfaction that Plymouth pulpit was never turned into a polemic platform. Never was there heard from it a word or tone of a controversial character. The preachers who ministered to the church devoted themselves wholly to constructive work and teaching. In this matter it may fairly be claimed, I think, that Plymouth has been a potent leader, at least in this city and State.

The old militant spirit has died out to a large extent, and now you will almost never hear an attack made in one church upon the doctrines or practices of one of a different name. The spirit of harmony and brotherhood prevails among all Christian bodies which are working for the common uplift of mankind.

It is not my object to go into a detailed account of the various activities in which this church has engaged since its birth, though much might be said. The story of Plymouth Institute and the beginning of furnishing means for intellectual culture to busy people would make a whole chapter. The organizing of special classes for night work has now been taken up by other churches and other organizations, but the pace was set by Plymouth under the masterly leadership of Mr. McCulloch. The reorganization and the betterment of the charitable work of the city had the same initiative.

There are only a few incidents of an anecdotal character in the experiences of the church. One which is not without its humorous features I will mention. The various seasons when the pulpit has been vacant have been critical and anxious periods, as such must always be to any congregation. On one of these occasions, March, 1870, a call was extended to the Rev. Minot J. Savage, who was then the pastor of a Congregational church in Framingham, Mass. There was some correspondence, but finally Mr. Savage declined, and it was then ascertained that while corresponding with this church he had already virtually accepted a call to Hannibal, Mo.

But three years later there was another vacancy in Plymouth pulpit. Another call, an urgent one, was extended to Mr. Savage. He replied practically agreeing to accept upon a number of conditions which he named. The church met, and, after due consideration, agreed to comply with the conditions named. It must be remembered that this was during the "strict construction" period of the church's history.

In a few days the leading members of the church were appalled and came near having an attack of nervous prostration upon receiving another letter from Mr. Savage, saying that his conditions having been approved and thus made a part of the con-

tract, he was ready to accept the call, but that he thought it right to inform the church that he was no longer orthodox in his beliefs.

This letter produced a sensation, and was even characterized by some of the brethren as positively insulting. A meeting was hastily called and Mr. Savage was informed that the deal was all off. The Rev. Minot J. Savage has become since that time one of the most aggressive and notable preachers in the Unitarian church.

The first knowledge that I ever had of Plymouth Church, or any other church in Indianapolis, was in the summer of 1864, when I met its pastor, Rev. N. A. Hyde, laboring in the camps and hospitals about Louisville. He was in the service of the Christian Commission. In this connection the following entry in the church records, from the clerk's annual report, dated April, 1863, interested me greatly:

"Our pastor (N. A. Hyde), takes no heed who may be offended by the truth, but preaches Christ and him crucified. The apologists for slavery, the liquor traffic and licentiousness generally do not ask for membership or sittings with us. Those in authority have the earnest prayers of the church for God's guidance in crushing the unholy rebellion of the South, and the effect of the pulpit teaching has been to induce quite a number of the congregation to enlist in the Union army, some of whom have sacrificed their lives for the cause. The Ladies' Sewing Society has not contributed as much as usual to the church finances on account of the great demand for sanitary goods for the army to which they have given largely, as well as to the new and pressing calls of the suddenly disenthralled black men of the Southern States."

This sketch is already too long, but I shall nevertheless insert the names of some notable men who have preached from Plymouth pulpit or spoken from its platform: Dean Farrar, Matthew Arnold, Joel Parker, Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, Mary A. Livermore, David Swing, Lyman Abbott and Bronson Alcott.

The distinctive work of Plymouth Church was somewhat al-

tered by the growth of other organizations and by the loss of its downtown location. On May 25, 1906, it and the North Congregational Church united under the title Plymouth Church, and continued to worship in the edifice in Central avenue at Fourteenth street. On July 10, 1908, a union of Plymouth and Mayflower Congregational churches was effected under the title of "The First Congregational Church of Indianapolis." This church now occupies the former Mayflower Church building at Delaware and Sixteenth streets, and the Rev. Harry Blunt, formerly of Plymouth, continues as minister of the united churches. With this disappearance of the name, our sketch of Plymouth Church may well end.

THE WORD "HOOSIER."

BY JACOB PIATT DUNN.

I PRESUME that most of the readers of the Quarterly have some interest in the question of the origin of the word "Hoosier"; and I have been having some experiences, in connection with it, that illustrate, in a small way, the difficulty of exhausting the sources of history. After a prolonged study of the question, in 1907, I published the results of my investigations in one of the pamphlets of the Indiana Historical Society. One of the theories of the origin of the word was that it was a family name, and I took the ground that I had eliminated this theory by examination of the directories of a number of Southern cities, and by inquiries of Southern congressmen, and others, without finding any trace of such a name. Imagine my surprise on stumbling on the entry, "Hoosier, Wm., lab., r. 603 W. 11th," in the Indianapolis directory of 1911.

I called at the address and found that William had moved; but learned that he was in the employ of the city street-cleaning department, and was stationed on the next block to my place of business. He was entered on the city rolls, however, as Wm. Hoozier, and the officials pronounced the name Ho-zher—long "o." I then hunted up William, and found him a very intelligent colored man. He said his name was Hoozer; and that it came from the owner of his father, in slavery times, who was Adam Hoozer, of Yadkin county, North Carolina. This was interesting, because I had in 1907 reached the conclusion that "Hoosier" was a corruption of "hoozer," which is a dialect word of Cumberland, England; and here was an actual instance of exactly that corruption. William informed me that the family name "Hoozer" was understood to be a corruption of "Houser."

In the publication of 1907 I stated that the earliest use of the word in print that had been found up to that time, was its appearance in Finley's poem, "The Hoosier's Nest," which was issued as the "Carriers' New Year's Address" of the Indianapolis

Journal on January 1, 1833. Soon after my article appeared, I received a letter from Judge Timothy Howard, of South Bend, who was then preparing a history of St. Joseph county, in which he informed me that he had found an earlier use of the word in "The Northwestern Pioneer and St. Joseph's Intelligencer" of April 4, 1832. This newspaper was published at South Bend, and the article was as follows:

"A Real Hoosier.—A sturgeon, who, no doubt, left Lake Michigan on a trip of pleasure, with a view of spending a few days in the pure waters of the St. Joseph, had his joyous anticipations unexpectedly marred by running foul of a fisherman's spear near this place—being brought on terra firma, and cast into a balance, he was found to weigh 83 pounds."

This publication accords with my conclusion, in 1907, that the word had been applied to residents of Indiana for some time before it appeared in print, and that it was originally a Southern slang or dialect word, signifying a rude or uncouth rustic. The publishers of *The Northwestern Pioneer and St. Joseph's Intelligencer*, at that time, were John D. and Jos. H. Defrees, who were Tennesseans, and no doubt familiar with the use of the word in the South. The sturgeon, with its covering of plates, is a rough-looking customer as compared with common freshwater fishes; and the obvious inference of the use of the word "Hoosier" in this connection is that, while it was being applied to Indiana people, the "real Hoosier" was a rough-looking individual, like the sturgeon.

A little later, while working on my history of Indianapolis, I ran across a still earlier use in print, in the "Carriers' Address" of the *Indiana Democrat* for 1832, which appeared in the issue of that paper for January 3, 1832. It was customary at that time to include in these addresses references to current and local politics; and in connection with the conflicting demands from the north and south ends of the State, on the State legislature, for the disposition of the public lands, this one says:

"Your 'Ways and Means,' however great,
May find employment in our State,
While roads and ditches, rivers, lakes,
Invite improvement;—and it takes
The wisest heads and soundest hearts
To harmonize discordant parts.
Those purchasers of Canal lands—
Whose cash we've got—ask from your hands
A full compliance with all contracts
Instead of 'nullifying' compacts;
While Southern folks, remote and sordid,
Stand forth to keep the Treas'ry guarded,
Protesting in most touching tones,
'Gainst taxes, troubles, debts and loans,
In favor much of large donations,
Ask for our 'hoosiers' good plantations,
Urging each scheme of graduation
As justice to the common nation."

This publication, connecting "hoosier" with "good plantations," shows that the "country" idea in the Southern use of the word was understood; while the inclusion of the word in quotation marks indicates that, while it was then in use here in a jocular way, it was liable to give offense if used seriously. That stage quickly passed away after the publication of "The Hoosier's Nest," when the name was adopted all through the State as the popular title for its residents.

Inasmuch as future discoveries of very early uses of the word in print will probably be accidental, I would suggest that, if any be made, they be communicated to the Quarterly, in order that they may be recorded in permanent and available shape. Possibly some future discovery may throw more light on this interesting local puzzle.

A STATION OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.

BY W. D. WALDRIP,

Head of Department of History, Richmond High School.

[A paper read at the annual meeting of the History Section of the Indiana State Teachers' Association, Terre Haute, May 5, 1911.]

THE story of the early happenings of the old town of Newport, Indiana, shows directly the relation between well-kept local history and general history. As the heading of my paper shows, this is to be an account of a station of the Underground Railroad, and all can readily see the importance of that great movement to the history of our country. The station I am to describe was the most famous of all the depots, so famous as to be called "The Union Depot" of the Underground Railroad. Had the local history of this place been studied and preserved as it should have been, much of value would have been added to our knowledge of the growth of feeling against slavery.

The town of Newport is in Wayne county, about eight miles north of the city of Richmond, in the well-known Whitewater valley. This town was in the main settled by North Carolinians, who had left their homes on account of the shadow of the hated institution, and had settled in the territory dedicated to freedom by the Ordinance of 1787. The name of Newport, Indiana, was made hateful to every slaveholder south of Mason and Dixon's line, and the name of Levi Coffin was hated above all names by the slave-hunters of the South.

In the year 1840 Arnold Buffum, a Massachusetts Quaker, visited Newport, preaching the doctrine of abolition. His visit led to the organization of several anti-slavery societies. The first State Anti-Slavery Society held its meeting at Newport, and delegates from various southeastern counties were in attendance. Daniel Worth, of Newport, was the first president of this State society. This man made Newport a name in anti-slavery agitation. In 1842 the agitation reached such a height that the peace-

ful New Garden congregation split in two parts, and we have the unusual picture of Quakers in a division over the question of slavery. A few years later a number of prominent English Quakers visited Newport, and could not be led to believe that a Quaker church would split over this question, as they naturally supposed that all Quakers were anti-slavery people. All their work was done with the main branch of the church, and they turned the shoulder of scorn upon the anti-slavery section of the denomination.

Yet too often, when the Underground Railroad is mentioned, we think only of the name of "Coffin," and in Wayne county we are accustomed to think that Levi Coffin and his wife, "Aunt Katy," were the only prominent members of this great movement, but such is not the case. Many men and many women gave a lifetime of effort to this work. In connection with this work the author has had occasion to trace the journeys and routes of fugitives, and only the call of duty led him back to the subject. It is in the realm of probability that a map could be made, showing all the stations in the great system that led through eastern Indiana and western Ohio, and even the houses where the slaves stopped could be located. An inquisitive person can trace, in a broad line, such a route from the Ohio river to Canada, and locate all the places where the stops were made. This would be a very interesting topic of research, and one that is only open to history for a few more years, and then all such knowledge will have passed into the undisputed realm of tradition.

Many obscure people helped in this work, and many men in and around Newport seemed to have had as much share in the Underground Railroad as did Levi Coffin. This statement is not made to detract anything from the fame of Mr. Coffin, but to give credit to such people as deserve it. Many houses in Newport sheltered fugitives, and it is reckoned that more than three thousand passed through the Union Station alone. In this connection it might be stated that this Union Station, this home of Levi Coffin, is still standing in a fair state of repair. Some years back Mrs. William Scott, of Boston, tried to start a fund to buy and preserve this historic place.

This house was shown to me and many stories told to me about these trying times by the venerable and interesting Quaker minister, John Wright Johnson. John Wright Johnson was a nephew of Mr. Coffin and lived in the house at the time when so many slaves were on the move northward. Mr. Johnson died last year at the age of ninety-two. It is with regret that I say that much of his valuable first-hand knowledge passed away with him. Much that this paper contains comes from him, aided by further research.

In this house, as in most other stations, there were no secret passages and hidden pits for places of concealment. A close examination of the old Coffin home shows that the only place of concealment was a small room, next to the rafters, so small that only four or five people could lie down in the room. The opening to this room was so small that only one person at a time could crawl through. The entrance to this room was concealed by an enormous bedstead. True, there is a deep pit in the cellar, but, to the sorrow of the romantically minded ones, this was dug to allow a weakened spring to furnish water for the house.

The main safeguard of runaway slaves was the old Anglo-Saxon idea that each man's house is his castle. The old Quakers knew this well, and would allow no one to enter a house in search of fugitives without a warrant, and by the time a search warrant could be secured the slave was many miles away. The most interesting bit of information of Mr. Johnson's entire story was that Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe had visited Newport twice, once while he was at the home of Mr. Coffin, and once in after years. He asserted that much of the information about slave life, and particularly the story of Eliza, was secured by Mrs. Stowe at Newport. If this is true, it is a point of much importance to the biography of Mrs. Stowe and of some importance to history in general. Mr. Johnson seemed to be very sure of his statement and repeated it a number of times to various people. Dr. Hough, of Fountain City, who probably knows more about Newport and its anti-slavery history than any other living man, says that Mr. Johnson is mistaken, or that his memory is in error. So a letter was sent to the son of Harriet Beecher Stowe, asking if his

mother was ever at Fountain City or Newport. His answer was very interesting and to the point, so I shall presume to quote at length from his letter:

“In regard to your questioning concerning Mrs. Stowe and Uncle Tom’s Cabin, I can not make definite answer. With regard to the story of the visit of Mrs. Stowe to the house of the old Quaker, Mr. Coffin, you know as much as I do, and that is nothing at all. I doubt, if Mrs. Stowe was still living and in possession of her faculties, if she would remember anything about it. She always said herself that the original of Eliza was a young woman and her child who were taken off the place of old Van Sant at night by Professor Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher. Yet I think it by all means probable that there was a foundation to the story and it was not made up entirely of whole cloth. I do not know that Mrs. Stowe was ever in Indiana. She was in narrow circumstances for eighteen years after the marriage to my father and had heavy cares. She would not have gone to Indiana without reason. Can you locate either of her brothers, Charles or William, in that State as ministers of the Presbyterian Church? If you can, you have established the probability of a visit to that State, made by her; otherwise it is improbable that she ever made such a visit. If she did visit Indiana before writing Uncle Tom’s Cabin, it was when she had no more idea of writing the book than of paying a visit to the moon.

“I can not help you in this matter. You know the recollections of old men consist for the most part of *Wahrheit und Dichtung*. Old men dream dreams and young men see visions, and that gets history in a devil of a mess. If one of Mrs. Stowe’s brothers were living near or about the place in question, you have shown cause for her being there, but if no such cause exists, I think you will have to regard the whole matter as an old man’s vision and a young man’s dream.

“To show you how unreliable people are,—when my mother wrote her introduction to the illustrated edition of Uncle Tom’s Cabin, she told about being in Washington in 1862 and hearing Lincoln speak those words about the war continuing “Till for

every drop of blood drawn with the lash, there shall be one drawn with the sword, and all the treasure heaped up by three hundred years of bondsmen's unrequited toil, etc.' 'Why, mother,' I said, 'Mr. Lincoln did not utter those words for years afterwards, and how could you have heard them before he spoke them?' But you might as well argue with a stone—she stuck to it that she heard them uttered in 1862 and it had to be printed in the book that way. That is the reason that the historians have to spend so much time hunting around in dark cellars for black cats that aren't there and never were.

"In the public library that I patronize here in the city, I have a fiction card and a card for works of science. I insist they put all histories on my fiction card; there is nothing in the world that will lie like facts, unless it is figures.

"David said in his haste, 'All men are liars.' I guess he was trying to write a history about something. Even when it comes to the New Testament, how can we be sure that just two thousand swine drowned themselves in the lake, when the devils came out of the crazy man and entered into them. Who counted them, and were there not among them some small pigs that ran about so fast that you could not count them?

"Very truly yours,

"CHAS. EDWARD STOWE."

Evidently Mr. Stowe does not think very much of the reliability of history in general and local history in particular, but I have promised myself the work of following up the clue in the records of the Presbyterian Church at my earliest convenience. From this report many say that Levi and Catherine Coffin are the prototypes of Samuel and Rachel Holliday, so well portrayed by Mrs. Stowe. Further relation of Newport and Levi Coffin to Uncle Tom's Cabin can be traced more easily. The story of Eliza is so well known that the mentioning of the name is sufficient to bring the story back to your mind at once. The man who helped Eliza up the bank of the Ohio river at Ripley, Ohio, was the Rev. William Lacey, of Newport. He belonged to a secret service who patrolled the banks of the Ohio river, watching for runaways. He told a few people, his own brother not

being among the few, how he watched her cross from the Kentucky side with her pursuers in close chase. When she reached the river she hesitated a moment, but seeing her capture was sure, she clasped her child more closely, and leaped from one cake of ice to another. At times she seemed lost, but would put the child on the next cake of ice and would drag herself onto the same and continue her journey. Finally, nearly frozen, clothing wet to the skin and entirely exhausted, she reached the Ohio side and was helped up the bank by this Newport preacher. She was taken along the Ohio branch of the railroad, and, being a valuable slave, was hotly pursued, and so, as was the custom, was sent over to the Indiana side and was at the Coffin homestead for several days. Here she was named Eliza by Mrs. Coffin. She was sent on to Canada, and was seen here by Mrs. Coffin years later, on a visit to Canada. This much of the story seems to be true from all documentary evidence, notwithstanding the statements in Mr. Stowe's letter. Probably what has misled him was that his mother put the character of some well-known negro woman into the story of Eliza, but the slave woman who made the trip across the ice was without doubt sent through the Newport station.

About a half-mile east of Newport stands the home of Mr. Hough, who was also prominent in the fight against slavery. Here occurred one of the exciting incidents of the history of the little town. Escaped slaves whose masters were not on their trail frequently worked in Newport for a year at a time, mingling with the free negroes who were in the neighborhood. One night fifteen slave-hunters, led by a man from Richmond, galloped into Newport, making dire threats unless the particular slave for which they were searching be given up. By chance this slave was not at Mr. Hough's home on this particular evening, so Mr. Hough detained the men until the slave could get into town and hide. After a thorough search the slave-hunters went back to Newport and began the second search. The slave was inside a house that was so near the street that several times he could have reached out and touched his master. A bugle call had been given and free negroes began to assemble, armed with shotguns,

knives and clubs; and many other anti-slavery men came, until there was quite an excited crowd. One Kentuckian being thoroughly enraged, made some very wild threats and was covered by a shotgun in a negro's hands. The two sides waited for the opening shot that should signal for the general battle. Rather exciting for a town full of Quakers. Some declared they would have that negro if they had to burn Newport, but others decided that the negro was not worth enough to cause the loss of their own precious lives, and they finally left without the slave. This was the most determined attempt ever made in Newport to capture a runaway slave.

Informers had but scant courtesy at the hands of the Quakers. No harm was ever actually offered them, but life was made so uncomfortable that they soon left the vicinity, although a few secret friends of slavery were left until the Civil War.

An interesting phase of the work was a sewing society formed at Newport to prepare clothing for runaways. Often the slaves were shoeless and almost naked, and this society spent many hours in preparing clothing for their unbidden but not unwelcome guests. Needing money to purchase those things which they could not make, this society made rag carpets, hats, bonnets and other kinds of hand work, and sold them to get money to buy the needed articles. Such women as Bulah Puckett, Elizabeth Stanton, Elizabeth Lacey, Keziah Hough, and many other women were members. Women are still living in this State who as girls were members of this society.

One favorite story of Mr. Johnson was of the largest company that ever passed through his uncle's home on their way north. The party was gathered together in Kentucky and journeyed to the Ohio river at night. They were ferried across by a friendly white man near the town of Madison. While in Union county a group of their masters caught up with them and fired repeatedly at them, wounding several. They succeeded in escaping through the growing corn and reached an underground station at Hicklin. Here, without dressing their wounds, they were placed in two wagons and hurried north. They traveled this way two nights until they reached Levi Coffin's home. Mrs.

Coffin was awake, and hearing the sound of wagons, arose and went to the door. She spoke to the men in charge and said, "What have you got there?" A driver replied, "All Kentucky." "Well, bring all Kentucky in," was her reply. They were brought in, fed and warmed. Coffin then made one of his characteristic speeches: "Seventeen full-grown darkies are about as much as the cars can bear at one time. You may switch off and put your locomotives in my stable and we will water and feed them." This party was worth about \$20,000 in any slave market, but to Mr. Coffin they were so many poor, destitute men. Later in the day Dr. Way and Dr. Stanton, two well-known abolitionists, were called in to remove bullets and shots from the bodies of four of the runaways. Clothing was furnished for all seventeen by the sewing society before mentioned. They were badly in need of clothing, as they were almost naked from their trip through the woods and corn fields. After two days' rest, they were started for the home of John Bond, in the Cabin Creek settlement, but early the next day, Acquilla Jones, of Richmond, rode to Newport, bringing the information that slave-hunters were in force at Richmond. This news was sent to John Bond, and he forwarded the same to the station in Grant county. Here the negroes were resting, thinking themselves secure in this rather sparsely settled section of the country. But the fugitives were scattered in various homes until the hunters lost trail. True to report, these hunters came to Newport by ones and twos, purporting to be cattle and horse buyers. There were three sets of hunters in this party, and two of them followed the fairly well-known trails to Canada. The third remained in Wayne county for a while. Exasperated by their failure, this third party started for Newport, threatening to burn Mr. Coffin's home and kill all negro lovers in the town. Warning was hastily sent to the town, but the old Quaker was not much frightened, and did not even take the trouble to guard his property. This party is supposed to be the one that declared for the first time that there must be an Underground Railroad and that Levi Coffin must be the president of the road. Soon after that, Mr. Coffin began to re-

ceive letters addressed to the President of the Underground Railroad.

A story of Mr. Coffin's appearance before the grand jury of Wayne county will help to explain how difficult it was to detect the work of this underground railroad. Mr. Coffin was summoned before the grand jury at Centerville, to answer for violating the fugitive slave law, although how a State grand jury could inquire about the violation of Federal statutes is hard to understand. When asked by the foreman if he knew of any cases of assault and battery or outbreaks near Newport, he answered that they were nearly all Quakers and were peaceable people. Then a prominent friend of slavery who was on the jury took up the questioning. He asked Mr. Coffin if he knew of any violation of the fugitive slave law in Newport. Mr. Coffin said persons often passed through his neighborhood who said they were slaves, but he did not know how true their statements were, as Indiana law did not presume that a slave could tell the truth. He then asked if Mr. Coffin was not guilty of hiring free colored people, who had not given bond and security as the law required. Mr. Coffin answered, "I presume I am guilty of violating that statute, for I am in the habit of hiring help whenever I need it and ask no questions." One of the jury asked if Mr. Coffin knew of any case in the county where the requirements of this law had been fulfilled, and it was shown that the law was a dead letter in southeastern Indiana. Then Dr. Way was called in and asked about the party of seventeen that had been at Newport and at whose place they had stopped. "At Levi Coffin's," was the answer of the doctor, and then told that he had helped to dress their wounds. He was asked, "Did you know they were slaves escaping from their masters?" The doctor answered, "We had no evidence, except their own statements. They said they were slaves from Kentucky, but their evidence is worthless in law in this State." This was the last legal proceedings in that section against anti-slavery people.

But, on the other hand, there was a rather notable proceeding brought by these Quakers against the slaveholders. The law of Indiana protected people from slavery if the master attempted to

live in Indiana. A slave could be taken through the State if the master did not make any purchases amounting to location. If he did locate, the slaves were free. A Dawes family from Maryland was traveling through Indiana to Missouri, and sickness compelled them to stop at Winchester. Being tanners, they found a tanyard in Winchester that could be bought at a great bargain. The terms agreed on were very satisfactory, but the thought occurred to them that if they located in Indiana they would lose their slaves, so they decided to go to Cincinnati and sell the slaves across the river, and then come back and close the contract. Before they started, however, they bought a lot of tan-bark and furniture, which was, by Indiana law, location, and the moment they did so the slaves were free. The party started for the South and were followed to Newport by Dr. Hyatt, from Winchester, who told the story to a crowd at Newport. This group went to 'Squire Curtis and Mr. Coffin swore out a kidnaping warrant, which was given to Constable John Hunt to serve. The constable summoned a posse of ten and started in pursuit. At midnight the men of the party were arrested near the Ohio line and were brought back to Newport. As the minimum penalty for kidnaping was \$500 fine and two years in the penitentiary, the slaveholders were quite willing to make out papers of emancipation and avoid trouble for their unwitting offense.

As Dr. Hough so well says, there are many unnamed anti-slavery heroes of Newport, and these need considerable place in a paper of this size. Eli Osborn was quite celebrated by one little incident of the raid before mentioned, when the free negroes and the slave-hunters came so near to exchanging shots. One of the Southerners told Osborn that he would fight him a single combat, but he told the man that he was a man of peace, but if he would get down off his horse he would play him a game of marbles. This story was repeated to me by Linden Osborn, his son. This son, who was one of the conductors of the railroad, told me a number of interesting stories of his trips. He is the only man living in Newport that actually took a share in the work of helping runaways. He is a man past eighty years of age, very deaf,

but his eyes still kindle with fire when the stirring days are recalled to him.

Major M. M. Lacey, of Newport, is another man who remembers personally of these times. The following story is told in the major's own words: "In about 1843, when a very small boy, I was playing in the barn, and by chance jumped from a high beam down in the mow of hay. The result was astonishing, as I sank until almost covered up, and it was equally astonishing to others, for no sooner had I landed than I found myself mixed up in a squirming mass of something very much alive. The hay seemed alive with shining eyes and black faces. The interview was very short and contained no apologies from either side. The first thing was to tell mother, who told me for the first time the story of slavery. She told me that under no circumstances must I tell any one what I had seen, and it was well that such a command was made, for the same day, while playing along the road, three strange men came riding by and they asked me if I knew a man by the name of Levi Coffin. Of course they knew all about him, and after many other questions, asked me if I knew where any strange negroes were hid. I must have answered them in a hesitating way, and one of the men pressed me closely in questions, and finally pulled out a roll of bills and offered me \$100 if I would tell him where any negro was hid. I was only eight years old and much frightened, but at least kept the faith."

Thus not even from children could knowledge of this mysterious railroad be secured.

There was an organization of young men who obligated themselves for certain duties in the aid of the colored people. Sometimes they would hire speakers, sometimes they would do scout duty. One duty which required steadfastness of purpose was to take turns in riding to the negro settlement beyond Spartansburg to teach in the Sabbath school. Such young men as Moses Hough, Daniel Hill, Thomas Woodard, Calvin Thomas and others carried on this kind of work.

One of the most prominent workers was Pusey Graves. He was an earnest, brilliant man, and spent his life in the fight against slavery. He was a candidate for Congress on the Liberty

ticket in 1844, at the time James G. Birney ran for the presidency. He made a very thorough canvass in a then hopeless cause, and was often greeted with abuse and stale eggs. He often traveled with an eloquent negro by the name of Lester, and the two made many speeches together. The Richmond Palladium in 1844 had several accounts of his speeches, but always mentioned them in terms of contempt.

Further claim to honor is made by the Quakers of old Newport for some of their numbers in connection with the candidacy of Henry Clay in 1844. Henry Clay was to appear in Richmond in the fall of 1842 and try to swing Indiana into the Whig column. The Quakers of the New Garden church, near Newport, headed a petition to Mr. Clay, asking him to show his attitude on the slavery question by emancipating his slaves. Over two thousand names were secured in this petition, and then the trouble was to present the petition. The Whigs, wishing to prevent the presentation of the petition, refused to allow the Abolitionists to see Mr. Clay until he appeared on the platform in the afternoon. Then the managers asked for any petitions that might be ready to present to Mr. Clay. One powerful Quaker by the name of Hiram Mendenhall struggled to the platform carrying a petition. He was bloody and bruised by the mob-like actions of the crowd, but presented the petition, which Mr. Clay refused to take, although it was read to him by one of the men on the platform. Mr. Clay made answer: "Go home, go home, mind your affairs of the North, and we of the South will attend to ours!" [For a full account of this episode see this magazine, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 117-128.] The report of this was carried to the Abolitionists in the East and was one more cause for the large vote of Birney in that campaign. The vote of Birney in New York State was large enough to draw strength from Mr. Clay, and thus elect Mr. Polk. Many men say that this happening was the cause of Mr. Clay's defeat. However, this may be far-fetched, and it is probable that this assertion should be placed along with those other assertions, such as the length of Cleopatra's nose, or the heavy dew on the morning of the battle of Waterloo. But the incident at least had a bearing on this most important campaign, and it is of note that

one New York paper, in commenting on the election, said, "We are at home, Mr. Clay."

The free negroes should not be passed with mere mention, as they were decidedly active in the cause. They were not trusted fully by the Friends on account of some well-known infirmities of character, but did their best for the cause. Their settlements at Cabin Creek and Spartansburg were often searched by slave-hunters without the formality of a search warrant. The most famous of all these free negroes was Lewis Talbert, who made many trips South to pilot to Canada his less fortunate brothers. He led away more than \$40,000 worth of property. At one time he attended school at the Union Literary Seminary, of Greenville, Ohio. While here a group of Kentuckians came to Richmond in hunt of him. This news was carried to Newport and from there a ride was made on a stormy night to Greenville, and Talbert again made his escape. Finally he was captured, escaped and was never heard of again, probably being captured and killed by his captors, who wished to make an example of him.

Quite an honor roll might be given, besides the numerous names already mentioned, of those who took a place in these exciting times, but their names would not be of particular interest here. But their deeds live after them, and much credit must be given the unnamed heroes who endured trials and hardships that they might aid the oppressed. Their names should be placed on the honored rolls of those who stood true in the cause of human liberty.

Now the exciting days of slave hunts are passed and gone, and this one time Quaker town, the Union Station of the Underground Railroad, before that road disbanded through lack of passengers, once the most hated town throughout the South, has gone to sleep to dream over the noble lives and adventures of her past, which make her one of the most historic towns in Indiana.

HENRY CLAY DUNCAN.

BY JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN.

[A paper read before the Monroe County Historical Society at its February meeting, 1911.]

WHEN I assumed the duties of the presidency of the Monroe County Historical Society in the fall of 1909, it became my office to speak of the life and work of one of the society's most valued members. I refer to Mr. Williamson B. Seward, who had died the previous summer. Mr. Seward was present at the organization of this society, and he may, therefore, be called one of its charter members. He was constantly and actively interested in its work. The death of such a man is a distinct loss to such an organization, whose active friends seem to be limited to only a faithful few.

Since the last meeting of the society another of its original members has been removed by death. This time it is the honored president of the society, whose sudden removal from our association and from this community we are called upon to mourn.

It is certain that not one of us was more deeply interested in the work and welfare of this historical society than was Judge Henry Clay Duncan. No one has been more constant, more faithful, or more efficient in promoting the interest and success of our meetings and of our primary purpose. No one has contributed more, or more valuable material, to the papers and proceedings of the society. It seems, therefore, fitting and proper that some expression of our appreciation of his worth and services, and a brief sketch of his life's work, should be placed upon our records as a part of our proceedings to-day.

Henry Clay Duncan was born on a Lawrence county, Indiana, farm five miles east of Bedford, January 16, 1845. He died suddenly, without warning to family or friends, on January 30, 1911, having just entered upon his sixty-seventh year. He was the son of pioneer parents, of sturdy, substantial stock. His father, Judge William Duncan, of Lawrence county, of

Scotch-Irish stock, was born in Jefferson county, Kentucky, February 16, 1803. He came to Indiana in 1826 while the country was new, and, as he and his kind had to hew out their homes in the wilderness, they may be said to have helped to lay the foundations of the State. The elder Duncan was a public-spirited citizen, honest, sturdy, straightforward, always commanding the confidence of his neighbors, ever alive to the interest of the community in which he lived and ready to co-operate for its moral and material advancement. He was honored repeatedly with public positions in Lawrence county, being probate judge for twenty-five years, county surveyor and county assessor.

Judge Henry Clay Duncan's mother was Mary Haws Malott, also born in Jefferson county, Kentucky, in 1807, about twelve miles east of Louisville. She was of mixed French Huguenot and German descent, French on the side of her father, Hiram Malott, and German on the side of her mother, Mary Haws, who was educated wholly in the German language and followed her Bible reading and worship in that tongue alone.

William Duncan and Mary Haws Malott were married on September 24, 1824. They emigrated to Indiana and settled on their Lawrence county farm in 1826. Their oldest son, Bolivar Duncan, was born in Kentucky in 1825. The other seven children were born on the Lawrence county homestead, about a mile from the old Leatherwood Christian Church. The father died in 1872, the mother in 1887. They were frugal, thrifty, industrious people, the father saving the dollars and the mother the dimes, and, as such people usually do, they prospered in this world's goods. They were not rich as riches are counted to-day, but they were forehanded and provided well for the material, moral and intellectual needs of their children, and left them at last the far richer heritage of exemplary lives and characters.

Henry Clay Duncan was the youngest of the eight children. He was educated in the country schools, and for one term attended the old Northwestern University, now Butler College, and in January, 1864, at the age of nineteen, he entered Indiana University. While he was a young student in the university he

enlisted among the "boys in blue" in the army of the Union, for the hundred days' service. His regiment was the One Hundred and Thirty-sixth Indiana Volunteers, in command of Colonel John W. Foster.

After serving the hundred days for which he had enlisted, young Duncan re-entered the university and graduated with the class of 1868, and later from the law class of 1870. In 1869 he was enrolling clerk in the Indiana Legislature. He read law with the Hon. Moses F. Dunn, of Bedford, and in 1872 formed a partnership with Dunn. In 1874 he came to Bloomington and formed a partnership with John W. Buskirk. After the death of Buskirk, Duncan formed a partnership, in 1888, with Ira C. Batman, then a young lawyer only three years out of college, and this law partnership continued until the death of Judge Duncan a few weeks ago,—a period of twenty-three years. Mr. Batman speaks of him with the warmest regard, recognizing in him a lawyer of the highest efficiency, loyal, faithful, and untiring in the cause in which he had enlisted; with honorable conceptions of duty to his client and to the public; with strong, combative, though straightforward, qualities that made him an opponent worthy of the stoutest antagonist at the bar.

Judge Duncan was married on December 11, 1872, to Sadie Cummings, a daughter of Dr. A. F. Cummings, one of Bloomington's leading physicians, whose home was on the west side of North College avenue between Seventh and Eighth streets. Five children were born to this union, four of whom survive. The son, Frank C. Duncan, was the efficient secretary of this society for a number of years.

In 1880 Judge Duncan was elected prosecuting attorney for the judicial circuit composed of Monroe, Lawrence, Orange and Martin counties. In 1888 he was the Republican candidate for Congress in the old Democratic Fifth Congressional District, but was defeated by the Hon. George W. Cooper, of Columbus, who represented that district for three terms in Congress.

In 1890 Duncan was appointed by Governor Hovey as judge of the Tenth Judicial Circuit to fill out the unexpired term of

Judge Pearson, who had died. In his candidacy for re-election Duncan was defeated by Hon. R. W. Miers.

In 1894 Judge Duncan was elected as State Senator to represent the counties of Monroe, Brown and Bartholomew—normally a strong Democratic district. During his service in the Legislature he helped to secure the passage of the maintenance tax bill for the support of the State institutions for higher education, to take the place of the precarious and vacillating biennial appropriations. He also drew the bill converting the southern Indiana prison into a reformatory. After the adjournment of the Legislature Judge Duncan was appointed by Governor Mount a director in that institution, and served in that capacity for four years.

Judge Duncan was not only prominent and efficient in public affairs, but he was, as I have indicated, an active and busy lawyer. Not only was he vigorous and successful as a practicing attorney, occupying as he did for more than a quarter of a century a leading place at the bar, but he was prominent and helpful in many of the important business enterprises of this city. He was a director of the First National Bank for thirty years, since 1880, and at the time of his death was vice-president of that important institution. He was president of the Workingmen's Building and Loan Association, one of the oldest and most reliable of our financial institutions. He was a devoted and life-long member of the Christian Church, joining at the age of sixteen, and he was an elder and trustee of the church at the time of his death.

Last June Judge Duncan was elected president of the Monroe County Historical Society and at its first meeting for the year last September, he read a strong plea for a larger and more intelligent public interest in the history of the county and its people. The last paper presented to this society at its January meeting, 1911, was by Judge Duncan on "Monroe County in the Mexican War," and those of us who heard the paper will bear testimony to its interest and value. Other papers presented by Judge Duncan within the last few years were on "James Hughes," "The White Caps in Monroe County," "The New

Harmony Settlement," and "Austin Seward." It was the intention of Judge Duncan to collect those papers in typewritten form, bind them and present them in durable shape to the society. It is to be hoped that this may still be done, for these papers are among the most interesting and valuable contributions that the society has produced.

No one had a better sense or appreciation than Judge Duncan of the useful function and possibilities of a local society like this. He had the historic spirit as well as a fine historic scent. He pursued a subject with a keen intelligence, and what he found and put on paper had substance and value to it. He had an unusual appreciation of values. By this I do not mean that he knew the value of dollars and cents, or of real estate, or that he succeeded in business. He did all this, but the values that Judge Duncan appreciated most highly were higher and more lasting than material things. He knew what was worth preserving. He knew how precious to a people is the record of its past and a spirit that cares for its past. He thought of how that past can best be preserved, and it was his deep conviction that no people, national or local, can ever come to much in its posterity who has no concern for its ancestry. He saw the local past fading into forgetfulness. He sought to rescue it, give it a record, and make it secure. He was interested in tradition, but he knew how uncertain and fleeting are the memories of men, and he therefore sought to sift and to save in permanent form, the essential facts, the actual deeds and achievements of our worthy men and women in State and neighborhood life. This was one of his chiefest interests. It is the chief interest of this society, in whose life and aim Judge Duncan was so large a part. It is but right that the name and worthy services of Henry Clay Duncan should ever be preserved and recognized in the society's annals. He gave his services to the community in other ways, but what he did for local history alone is sufficient to give him a place and a name in the life and history of southern Indiana.

INDEX OF HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN INDIANA NEWSPAPERS.

MARCH, 1911—MAY, 1911

PREPARED BY FLORENCE VENN,
Reference Librarian, Indiana State Library.

Abbreviations: Ind., Indianapolis; mag. sec., magazine section; p., page; c., column.

- Automobiles. Picture of first gasoline auto built in America, by Indiana man. Ind. Star, Mar. 1, 1911, p. 4, c. 2.
- Bracken's Rangers. Reunion of. Ind. Star, May 28, 1911, p. 22, c. 1.
- Camp Morton. Camp Morton fifty years ago. Ind. News, May 5, 1911, p. 11, c. 4.
- Camp Wayne. Judge Fox tells of it. Richmond Palladium, May 17, 1911, sec. 2, p. 6, c. 6.
- Civil War. Some Indiana soldiers who were "shot to pieces." Ind. Star, Mar. 19, 1911, p. 5, c. 5. Muncie Star, Mar. 19, 1911, sec. 2, p. 3. Terre Haute Star, Mar. 19, 1911, mag. sec., p. 3.
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- Fifty years ago to-day in Indiana. Ind. Star, Apr. 12, 1911, p. 8, c. 6. (Continued daily on editorial page).
- Mustering of troops in Indiana fifty years ago. South Bend Tribune, Apr. 20, 1911, p. 6, c. 1. Ind. News, Apr. 18, 1911, p. 2, c. 3.
- First regiment organized in St. Joseph county left for the front April 19, 1861. South Bend Tribune, Apr. 18, 1911, p. 8, c. 1.
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- Eleventh Indiana at Ft. Donelson. Ind. News, Apr. 22, 1911, p. 14.

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INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

NOTES.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HISTORY SECTION OF THE INDIANA STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIA- TION, TERRE HAUTE, MAY 5 AND 6.

The attendance and the program of this meeting were rather above the average. Much credit for this is due the president of the section, Professor F. S. Bogardus, of the Indiana State Normal School, who acted as host for the occasion. The program was carried out practically as announced, more time being given than has been customary to historical papers embodying actual contributions to history, a plan which seemed to meet the approval of those in attendance.

Among the papers presented were the following: "A Station of the Underground Railroad," [Newport] by W. D. Waldrip, of the Richmond High School. (This paper is printed in this number of the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History.) "The Apology of Secession," by Professor James A. Woodburn, of Indiana University; "The Handling of Military Features of the Civil War," by W. P. Shortridge, of the Elkhart High School; "The Meaning of the Lloyd-George Budget," by Professor C. Henry Smith, of Goshen College; "The Reform of the House of Lords," by Professor T. F. Moran, of Purdue University; "The Use of Current Events as Illustrative Material," by Miss Minnie Weyl, of Indiana State Normal School, and "Making Pupils Think in History," by Miss Jennie McMullen, of the Terre Haute High School.

Professor James A. Woodburn was elected president for the year 1911-12. The next annual meeting is to be held at Indiana University at Bloomington.

The fourth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in conjunction with the State Historical Society of Illinois and the North Central History Teachers' Association on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, May 17-20, at Chicago and Evanston.

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Henry County Historical Society was held at Newcastle Thursday, April 27. It was largely a memorial service in honor of the late Benjamin S. Parker, a former honored and useful member of the society. Mr. Adolph Rogers is president of the society.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

A CENTURY OF INDIANA.

[By Edward E. Moore. Illustrated. pp. 266, lxxii. American Book Company, Cincinnati, 1911. 75 cents].

Senator Moore's book is entitled to high praise. It is an interesting, convenient and useful sketch of the history of Indiana. Largely taken up with political matters, and showing occasionally an inclination of undue friendliness for the Republican party, it gives considerable attention to the agricultural, industrial, social and educational progress of the State. The most serious omission, perhaps, is the absence of any considerable notice of churches and of religious developments, with the exception of an inaccurate notice (p. 42) on the first Protestant preaching service in the State, corrected in a footnote, and an appendix upon the socialistic experiments of New Harmony which touches upon the religious views of the Rappites.

The work is intended partly for use in schools and should be introduced into all school libraries of the State. It is elementary enough for use even in the grammar grades, and yet substantial and valuable enough for work in high schools. Its usefulness is increased by tables of statistics, and the present constitution of the State given in the appendix.

From a critical point of view exception must be taken to several points. Modern study seems to point to a common stock as the aboriginal race of North America, including the Mound Builders, who should therefore be classed as Indians and not as a distinct race. W. H. Smith's History of Indiana is drawn on extensively, though ordinarily classed as a very poor historical authority. The capture of Quebec in 1759 did not complete the conquest of Canada, as stated on page 48, but was followed by a campaign against Montreal, which did not surrender until 1760. Many other minor inaccuracies might be pointed out, but they do not prevent the book from being of great use as an introduction to the history of the State. It is not the highest authority upon the history of Indiana, but it is a very interesting sketch of its development.

C. B. COLEMAN.

INDIANA SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Yearbook of the Indiana Society of Sons of the Revolution is out for the current year. It contains the history, constitution, by-laws, instructions to applicants and a list of members. The officers for 1910-11 are: President, Hiram B. Patten; first vice-president, Horace C. Starr; second vice-president, George B. Lockwood; third vice-president, Albert O. Lockridge; fourth vice-president, Paul Comstock; secretary, Albert M. Bristol; treasurer, Charles Sumner Clancy; registrar, Mark Dennis; historian, Charles L. Barry; chaplain, Rev. Lewis Brown; chairman board of managers, William Allen Wood.

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PLYMOUTH CHURCH—II.

BY RUTH McCULLOCH.

PLYMOUTH Church, from 1877 to 1900, was a House of Life. So its pastor for fourteen years, Oscar C. McCulloch, named it and developed it, believing that Christ was sent to bring abundant life to the world and that the church as His special agency should carry on His work.

The church doors stood open day and night—all week—with some three thousand people passing in and out for the Sunday services, lectures, entertainments, literary and instructive classes, reading-room, gymnasium, saving and loan association and philanthropic offices. Many can remember that large square red brick building without a steeple as it stood on Meridian and New York streets, with its open doors inviting all the city to a higher, fuller life.

It was an "institutional church" in the days when such churches were few and were widely criticised. Now when every church has its wider reach into city life, and broader interpretation of the religious life as the whole life, it is hard to realize that this has come to pass within only thirty years, through the leadership of such pioneer workers as those of Plymouth Church.

Mr. McCulloch in 1877 came from Sheboygan, Wisconsin, to this church, situated as it then was on the corner of Circle and Meridian streets, with a small and earnest membership desirous of a fuller religious life. His idea that the religious life comprises the social, home and business life, impelling towards justice, kindness and aspiration equally in all relations, found ready response in his congregation, as Christ's true and simple message. And

they worked with him in carrying this message into practical application. He felt that as a minister his parish was the whole city; so he took increasing share in civic and charitable efforts, drawing with him his people as active helpers when help was needed. Thus Plymouth Church came to be recognized as a great center of living Christianity, civic altruism and culture, a true House of Life with open doors for all.

The problems of the usefulness of his church, Mr. McCulloch took up with ardent enthusiasm. He brought to his ministry the influence of a cultured Wisconsin home, five years of active business life and practical philanthropic work, three years of definite theological study in the seminary and seven years of church work in Sheboygan. His spiritual insight, power of constructive thought, practical judgment and open-minded recognition of others' efforts were great forces when allied with a winning personality, a tender heart and high ideals.

In his wide reading and travels he had collected many ideas that helped him in planning his work, and he was constantly in communication by letter and visit with authors and workers all over the country. Henry Ward Beecher, Lyman Abbot, Edward Everitt Hale, Jane Addams, Edward Eggleston, David Starr Jordan and others shared their experiences with him, while he drew rich inspiration and freshened outlook from the reading of old and new masters of thought in religion, science and economics. The action of a consecrated purpose and energetic mind on these materials resulted in the building up of a uniquely useful and live church, the units of which were magnetized by the fervent love and steady light of their chosen leader.

At this early time the life of the church consisted of the Sunday-school, the morning and evening services, the Ladies' Union and the Young People's Society, lines of usefulness that developed under Mr. McCulloch's guidance into new helpfulness, of which more extended account will follow. Working with their pastor, the church soon gained momentum in its services and organization and attracted many new and earnest workers, a large percentage of whom had not before been identified with church life.

By 1884 the congregation required a larger building in which to carry on its work and express its widening influence. By the sale of bonds, free contributions and careful attention to details of management, the large new church was erected. In the wide rooms and halls thus provided this House of Life grew to its fullest in ministry to thousands.

It was felt by the membership that many of "the unchurched" were kept from spiritual fellowship by the rigid creed formerly demanded for admission to the church. Christ's simple words, "Come, follow me," to his first disciples, were considered to embody the essential pledge to Christian life, the basic element in all statement of creed. It was therefore adopted as the one needful promise for alliance with the church, being expressed in the church constitution:

"The idea of this church is that of a body of brethren and sisters, friends, associated for Christian work and worship. Its members strive to do to others as they would be done by, and to undertake such work as may be thought to lie within the scope of a Christian church.

"As a church of Jesus Christ, gathered in His name and to do His work, we declare our union in faith and love with all who love Him.

"We associate ourselves together for Christian worship and for Christian work, pledging ourselves to carry out the objects of this church.

"These objects are: Public worship of God, weekly renewal of religious sympathies and affections, mutual acquaintance and assistance, and the alleviation, by physical and spiritual means, of poverty, ignorance, misery, vice and crime.

"To carry out these objects, we pledge our time, our talents and our money according to our ability.

"Come with us; for the world needs you and yours."

Attracted by this kindness of welcome and simplicity of aspiration, men, women and children from all walks of life gathered for the services; teachers, commercial travelers, professional men, men of low degree as well as men of high degree, truly "all sorts

and conditions of men," united in their belief in one fatherly God and His good purpose for their lives.

Mr. McCulloch's sermons, morning and evening, conveyed his thought to his people with the force of sincerity and clearness. He was close to God and drew others into nearness also, as he explained God's presence in all the things of the world and His will in personal lives. His words brought light to the bewildered, comfort to the sorrowing and energy to the eager. He pointed out the good wherever found, and talked of it in such a way as to make others desire it. He urged all to find their God-imposed task of usefulness and to perform it for the Larger Good. As Good thrilled him, so Wrong aroused his opposition. He studied and denounced from the pulpit all selfishness and cruelty, either individual or collective, keeping well abreast of daily occurrences that were occupying men's minds and claiming their activities. On the burning questions of capital punishment, wages and labor, prison conditions, war, industrial evils, etc., he took a courageously definite stand on highest ethical grounds, urging each individual's responsibility for right, strong action in regard to them.

The congregations were large, often testing the capacity of the building—even many being unable to enter because of the pressure. It was his observation that the evening services drew the most needy and wistful souls, and he made particular effort to feed and satisfy them. His word was always helpful and illuminating, but he added on occasion illustrated talks and musical services. Once a month the evening sermon was illustrated with stereopticon pictures thrown upon the screen. A series on the Life of Christ was given with all the beautiful world-known portrayal of it in picture and music. Another series was the Inspirational Poems of the World, including Burns's "Cotter's Saturday Night" and religious poems of Whittier. Another evening was given to "Our Dumb Animals," with famous pictures by Landseer and Rosa Bonheur, with a lesson on kindness to animals.

Many of these slides were made to order from copies of pictures obtained by Mr. McCulloch in his travels. The collection became widely known and was sent for and used in other cities.

Not only through the eye was the imagination of the people kindled but through the ear also, for Plymouth Church possessed a great organ with special attachments which was the delight of all performers and music-lovers in the city. The monthly song services with organ-harmonies were eagerly watched for and attended. The pastor published a collection of Hymns of Faith and Hope, drawn from all sources, for the use of his church.

Mr. McCulloch loved children dearly, seeing in them what Christ saw of innate good and trust and right impulse, seeking guidance in a difficult world. His personal relationship with them was very beautiful and tender. He gathered them about him for stories or excursions into the fields and woods for flowers or nuts or watching the birds, seeing God in all nature. Often the children were invited to an afternoon romp in the big church-room upstairs; or for games and refreshment; or a dolls' reception. In his morning sermon a special story-talk always came first for the children, enjoyed keenly also by their elders, and they took part in the services at Christmas, Easter and Children's Day, when they each received a potted plant or bulb. Thus they felt their place in the church life. These children, now mature men and women, speak of this early influence with appreciation and reverence.

In the primary grade of the Sunday-school the then new kindergarten methods were introduced, following Froebel's ideas of sense and thought connection. Simple songs, Bible stories and nature studies were provided. A study of Christ's life was arranged for pupils of the older classes, with special emphasis on character development, thus making the connection evident between the Old Story and the young life studying it, seeking a way to imitate it. Adult classes studied under earnest teachers certain helpful inspirational books, such as Carpenter's "Three Gospels." The Sunday-school song-book contained cheerful and melodious songs, old and new, that the children loved to sing. They formed choruses under skilled leaders and had an orchestra of many instruments. Each child made a weekly pledge of money that enabled the school to be not only self-sustaining but to con-

tribute generously to the Orphan Asylum, the Newsboys' Home, and the Coal Mine Mission. This developed altruism and a sense of business responsibility.

The women of the church were organized into the Ladies' Union, meeting monthly for charitable sewing, church-house-keeping, money-raising, home missions and other combinations of effort. The idea of a monthly church supper and social was carried out with great success, drawing great numbers and creating general cordial relations.

Mr. McCulloch collected and published a book of songs, known as Plymouth Songs, containing such old favorites as "The Old Oaken Bucket," "Marching Through Georgia," "Home, Sweet Home," "It's a Way We Have at Plymouth," etc. Singing these lustily together promoted great friendliness and pleasure and made the socials memorable.

Once on a visit among the poor he found a new-born baby wrapped only in a gunny-sack, as no preparation had been possible for the poor, sick and discouraged mother. The Maternity Society was immediately organized in the Ladies' Union and many little garments were made in anticipation of such need. This source of supply became known throughout the city and was freely drawn upon as occasion required.

The Young People's Circle was a great source of energetic life in the church, enlisting as it did all the primitive and newly awakened forces in combined effort. The same principle was utilized in a particular way among the young girls composing the King's Daughters Circle, affording an opportunity for usefulness and help among them. Mr. McCulloch realized that people became more intimately acquainted and ripened into friendships quicker when working together in the accomplishment of a worthy purpose—at the same time developing their abilities. He had keen discernment in perceiving the abilities of people and in setting them to work. In addition to these regular branches of church work there was the Thursday evening meeting for prayer and communion and "conversation on ideals."

The institutional features that were distinctive developed grad-

ually and naturally as the idea of a fuller life through the education of faculties materialized and the eager workers became anxious to reach other lives wistful for higher opportunity. This was before the day of Y. M. C. A. classes, the night schools and settlement houses.

A reading room was established, supplied with a large number of books, magazines and papers. Centrally located as it was, it became very popular and during the day and evening was in steady use.

The Indianapolis Lecture Course, for many years a great feature of Plymouth life, brought noted speakers, home and foreign, every two weeks to talk on the great themes of the day. Beecher, Matthew Arnold, Canon Farrar, Henry George, Justin McCarthy, Senator Bruce, Booker Washington, Lew Wallace and Amelia Edwards were among the prominent workers in all fields who contributed to the "more abundant" life of Indianapolis. The prices were nominal—five lectures for a dollar—and the crowded houses sustained the lecture course. The Plymouth auditorium was an open forum and any entertainment that was intellectually worthy and contributed to the higher life was welcome. Sometimes a famous entertainer would read or recite, or a noted singer or instrumentalist would occupy an evening. Thus many tired minds were refreshed, flagging spirits were stimulated and thousands had happier and fuller life because of Plymouth and its ministry in Indianapolis.

A gymnasium was fitted up in the basement for the boys and men and young women, in charge of competent instructors, and the opportunity was much used for physical development and athletic enjoyment.

To develop thrift and habits of business along right lines, The Plymouth Saving and Loan Association was established to encourage small savings and to make loans at low interest rate. Laboring people of all ages were thus enabled to make their deposits—dimes, quarters or dollars—weekly, at interest, making a beginning toward future competence or the inevitable "rainy day." It was one of the first endeavors of the kind in the State and resulted in much good.

A travel class met twice a month to roam in imagination over the world. Its motto was, "He knows no land who only knows his own." They studied the great cities of Europe by book, stereopticon and descriptions of eye-witnesses; and in 1891 the class took a three months' trip abroad under Mr. McCulloch's guidance, visiting the places they had studied.

Mr. McCulloch's business training and natural aptitude for organization were constantly employed in the conduct and management of these varied lines of work. He was always able to arouse the interest and energies of those about him, and was thus able to relegate much of the work to responsible committees; but he was ex-officio chairman of every committee and saw to it that things were done. He made great use of publicity methods, in leaflets, circulars, cards of special appeal, newspaper channels, etc. The entire Plymouth enterprise was managed in accordance with strict business methods.

As the need appeared, classes were formed to study mathematics, domestic economy, literature, stenography, civics and any subject that a given number of people desired to study. This was known as the Plymouth Institute, opened in 1884, "a school for busy people." Instruction was offered at a low rate, thus remunerating earnest teachers, and enabling servants and other day workers in office, store or factory to spend their evenings in enlarging their cramped faculties, in acquiring knowledge and fellowship and higher training. This work developed rapidly and some of the classes became famous in the city. Special Browning, Hawthorne and Emerson studies were notably pursued.

Friday afternoon lectures on historical subjects pertaining to our state and country, filled the auditorium successively for a long period with school children. Men and women of note from near and far talked on such themes as, "Women of the Revolution," "The Indians," "Pioneer Life in Indiana," "Mexico," "Heinrich Hudson's Voyage in the Half Moon," "William Penn," etc. It was a similar movement to that carried on by the Old South Church in Boston and was very successful in con-

veying impressions of the heroic life lived to establish peace and welfare in our common country. "Boys are scarcer than dollars," was an impelling thought with Mr. McCulloch. "Good boys will make good men; let us help them by showing them noble examples in our history."

The church auditorium was open to outside engagements—high school graduation exercises, conventions of teachers and civic gatherings. In a special room upstairs, the Indianapolis Literary Club held its weekly meetings for fifteen years. The ladies of the Flower Mission made headquarters here for the planning and execution of their tender work. Every room in the house was occupied almost constantly by groups of eager people engaged in some branch of the Father's business. One-half of the lower floor of the administration part of the building was occupied permanently by the offices of the Charity Organization Society and the Indianapolis Benevolent Society, and hither came not only all who were engaged in carrying on these instrumentalities, but the weary poor driven to the limit by their deprivations and troubles.

In 1878 Mr. McCulloch had accepted the presidency of the Benevolent Society, then at so low an ebb of vitality that the propriety of disbanding was under consideration. He was immediately interested in the possibilities of helpful work and made suggestions as to feasible activities with such enthusiasm that the leadership was unanimously bestowed upon him; and he was re-elected year after year until his death in 1891.

In taking up this work for the whole city he studied the situation carefully and began the institution of thorough measures of relief, the uppermost ideas being systematization of all the charities of the city and the education of the needy to self-help, and thus the prevention of pauperism. Prominent men of the city worked with him in planning and execution. Every case of need was recorded. Investigation was the basis of relief. The strictly meritorious and those down temporarily and because of chance misfortune were recognized; those who followed alms-taking as a trade or business, and were always dependent, were

recognized, also, as the problem to be solved in the last analysis of benevolence. Out of this came the data that made possible his treatise on "The Tribe of Ishmael," a study of progressive family degeneracy running back through several generations to a single pair whose progeny, at the writing, numbered over three thousand souls.

The Charity Organization Society was formulated in 1880 as a "clearing house" in the administration of intelligent help. Applicants for relief were referred to various allied organizations, such as the Orphan Asylum; the Friendly Inn and wood-yard, where work and relief were associated; the Flower Mission, with trained nurses if needed; or to some one of the many church agencies, the township relief officer, etc. County asylums and prisons throughout the State were visited and studied with a view to better care of the inmates and agitation for reforms. The Children's Aid Society and Free Kindergarten undertook the great task of caring for and training dependent and neglected children.

Authority was sought in the Legislature for the establishment of a Board of Children's Guardians with legal power to protect children against the abuse and evil influences of unworthy parents. This law has resulted in great good to hundreds of children during the years since, in being separated from their vicious parents and placed in good homes.

The workhouse, free bath and a dime saving association were other lines of work started by the awakened altruism at this time. The Summer Mission for sick babies and their mothers at Fairview Park was begun at this time and has grown and extended into large proportions. Cottages have been built and furnished year after year, by the McCulloch Club, churches and enthusiastic individuals, until a small village has arisen, the original cottage having been christened "McCulloch Cottage."

Much might be said concerning each of these efforts in detail, as they are still operative and well-known for their effective helpfulness. They make a long chapter in the life story of one man; of his initiative, his executive capacity and success in enlisting helpers for the time and those upon whom his mantle fell.

In all these efforts Mr. McCulloch and his church were leading actors. Great labor was called for in arousing and molding public opinion and in effecting the organization and support of the various measures. His courage and energy and wisdom were unflagging. As the work developed rapidly the Indiana associated charities became foremost in the country for effectiveness. In 1890 Mr. McCulloch was elected president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and the 1891 meeting was held in Plymouth Church. This was in May, and was the last public appearance of Mr. McCulloch in connection with the charities to which he had given so much of his life and effort.

After his death in December, 1891, the church activities continued as before for some time, but without the moving enthusiasm lent by their instigator. Under the pastorate of Mr. Dewhurst, who succeeded him, a neighborhood settlement house was opened in a congested quarter of the city where good influences were exerted by classes and club work. In 1903 the church property was taken by the general government for the erection of the post office building, and the institutional character of the church was changed by its up-town location.

But in its life it had started forces that will never die. It had demonstrated the usefulness of the church as a House of Life for a city's people; inasmuch as the people who met there lived better lives for it. The organizations born there are still existing in higher development, though in new offices and in some cases under new names. For they were based on true principles of service to human need in its many phases. Indianapolis is a city known far for its well-organized charities, and for its general culture, largely because a church door stood open all day, and every day and night, instead of three hours a week.

THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION OF INDIANA.

BY JACOB P. DUNN.

THE paper on "The Development of State Constitutions," read by Professor Coleman before the Illinois Historical Association, and published in the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for June, 1911, contains a passage which seems to me to call for some correction, in the interest of historical accuracy. It is as follows:

"Governor Marshall has this year embarked in a revolutionary scheme of procuring the passage in the Legislature, by the support of the Democratic members, of a bill submitting a new constitution to the people and providing means of counting the Democratic party as a vote for the constitution. The present constitution, while it provides a required process for amendment, makes no provision for the calling of another constitutional convention, nor does it make any mention of the possibility of a new constitution. Governor Marshall and members of the Legislature have argued that this leaves the door open for the Legislature to submit a new constitution to the people. As far as Indiana is concerned, however, there would be just as much precedent for the Governor himself submitting a new constitution to the people without the intervention of the Legislature. All precedents call for a constitutional convention. If, on the other hand, the new constitution be, as is claimed by the opposition, not in fact a new constitution, but a series of amendments to the old, the whole procedure is plainly unconstitutional."

Although this is a feature of current history, it will probably occur to the reader that, for the present at least, the matter is political rather than historical; and I confess that my chief interest in it is political, though I think it is so in the best sense of the word. The chief end of the proposed constitution is to secure honest elections; and I believe that, without honest elections, republican government is a sham and a mockery. For

that reason, for nearly twenty-five years, I have done all that was in my power to secure honest elections in Indiana.

In 1888, as secretary of the self-appointed committee that prepared the Australian Ballot law for submission to the Legislature, I drafted that law, substantially as it was adopted, and as it still stands. It made a great improvement in the elections of the State, but there are some weak spots in it that can be reached only by change in the constitution. The central purpose of the Australian system is to enforce an absolutely secret ballot. It cannot prevent a man from selling his vote, but it aims to prevent a corrupt voter from proving that he voted as he agreed with his purchaser.

As the present constitution of Indiana gives suffrage to illiterate voters, no valid law could provide a system of election under which illiterates could not vote, and the only feasible mode of evading this difficulty was to allow the poll clerks to mark their ballots for them. Unfortunately this has become a common means for vote-buying—the poll clerks, in violation of their oaths, signalling to the purchaser how the vote has been cast. As there were over 40,000 illiterate voters in Indiana in 1900, and there are many more now, the menace of this defect is obvious; and it is the more so because many of these illiterates are unnaturalized foreigners, who are allowed to vote in Indiana on “declaration of intention” to naturalize, after only six months’ residence in the State. Many of them have no real intention of becoming citizens, and, have no interest in elections, beyond the sale of their votes. This evil is so apparent, and so appalling, that it would be painful indeed, if, when the people finally have opportunity to vote to remove it, the reform should be lost through any popular misunderstanding of the right of the people to alter their form of government.

This right of the people is fundamental in American government. It can be no more plainly stated than in the declaration of our present constitution: “The people have, at all times, an indefeasible right to alter and reform their government.” The constitution of 1816 called it “an inalienable and indefeasible

right to alter or reform their government in such manner as they may think proper," but the meaning is the same. A right that is "indefeasible" is "inalienable." It cannot be taken away, or given away, or lost in any manner. Moreover, it is a legal right and not a revolutionary right. It is not conferred by the constitution, but is recognized by it. No right recognized by the constitution is "revolutionary." The constitution is the fundamental law of the State, and only such things as are in violation of it are "revolutionary."

This brings us to Professor Coleman's first erroneous statement of facts, that, "Governor Marshall has this year embarked on a revolutionary scheme." In what sense is it "revolutionary"? A revolution is "the overthrow of an established political system." Nothing is overthrown here. All that is done is to provide for allowing the people to exercise their indefeasible and constitutional right of voting on a question of altering their constitution. The utmost that is claimed by any one is that the Legislature exceeded its constitutional power in submitting the question. I deny this; but even if it were true, every unconstitutional act passed by the Legislature would be equally "revolutionary." The use of the word by Professor Coleman in this connection must be classed as mere unfounded epithet, and not as impartial historical statement.

Of like character is the statement that the "scheme" provides "means of counting the Democratic party vote as a vote for the constitution." By this Professor Coleman reduces the adoption of a principle of vast importance to the narrow limits of temporary party expediency. He overlooks the fact that the principle of party action is made open to all parties; and not only on this occasion, but also as to all future proposals for amendments. He overlooks the fact that the same principle has been adopted in Nebraska and Ohio, and that it has been upheld by the supreme courts of both those States as constitutional, instead of being pronounced "revolutionary."

But worst of all, he overlooks the reason of the provision. The obstacles that have commonly been placed in the way of

constitutional changes by the various States are not for the purpose of preventing such changes—the States all concede expressly the right of the people to change their constitution at will—but merely to insure due consideration of the changes proposed. In practice all these expedients have failed, and, as we have learned by experience in Indiana, it is almost impossible to get the people to consider such questions, or even to vote on them. This has led thinking men to the conclusion that the one way to insure the consideration of a constitutional change, or any other question, by the American public, is to make it a political issue. The correctness of this view is already demonstrated in Indiana. The proposed constitution has already received more consideration than any constitution or constitutional amendment ever submitted in this State; and it is safe to say that by the time it is voted on it will have received fuller consideration than any constitution ever voted on in America, with possibly the exception of the constitution of the United States.

Let us now pass to the legislative power of initiation, which is denied by Professor Coleman. It has become so common in this country for newspapers and individuals to criticise and belittle legislatures, that the public has almost lost sight of the fact that the legislators are “the representatives of the people,” and are clothed with sovereign power as to legislation. The constitution of Indiana vests “the legislative authority of the State” in the General Assembly; and the Supreme Court has repeatedly decided that, “The legislative authority of this State is the right to exercise supreme and sovereign power, subject to no restrictions except those imposed by our constitution, by the Federal constitution, and by the laws and treaties made under it.” (101 Ind., p. 564.) Unless such a restriction is pointed out—and in this case none has been or can be pointed out—nobody can properly call an exercise of legislative power “revolutionary.” Any legislative action, not constitutionally prohibited, is regular and legal, by the provisions of the constitution itself, and by the established rulings of the highest courts. The initiative steps for

the adoption of a new constitution are necessarily legislative. They are neither executive nor judicial, and they cannot be taken by the people themselves. The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that constitutional reform must be initiated by the legislature, if there be one in existence. (7 Howard, p. 1.)

But Professor Coleman appeals to precedent, and says that "all precedents call for a constitutional convention." Let us consider this question, and first the definition and function of precedent. Under the unwritten constitution of Great Britain, precedent is everything in deciding what the constitution is, for Parliament can change the constitution at will, and there is no way of determining its provisions but by the precedents of Parliamentary action. But even in Great Britain these precedents impose no restriction on action, because Parliament can override any precedent, and, indeed, must necessarily do so whenever it amends the constitution.

In the United States we have written constitutions, which prescribe the powers of the several departments of government, and precedents are of only secondary importance. The main question here is, what does the constitution say; and precedent is of use chiefly as an interpretation, or construction, of the written provision. Of necessity there can never be any precedent for anything that is done for the first time; and if the exercise of sovereign power were limited by precedent, instead of by definition or principle, it would be impossible to provide for any new emergency. For example, there was no precedent for the Legislature in this State concerning natural gas, and no provision for it contemplated in the constitution, because nobody ever dreamed of natural gas before it was discovered. But the sovereign power of legislation, vested in the General Assembly, gave ample authority for its full regulation.

Professor Coleman states that the present constitution "makes no provision for the calling of another constitutional convention," and it does not, in express terms; but it covers the ground when it vests "the legislative authority of the State" in the General Assembly. He says, "nor does it make any mention of the pos-

sibility of an new constitution;" but it certainly does mention "the possibility," in the words, "the people have, at all times, an indefeasible right to alter and reform their government." These are not mere abstractions. Under similar, and no stronger provisions, thirty new constitutions have been adopted in States of the Union, which, like Indiana, had no express constitutional provisions for new constitutions, and most of which, like Indiana, had express provisions for special amendments to the constitution.

It is quite true that most of the new or proposed constitutions of the American States have been prepared by constitutional conventions; but it is not true, as Professor Coleman states, that "all precedents call for a constitutional convention." In all of the thirteen original States but Delaware and Massachusetts, the first constitutions were prepared by the Legislatures. The first constitution of Nebraska (1866) was prepared by the territorial Legislature, and adopted by the people. The State was admitted to the Union under it, and continued under it till 1875. In 1874, the Legislature of Michigan submitted a complete constitution to a vote of the people, without the intervention of a constitutional convention. In 1898 the Legislature of Rhode Island prepared and submitted a complete constitution to the people, and resubmitted it in 1899.

This last action was something more than a precedent, for the supreme judges of Rhode Island, in 1883, had given a formal opinion (not a decision) that the Legislature had no power to call a constitutional convention. (14 R. I., p. 649.) The Rhode Island constitution, however, provided for special amendment, and the proposed new constitution was submitted to the people, by the Legislature, as an "amendment" to the existing constitution. It should be remembered, in this connection, that this opinion of the Rhode Island judges was given without hearing arguments, and apparently without intelligent thought. Its chief reason for denying the "power" of the Legislature to call a convention, was that all necessary changes might be made by special amendment. This position is so absurd that the opinion

has been ignored by every other State in the Union, and it stands to-day alone—an unique monument to judicial fallibility.

But, it may be urged that these are not Indiana precedents. As to this, another incident of written constitutions must be remembered. To constitute a precedent there must not only be similar action, but it must be under similar constitutional provisions. There could not be any exact precedent, in Indiana, for any line of action at present, in the adoption of a new constitution, because there never has been any such action in this State under the present constitutional provisions, or anything resembling them. The constitutional convention of 1816 was elected under an enabling act of Congress, which provided for the election of delegates exactly as delegates to the territorial House of Representatives, of the same number and qualifications, and from the same districts. At that time the people elected only the representatives in the Legislature, and these nominated ten citizens, from whom Congress selected five to act as a council, or upper house of the Legislature.

The enabling act authorized this body to meet, and to "first determine, by a majority of the whole number elected, whether it be or not expedient at that time to form a constitution and State government for the people within the said Territory; and if it be determined to be expedient the convention shall be, and hereby are authorized to form a constitution and State government; or, if it be deemed more expedient, the said convention shall provide by ordinance for electing representatives to form a constitution or frame of government, which said representatives shall be chosen in such manner, and in such proportion, and shall meet at such time and place as shall be prescribed by the said ordinance; and shall then form for the people of said Territory a constitution and State government."

This provision giving to a body elected as an ordinary Legislature the power either to adopt a constitution or to call a constitutional convention was also used in the enabling acts of Ohio, Illinois and Missouri. In all the other enabling acts provision is made for the direct election of a constitutional conven-

tion, excepting that of Wisconsin. In that case the provision was simply that the people might adopt a constitution, and the mode of procedure was left to be fixed by the territorial Legislature. In Indiana the delegates elected decided to act as a convention, and not only framed a constitution, but also adopted it without submitting it to the people. The enacting clause of this constitution reads: "We, *the representatives of the people* of the territory of Indiana * * * do ordain and establish the following constitution or form of government; and *do mutually agree with each other to form ourselves* into a free and independent State, by the name of the State of Indiana."

At the adoption of the second constitution of Indiana, the General Assembly was a body of the same character as at present; and it controlled the proceeding throughout. The constitution of 1816 provided that "every twelfth year after this constitution shall have taken effect" a vote of the people should be taken on the question of holding a convention. If they favored it, and "a majority of all the members elected to both branches of the General Assembly" agreed to it, a convention was to be called, "which convention, when met, shall have it in their power to revise, amend, or change the constitution." In other words, the constitution conferred on the second convention the same power that had been exercised by the first convention, of adopting a constitution without submitting it to the people.

This provision of the constitution was wholly disregarded. No vote of the people on the question of calling a convention was taken in 1828, or in 1840. In 1849 the General Assembly provided for a vote "for or against the calling of a convention to alter, revise or amend the constitution," and the vote favored it. In 1850 the General Assembly passed a law for a convention, but for a convention without the powers prescribed by the constitution of 1816, and by the vote of 1849. It provided that when the convention should have agreed on the form of the constitution, "The roll containing the draught of the amended constitution adopted by said convention, and the proceedings of said convention, shall be deposited by the president and secretary thereof, in

the office of the Secretary of State." The Secretary was to certify a copy to the Governor, who was to lay it before the next General Assembly; and it was to submit the proposed constitution to a vote of the people.

The convention was held as thus provided, in all respects. It did not attempt to exercise the powers given by the constitution, but confined itself to the duties prescribed by the Legislature. It did not even submit the constitution it prepared to a vote of the people. That was done by the act of the General Assembly of February 14, 1851. The whole action was not only without precedent, but in disregard of the provisions of the existing constitution. It can be justified only on the ground that the Legislature, under its general authority, has the power to submit to a vote of the people any question of fundamental law, if it be not expressly prohibited by the constitution. It was defended on that ground, in the convention of 1851, by Robert Dale Owen, in his argument for the adoption of the system of special amendment contained in the present constitution, in these words:

"I am not prepared to say as to how far the abstract right of the Legislature extends in regard to submitting to the popular vote propositions of amendment; nor am I prepared to say that as a matter of abstract right they may not do so whenever they think it proper and expedient. But I say if you insert such a provision as this, placing no greater check than that of requiring two successive Legislatures to act affirmatively upon the question before it shall be submitted to the people, I am convinced that it will be entirely satisfactory." (Debates, p. 1939.)

It will be generally conceded that, so far as the disregard of existing constitutional provisions is concerned, the action of 1851 would be very dangerous to adopt as a valid precedent for future action. And yet it will be almost as fully conceded that the requirement of the Legislature that the constitution be submitted to the people, was far wiser than the provision of the constitution of 1816 that the convention might finally adopt a new constitution, without submitting it to the people. In any event, the action of 1851 cannot be invoked as a precedent for the posi-

tion that, when the constitution is silent on the subject, the Legislature has no power to decide on the course of procedure in submitting a new constitution to the people. The General Assembly of 1850, in its exercise of discretionary power, went far beyond anything that is proposed at present.

And while, from the standpoint of precedent alone, there are these examples of exercise of legislative authority for the submission of a constitution to a vote of the people, in Indiana and in other States of the Union, there cannot be shown, in all the history of Great Britain, or of the United States, a solitary case where an executive undertook to submit a constitution to the people. What then shall be said of the historical accuracy of Professor Coleman's statement that, "As far as Indiana is concerned, however, there would be just as much precedent for the Governor himself submitting a new constitution to the people without the intervention of the Legislature?"

There remains Professor Coleman's final statement: "If, on the other hand, the new constitution be, as is claimed by the opposition, not in fact a new constitution, but a series of amendments to the old, the whole procedure is plainly unconstitutional." This claim is a mere verbal quibble, based on confusion of the ordinary and the legal meanings of the word "amendment." In law, the distinction between "amendment" and "revision," or "new enactment," is one of form and not of subject matter; and this is so universally and firmly established as to all classes of written instruments that it is unquestionable. For example, suppose I make a will, and later desire to change it in some respect; if I rewrite the will, including the change, it is a new will; if I merely add a codicil to the old will, containing the new provision, it is an amended will.

As to statute law the decisions are numerous, for most of the States provide, as Indiana does, that, "No act shall ever be revised or amended by mere reference to its title, but the act revised or section amended shall be set forth and published at length." Obviously, if you repeal a part of an act, and let the remainder stand, you "amend" that act, in the ordinary sense of the word.

But at every session of the Legislature acts are "amended" in this sense, by new laws which repeal "all laws and parts of laws in conflict herewith," but do not set forth what remains in force of the laws so affected. It is the universal decision of the courts that such laws are valid because they are not "amendments" in form, but "new enactments."

As to constitutions, I know of but one case where the question was ever raised. It is evident that if a new or proposed constitution is in fact mere "amendment," its character is not changed by the mode of presentation; and, in consequence, if the present proposed constitution had been adopted by a convention, word for word, and the claim that it is "amendment" only were sound, it could not be submitted to a vote of the people, under the provisions of our present constitution, until it had been adopted by two successive Legislatures. This exact question was raised as to the Louisiana constitution of 1898, which was attacked on the ground that it was not really a new constitution, but only an amendment of the old one. The Supreme Court of Louisiana promptly disposed of the point on the ground of form, saying: "If it be an amendment, counsel's proposition is undoubtedly correct, but we think it is manifestly incorrect. * * * it (the instrument) is, in our opinion, exactly what it purports to be, a constitution, and not an amendment to an existing constitution." (51 La. An., p. 434.)

I have devoted so much space to this subject because, to me, the purification of the suffrage, which is the central feature of the proposed constitution, is a matter of pressing and vital importance to the American people. I submit to any sane man the question, "What does popular government amount to if the electorate be debauched?" Is it less a hollow mockery than a jury trial in which the jurors are for sale to the highest bidder? Every American who is at all familiar with practical politics knows that the existing situation is most lamentable; and I should think that those who hold aloof from politics, but who read such revelations as recently came from Adams county, Ohio, would be appalled. Cannot the conscience of the people

be aroused? Can they not be impressed with the solemn force of that sentiment of the Ordinance of 1787: "Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government, and the happiness of mankind"—not essential to the individual merely, but to the public welfare? We are making not only history, but also conditions that will have vast weight on the future. In heaven's name, let us at least try to make them such that posterity will not have just cause to curse this generation. I feel at liberty to say that to Governor Marshall the purification of the suffrage is the chief feature of the proposed constitution; and I believe that future generations will be grateful for his effort to remove the existing evil, even though some of his contemporaries may condemn him for it.

INDIANA'S PART IN THE MAKING OF THE STORY "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN."

BY JACOB P. DUNN.

[This article appears also in the Indianapolis News, September 2, 1911. Mr. Dunn has long been interested in matters pertaining to Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe.—EDITOR.]

A PROPOS of the new biography of Harriet Beecher Stowe, by her son, Charles Edward Stowe, and her grandson, Lyman Beecher Stowe, there is a side light on the biographical accuracy of the former that is of especial interest to Indiana people, in the remarkable letter from him published in the last number of the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, in the article, "A Station of the Underground Railroad," by W. D. Waldrip, teacher of history in the Richmond high school. The article refers to the activities of Levi Coffin, "president of the underground railroad," at Newport, Wayne county (now Fountain City), Indiana. Mr. Waldrip states that he obtained much of his information from John Wright Johnson, an aged Quaker preacher, and a nephew of Levi Coffin, who, among other things, told him that "Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe had visited Newport twice, once while he was at the home of Mr. Coffin, and once in after years," and that "much of the information about slave life, and particularly the story of Eliza, was secured by Mrs. Stowe at Newport." Desiring further information, Mr. Waldrip wrote to Charles Edward Stowe, and received in answer the letter printed on pages 67 and 68 (Vol. VII, No. 2, June, 1911), of the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, part of which is as follows:

"With regard to the story of the visit of Mrs. Stowe to the house of the old Quaker, Mr. Coffin, you know as much as I do, and that is nothing at all. I doubt, if Mrs. Stowe was still living and in possession of her faculties, if she would remember anything about it. She always said herself that the original of Eliza

was a young woman and her child, who were taken off the place of old Van Sant at night by Professor Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher. Yet I think it by all means probable that there was a foundation to the story and it was not made up entirely of whole cloth. I do not know that Mrs. Stowe was ever in Indiana. She was in narrow circumstances for eighteen years after the marriage of my father and had heavy cares. She would not have gone to Indiana without reason. Can you locate either of her brothers, Charles or William, in that State as ministers of the Presbyterian church? If you can, you have established the probability of a visit to that State, made by her; otherwise it is improbable that she ever made such a visit. If she did visit Indiana before writing 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' it was when she had no more idea of writing the book than of paying a visit to the moon."

If this statement could come to the eye of Mrs. Stowe, in the spirit world, the shade of Hamlet, which might naturally be near her, would be moved to repeat, "Oh, wonderful son, that could so astonish a mother." One can imagine her saying: "Is it possible he does not know that I lived in Cincinnati from 1832 to 1849; and that his uncle, Henry Ward Beecher, commenced his ministry at Lawrenceburg, Indiana, only twenty miles away in 1837; and went from there to the Second Presbyterian Church at Indianapolis, where he remained from 1839 to 1847. Is it possible he does not know that his uncle Charles was stationed at the Second Presbyterian Church of Ft. Wayne, Indiana, from 1844 to 1851?"

In reality Mrs. Stowe did not always say that the original of Eliza was the woman who was taken from her home to Van Zant's. On the contrary she states expressly in the Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, that the original, as to personal description, was a quadroon girl who attracted her attention while visiting in Kentucky. But as to the incident of crossing the ice, which was a well-known fact, she expressly states in the last chapter of "Uncle Tom," in the Key and in the introduction mentioned above, that she used the historical incident. She even used the

woman's name—Eliza Harris—which was not her real name, but one given to her by Mrs. Coffin, to conceal her identity until she got to Canada.

Indeed, the reference was well understood all through the Ohio valley; and Levi Coffin himself mentions it in his "Reminiscences," as follows: "The story of this slave woman, so graphically told in Harriet Beecher Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' will, no doubt, be remembered by every reader of that deeply interesting book. The cruelties of slavery depicted in that remarkable work are not overdrawn. The stories are founded on facts that really occurred, real names being wisely withheld, and fictitious names and imaginary conversations often inserted. From the fact that Eliza Harris was sheltered at our house for several days, it was generally believed among those acquainted with the circumstances that I and my wife were the veritable Simeon and Rachel Halliday, the Quaker couple alluded to in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.'"

The caution of "wisely withheld" names was of no force as to Eliza Harris, because she was safe in Canada, but it did affect a feature of the story that was almost as remarkable as the escape over the floating ice. The man who met Eliza on the north bank of the river, near Ripley, Ohio, was not a Kentucky neighbor, as described by Mrs. Stowe, but the Rev. William Lacey, of Newport, Indiana, an agent of the underground railroad, who started her on her way, over that line, without the intervention of the "senator" of Mrs. Stowe's book. The story as told completely shielded the identity of those actually concerned in the escape.

Possibly Mrs. Stowe never met Levi Coffin, but it is incredible that she did not know of "the president of the underground railroad," for he was very active at Cincinnati for years, and finally moved there in 1847. Naturally, Mrs. Stowe would put little in writing concerning it, on account of the security of both the agents and the escaping slaves; but in one of her letters reminiscent of Cincinnati life, she naively mentions "the underground railway, which, I may say, ran through our house." Her father,

her husband, and her brother, Henry, were all aggressive anti-slavery men, and if Henry, in particular, was not in touch with the underground railroad, it was the only known thing in which he felt a deep interest that he ever did keep out of. It is well known that he was a friend of Hiram Bacon, whose house, west of Malott Park, was the Indianapolis station; and, also, that he at times stayed over night at this house, and preached at Washington Church, which Mr. Bacon had built.

If Mrs. Stowe visited her brother, Charles, during his seven years' stay at Ft. Wayne, she might naturally have stopped at Newport, for she would have to pass it in going from Cincinnati to Ft. Wayne, and so the testimony of Friend Johnson is quite credible. But it is absolutely certain that she visited Henry Ward Beecher at Indianapolis, for there are plenty of witnesses living who testify to that. Moreover, it is almost equally certain that she got her character of Uncle Tom here, from Uncle Tom Magruder, a very religious old negro, who was freed by the Noble family, and who, with his children, was cared for by them here.

As to the originals of characters, one fact must be borne in mind, which was never better expressed than by Mrs. Stowe herself in the Key in these words: "This work, more, perhaps, than any other work of fiction that ever was written, has been a collection and arrangement of real incidents—of actions really performed, of words and expressions really uttered—grouped together with reference to a general result, in the same manner that the mosaic artist groups his fragments of various stones into one general picture. His is a mosaic of gems—this is a mosaic of facts." It is in this feature of the book that its exaggeration lies. Nobody would say that a mosaic was a reproduction of nature, although every stone in it was natural. In the story, a mass of isolated facts, "grouped together with reference to a general result" about a small number of people, leaves the impression that it was a picture of slavery as it existed in general. This it was not, but it was an appalling picture of the everyday possibilities of slavery, based on actual facts.

The principal characters are also mosaics, as illustrated above in the case of Eliza. Mrs. Stowe states in the Key that the chief feature of the Uncle Tom character, putting religious duty above obedience to his master, was taken from the Rev. Josiah Henson. But she had met Henson but once before she wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and that was early in 1850, while at her brother Edward's, in Boston. She had no knowledge of him in his family surroundings; and the Indianapolis claim is that she got the material for her personal sketch here, just as she got that for Eliza in Kentucky. The nearest a contemporary statement of this, of which I have knowledge, is in the Indianapolis Journal of February 24, 1857, on the occasion of the death of Uncle Tom, and from it I take the following:

"To those unacquainted with Old Tom, the most interesting circumstance connected with him is the probability that he gave the name and the leading features of the character to Mrs. Stowe's celebrated hero. Of course no one knows that to be the case, but there are some circumstances which give it an air of probability. The coincidence of the character and the name are not much in themselves, but connected with the fact that Henry Ward Beecher, during his residence here, was a constant visitor of Uncle Tom's, well acquainted with his history, and a sincere admirer of his virtues, the coincidence becomes more suggestive. We have even been told that Mrs. Stowe herself sometimes called to see the old man. 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' too, was the name of his home among all of his acquaintances, and was a familiar phase here long before Mrs. Stowe immortalized it. At all events, we know it is the impression with all the friends of Mrs. Stowe, and her brother, in this city, that Old Uncle Tom was the original or at least the suggestion of the hero of the cabin."

This opinion appeared in various Indianapolis papers repeatedly, at later dates, and it would be strange, if it were not well founded, that none of the numerous friends and admirers of the Beechers received a denial of it, which would necessarily have broken the universal faith in the tradition. It may be added that

there is another confirmation of it, not noted in the Journal article. Uncle Tom had two children, Moses and a girl, Louisa, who was considerably younger. But there lived with them another man, of about the age of Moses—they were all middle-aged people when Mrs. Stowe knew them—whose name was Peter. He had been a slave of Judge Isaac Dunn at Lawrenceburg, and some time after the slaves in Indiana were freed, in 1820, Peter became lonesome, and Judge Dunn made arrangements for him to live with the Magruders, whom he had known at Lawrenceburg. The family therefore corresponded exactly to Uncle Tom's as described in Chapter IV of the book, of Mose, Pete and the baby.

After Uncle Tom's death the children lived for some years in a cabin in Wabash street, opposite the present Empire theater, but later Louisa was furnished a home, at what is now 454 Highland avenue, by Mrs. George Frank Miller. She lived there till her death, on September 7, 1900, at the age of ninety-two years. It is the tradition in the Noble-Davidson family, derived from the Magruders, who always confided in their "folks," that Mrs. Stowe not only visited Uncle Tom, but wrote part of her book in his cabin. This is, of course, incorrect, as it is known that Mrs. Stowe did not begin writing the book till late in 1850. It is probably based on the fact that she took notes of things that Uncle Tom said, for she was at the time writing commonly for publication; and in the winter of 1850, before "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was published, she wrote to her husband, "I can earn \$400 a year by writing." Her "New England Sketch," in Hall's Western Monthly Magazine for April, 1834, brought her a prize of \$50.

Charles Edward Stowe puts a peculiar negative stress on the fact of things happening before his mother thought of writing the book; but every identified fact in the book happened before that time; and every identified character came to her notice before that time. Her whole life had been a preparation for it, for she grew up in an anti-slavery atmosphere from childhood. She had many interesting experiences with slavery, especially during

her residence in Cincinnati, when occurred the anti-abolition riots of that city, and the mobbing of the office of Birney's Philanthropist. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" must have been written chiefly from experience, not research, for she began it late in 1850, and the publication began as a serial in the New Era, on June 5, 1851. Indeed, she says in her introduction, after detailing her personal observation: "It was not for many years that she felt any call to make use of the materials thus accumulating."

In view of all these facts it can hardly be questioned that Indiana contributed materially to the making of the book.

THE BATTLE OF BELINGTON.

BY JAMES H. DURHAM,

Sergeant of the Ninth Indiana Regiment.

[The skirmish of which the following account is given by a participant, was one of a series of minor engagements taking place at Belington, West Virginia, July 7 to July 12, 1861. Brigadier General T. A. Morris, in his official reports, writes of the enthusiasm of the men, their coolness under fire, and his difficulty in restraining them. The advance regiments of the brigade included Milroy's Ninth Indiana, Barnett's artillery, Stedman's Fourteenth Ohio and Demont's Seventh Indiana, of all of which special mention is made.—JAMES G. RANDALL.]

THE Battle of Belington! I never heard of it. Quite likely. As a matter of fact, it never found its way into the reports of officers, and the newspaper reporters could get no clues to found a story on; and more, it was solely and entirely a battle begun and fought to an end by privates and "noncoms," independent of leadership except as some one more daring than his fellows, would push to the front shouting to his fellows to "come on!" when a rush would be made to support him. In short, it was the enlisted men's fight; with not a commissioned officer in the fray except an instance of which hereafter.

I do not remember the exact date when General T. A. Morris, with his brigade, took post at Laurel Hill. The brigade consisted of the Sixth Indiana, Colonel Crittenden; Seventh Indiana, Colonel Dumont; Ninth Indiana, Colonel Milroy; Fourteenth Ohio, Colonel Steedman; First West Virginia Artillery, commanded by Colonel Barnett.

The enemy, commanded by General Garnett, occupied a strong position, covering every approach to Laurel Hill gap. His position was not only naturally strong, but was well fortified. His force was about equal to that of General Morris, in infantry, while in artillery it was superior. General Garnett also had a battalion of cavalry while we had none at all. It seems that our sole object in moving up to Laurel Hill was to hold General

Garnett from reinforcing Pegram at Rich Mountain, against whom General McClellan was operating with a force under Rosecrans.

We held the hamlet of Belington, our advance taking post well toward the base of Laurel Hill, a peak of which, heavily timbered to the summit, loomed up on our right front, and the Beverly pike wound around its base and through the gap in a reverse curve like a reversed capital S, and then on straight through the rebel camp. The writer of this little sketch had been inside the rebel camp, and had pretty thoroughly scouted the country on every side of it, and therefore knew pretty well all that was to be found out by an outsider, concerning its situation, its forces, its armament and defenses. On moving up to our position, General Henry S. Benham, chief of staff, asked me if I had ever climbed the hill on our right front. I told him no; that there was fortification on the summit. There was a rectangular work of logs and dirt about forty yards square on the summit which could not be seen from our side of the hill, but was plainly visible from the rear. General Benham, however, thought that if the enemy occupied it, we would have heard from it at once; so to make sure, a company of the Ninth Indiana (I do not remember its letter, but it was the Logansport company), was ordered to make a reconnoissance. They soon disappeared in the laurel thickets, then the entire brigade held its breath for about five minutes, when the summit of the hill flamed out in fire and smoke, while volley after volley of musketry fairly shook the hill itself.

It is needless to say that our fellows came down out of that neck of timber faster than they went up, and that General Benham was fully satisfied as to its occupation by the enemy.

The next day the trouble began. Sharpshooters, located in the tops of trees, began to send bullets over into our camps. It became exceedingly annoying. General Morris was importuned by Colonel Milroy to let him take the Ninth and capture the position; but General Morris had been ordered by General McClellan to avoid bringing on an engagement. But "l' homme

propose, et Dieu dispose." It happened on Sunday morning. Sergeant Copp, the "fighting parson" of the Ninth, was in the midst of one of his fiery outbursts of religious zeal, when suddenly from the woods on the hillside came a rattling fusillade, mingled with Yankee cheers and rebel yells. Sergeant Copp pocketed his Bible, and, grasping his rifle which stood near, was off to the woods followed by his congregation as soon as they could get their arms. What was left in camp of the men of the Ninth was in line like a flash and in three minutes all were heading for the hill. But Sergeant Copp was stopped by General Morris, as were the colonels of the other regiments, all of whom were ordered to sound the retreat and get their men back. Officers were sent into the woods to bring the men out. Some of them were told to go to H—alifax, while others I fear did not try to exercise much authority.

In the meantime our fellows were getting the worst of it. The enemy's breastworks, with the headlogs in place, gave them an immense advantage. In the center, or nearly so, of their works stood a huge hemlock which towered far above the surrounding trees. I ran to Colonel Barnett, of the artillery, and, pointing out the big hemlock, told him to depress as much as he could with the trunk for a line and give them a percussion shell or two. He gave them three. Two of them struck the hemlock and exploded. The terrified Johnnies sprang up from behind their works, and—well, that was all. They were driven out of their fort and the hill was carried in less time than it takes my old hand to pen the fact. Colonel Barnett's third shell went over the hill and exploded in the midst of a troop of cavalry that was just about to start on a reconnoissance of the situation.

Thus ended the Privates' Battle of Belington. You see, the boys had got tired of taking chances under the fire of sharpshooters. Several men had been wounded, one of them a sergeant of the artillery, and so they made it up among themselves to drive the rebels out. There were some men from all the regiments mixed up in the affair but most of them were from the Ninth Indiana and Fourteenth Ohio.

The next morning before sunrise, the company flag of Company B, of the Ninth Indiana, floated over the fortifications of the enemy, who had silently evacuated the position during the night; and by sunrise General Morris was in full pursuit to overtake them at Carrick's ford. But that is another story.

LETTERS OF SALMON P. CHASE, HENRY CLAY, HENRY GEORGE.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

THE following letters are in the possession of Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke, of Irvington, Indianapolis, who inherited them from Joshua R. Giddings, her grandfather, and George W. Julian, her father. They have never been published.

The letters from Chase are an admirable illustration of his voluminous correspondence in the days of the anti-slavery agitation. It can readily be seen how little confidence he had in the possibility of the Whigs as a party doing anything against slavery, and how he, as an independent Democrat, resented the assignment of pro-slavery sentiment to the Democratic party as a whole. He was evidently strongly inclining toward an entirely new alignment of parties, which he rather expected to take place anyhow in 1844 or 1848, but which did not come till the fifties. Giddings in 1842 and 1844 was still working as an anti-slavery man in the Whig ranks.

The Henry Clay letter is of the greatest interest. Clay's letters probably defeated him in his race, as the nominee of the Whig party, for the presidency in 1844. The burning question was that of the annexation of Texas, to which Polk and the Democratic party were passionately committed and which the Whig party inclined to oppose. Clay, in a letter to the *National Intelligencer* (the so-called Raleigh letter of April, 1844), strongly opposed the projected annexation of Texas. This letter gained strong support from those who opposed slavery and looked upon the annexation of Texas as a pro-slavery conspiracy involving great injustice. Clay was the unanimous choice of the Whig convention on May 1, for the presidency. With the thought, apparently, that some Southern votes could be won, Clay wrote his famous "Alabama" letters to Stephen F. Miller, of Tuscaloosa, on July 1, in which he made the unfortunate statement, "Personally I could have no objection to the annexation of Texas," and on July 27, in which he added, "I should be glad to see it

(the annexation of Texas), without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union, and upon just and fair terms. I do not think that the subject of slavery ought to affect the question one way or the other." These statements undoubtedly threw the votes of many anti-slavery men, which would otherwise have gone to Clay, to the hitherto insignificant Liberty party, and determined the election in Polk's favor. Some anti-slavery men, such as Joshua R. Giddings, in Ohio, and Cassius M. Clay, in Kentucky, continued to work for Clay through the election and resisted the drift toward the Liberty party. In this letter, written in September, Clay shows that he had about given up the Liberty party vote and that he was continuing his fatuous pursuit of the Southern vote by newspaper articles counteracting Cassius Clay's anti-slavery campaign in his support. His recognition that his own letters were doing damage and his inability to resist writing other letters are almost pathetic.

The Henry George letter needs no explanation.

(From Salmon P. Chase to Joshua R. Giddings.)

Cincinnati, Feb. 15, 1842.

My dear Sir:

I thank you for your two last very interesting letters. The Nation is greatly indebted to you and other friends of freedom for the noble stand taken by you in regard to the right of petition. The country is beginning to awake at length to the danger of slaveholding encroachments, and the time is rapidly drawing on, I trust, when the champions of freedom will have the place which of right belongs to them in the confidence and favor of a long deceived and oppressed, but now awakening public.

I think, however, that it will be necessary to go to the bottom and plant ourselves upon the rock of fundamental principles. It will not do to compromise any more. The principle must be established and acquiesced in that the government is a non-slaveholding government—that the Nation is a non-slaveholding Nation—that slavery is a custom of State law—local—not to be extended or favored, but to be confined within the States

which admit and sanction it. I hardly think that the Whigs as a party are prepared to take this ground. The most they will do is to *tolerate* liberty. They will, in this quarter, hardly do that. They will not do it at all unless attachment to liberty is made subservient to party ends and secondary to party obligations. There has been something said of nominating Judge King by the Whig party. I do not expect it, though he has been a distinguished, able and influential Whig. Nor, to say the truth, do I desire it. For such is the policy of opposition to anti-salvery principle, with many of the Whig party, that thousands would vote for Shannon in preference to him, while many of the Democrats who would otherwise support him, will be persuaded that the nomination is a Whig maneuver, and will fall back into their party ranks. I would prefer, for one, to go into the battle with our own strength. We may be defeated now, but at the next election parties must divide on principle, and then we must triumph.

I will send under cover to your address, a number of copies of our Liberty Address, directed to various gentlemen in Washington to whom I will thank you to have them delivered. Why cannot the members from Vermont, who accord in principle with the Liberty convention, go home and plant the standard of Liberty upon the Green Mountains? I feel confident that the State would at once rally under it. Why submit any longer to the degradations so long endured? Why consent, at all, that the principles and rights of the free States—of the Nation, indeed—shall be trampled upon, or if recognized at all, recognized as a matter of grace and favor. I am tired of the cap-in-hand policy. I am unwilling to feel myself and my opinions to be contraband articles in my political party; only tolerated because not safely to be dispensed with. I cannot but think that you and others have these sentiments. Why not then act upon them? Excuse me if I seem too earnest. It seems to me that there is now a glorious opportunity to restore the government to its original principles, and I cannot but hope that before the Congress rises you and others will feel free to take the position of leaders of the Liberty party and issue an address to the people which will be responded

to throughout the land. I verily believe there are multitudes even in slave States who would hail such a movement with joy. If Mr. Adams could be induced to take a part in it, how could his illustrious life be more brightened at its close?

I have written to him a letter which I enclose. It is some years since I have seen him, and he has probably forgotten me. He knew, however, my uncle, formerly Senator from Vermont, and perhaps also my uncle, the Bishop of Illinois, well. I want you to vouch for me and to get for me, if possible, an *early* answer to my letter. It is principally upon the subject of slavery in the District, and the fundamental principles of the Liberty party. It does not, however, suggest any action such as is referred to above. It would not be fit for *me* to suggest a course to *him*. You can converse with him on the subject with propriety. I should be glad to have you read my letter to him.

We are organizing our Liberty party in this county, and expect to make a respectable rally.

Faithfully yours,
S. P. CHASE.

P. S. Please send the blue book and the census.

[Note in another hand:]

(How would it answer for you or some other gentleman to introduce a bill for the repeal of the laws sustaining slavery in the District of Columbia?)

(Salmon P. Chase to Joshua R. Giddings.)

Cincinnati, February 9, 1843.

My dear Sir:

I take pleasure in acknowledging your kindness in sending me a copy of your very able pamphlet. It exhibits with great clearness and force the real line of demarcation between Liberty and Despotism in this American government of ours. The facts which it brings to view are well chosen and most apposite. In all that you say in reference to the constitutional limitations on the power of the government in relation to slavery, I most heartily concur with you. I might depart, perhaps, from some of your practical applications of your principles to cases

of fugitives from service; but this is nothing. The vindication of great principles by the clear and masterly argument of your pamphlet is a great service to the public, and will no doubt do much towards bringing the minds of those who read it to a correct apprehension of their rights and duties in regard to slavery.

There are some particulars, however, as to which I wish to state my objections. You condemn throughout, at least by implication, the *Democratic party* as the avowed ally of slavery. And yet it must be admitted that the principles of the Democracy, so vociferously proclaimed by every orator on every stump, and by every newspaper from every press, are in exact harmony with the principles of the Liberty men. "Neither Christianity nor Democracy can be pure," says the Ohio Statesman, "separated from each other; they are both founded on the love of mankind and the immutable principles of equality and justice. Oppressive, unequal and unjust laws are opposed to both Christianity and Democracy." "Equal rights and equal privileges for all men" is forever in the mouths of the Democrats. Will you say that this is pretence and hypocritical profession? Why not rather impute it to the ignorance of the proper application of their principles to slavery as it exists in this country, which you so justly observe, has hitherto prevailed? Why not hope that the Democrats, once enlightened on this subject, will bend their zealous efforts to carry out the principles of equality and justice in **all** their practical applications?

You refer to the fact that a *Democratic* legislature passed the "black act." You notice its repeal, but I do not observe that you mention that it was repealed by a *Democratic* legislature. You may say, indeed, that a *majority* of *Whigs* voted for its repeal; but did not a *majority* of *Whigs* vote for its enactment? And if it be true that Democrats voted for the law, can it be forgotten that the most conspicuous and influential member of the Kentucky Commission was a Whig? That Mr. Andrew, who drafted the bill (for whom, by the way, I entertain very great respect and regard) was a Whig? That Goddard, and others as influential and distinguished, who supported the bill,

were Whigs? And if the passage of the "black act" must be spoken of as the act of a *Democratic* legislature, why should not the vote of censure on yourself be spoken of as the act of a Whig Congress? I notice that you say that one of your *Democratic* colleagues moved the resolution of censure. You do not mention that the resolution was prepared and brought forward by a *Whig*, who voted with you, I believe, on every distinctive Whig measure. And let me ask you frankly, do you believe you would have been sustained in your own district in the noble and independent position assumed by you, had not the Whig leaders been fearful of driving your friends into the ranks of the Liberty party and thus losing their majority? I have heard that many of the Whigs voted for your opponent, and that not a few Democrats voted for you. In addition to these Democrats might be mentioned a thousand Liberty men who voted for you, so that it can hardly be said that your re-election was made a party question. Be this as it may, however, I know very well that the Whigs here could not be brought to endorse your resolutions or approve your course. I made an effort to get up a public meeting for that purpose, and counselled with some influential gentlemen in relation to it. They were willing to have a meeting called and to attend, to censure the action of the majority of Congress, provided your course should also be disapproved of. Because the consent of your friends could not be obtained to this *compromise*, the idea of a general meeting was dropped. A meeting of Liberty men was called, which paid a just tribute to your courage and perseverance in maintaining and declaring the true principles of the constitution, and uttered a censure on the conduct of your censurers which I have no doubt the people will ultimately ratify.

I refer to these things to justify myself and others who are charged with want of candor because we will not make—I should rather say *cannot make*—any distinction between the respective attitude of the Whigs and Democrats, *as parties*, to the principles and measures of the Liberty men. I readily admit that there are many *men* in the Whig party whom Liberty men should honor for their steadfast adherence to principles; but so long

as Mr. Botts is just as good a Whig as Mr. Giddings, and Mr. Peyton is just as good a Whig (if not, indeed, in a party sense a much better) as Mr. Adams; so long as not one of the great and comprehensive principles for which Liberty men contend and which, as they believe, are indispensable to the restoration of sound and permanent prosperity, finds a place in any *authorized definition* of *Whig* principles, I must be allowed to say that it is unjust in you to charge those who have hitherto sustained you fearlessly and unwaveringly, with want of candor because they will not transfer *your merits* to *your party* by political imputation, and that, too, without repentance or the fruits thereof. I have not an opportunity of seeing the Whig papers of the State generally, but I am informed that your essays have appeared in very few of them. Your last was printed in the Gazette of this city, except a few paragraphs, which it was probably supposed would offend the Whig sentiments of its readers. Your expositions are certainly the most clear and able which have appeared of the topics which you discuss. Why, if they express the sentiments of your party, does not the party press publish them and say so? Why not at least let their readers know that such facts and principles exist?

My dear sir, you will pardon me, I trust, if I repeat what I have heretofore said, that I cannot but think that it is the duty of yourself and such as you to come out on our side—on the side of your beliefs and your principles. I cannot but believe that if you, Mr. Adams, Mr. Slade and others would take this ground, there might be a nomination of President which in the present state of parties would command the confidence of the people and receive the sanction of their suffrage. We could carry upon our banners not “Northern Rights” exactly, but Constitutional Rights, Liberty, Justice, Free Labor. We should not be obliged to make promises which the slave power would compel us to break or deprive us of the power of fulfilling. We should not be compelled to wear two faces, one at the South and another at the North. Open, frank and honest, we might hope for success. At any rate, we might deserve it. Will you think of this and write me?

Pardon me for inflicting upon you this long letter, and believe me still,

Very truly and respectfully yours,

S. P. CHASE.

P. S. I ought to have mentioned, speaking of the notice taken here in one or two of the papers (except the Phil.) [the Philanthropist, Birney's anti-slavery, Cincinnati paper] of your course in the [illegible] business, that every article approving of your position and justifying you fully was, so far as I observed, written by myself, and printed, tho' reluctantly, because I requested it as a matter of favor to me.

I should have acknowledged long ago your letter about some bankrupt cases last summer. I did as you wished, but neglected to advise you of it. No inconvenience resulted, I hope.

(Henry Clay to Joshua R. Giddings.)

(Private and Confidential.)

Ashland, Sept. 21st, 1844.

My dear Sir:

Before I received your favor of the 16th instant, I had addressed a letter to you which I presume you have since received, but which had not reached you at the date of yours.

In that letter I expressed my great reluctance on account of the necessity arising out of the letter of C. M. Clay, Esq., of my publishing my note to the Lexington Observer. I stated what I still believe, that there was great danger of the loss of four slave States if I left Mr. Clay's letter unnoticed. I stated to you also, that I expected a letter which I addressed to Pittsburg would be published, but it has not been, and why I do not know.

I regret extremely that state of things which you describe in Ohio; the loss of its Electoral vote will I fear lead to the inevitable defeat of the Whig party. Always prepared myself for any event, and ready to acquiesce in any decision of the People of the United States, I should deplore that defeat less on my own account than that of our common country.

I transmit enclosed a letter in reply to one which you for-

warded from Mr. Hendry; but I sincerely hope it may not be published, because the public mind is in such a state of excitement that anything from me at this time is liable to the greatest perversion.

In certain States, which you can well imagine, it might occasion us a much greater loss than any gain in your quarter; and I must add that I am afraid all your Patriotic efforts to conciliate the support of the Liberty party are vain and fruitless. Their course in Vermont, although our friend, Mr. Slade, was the candidate there for Governor, and their more recent course in Maine, cannot have escaped your observation. Another reason for not publishing my letter to Mr. Hendry is, that I have had many letters from New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio requesting me to forebear writing letters for publication. Notwithstanding which I am almost daily importuned to write others.

I thought that you would be pleased with that part of my note, drawn from me by Mr. Clay's letter, in which I state that the power over the Institution of Slavery in the Slave States is vested exclusively in them.

I will transmit to you in a few days an editorial article on the subject of my three letters in regard to Texas, with which I hope you will be well pleased.

I am faithfully,

Yr friend and ob't Servant,

H. CLAY.

The Hon. J. R. Giddings.

(Henry George to George W. Julian.)

417 First St.,

San Francisco, Nov. 27, 1879.

Hon. George W. Julian,

Dear Sir:

Your kind note of the 19th received. I value your opinion, for I have a high admiration of your services and character, and what you say of my book pleases me very much. It is, as you say, profoundly religious—not that I am what is called a religious man, for I have no formal creed and never go to church—

but that a strong, deep religious idea rises inevitably out of such thought. And to me the faith that has thus arisen has been and is a great comfort—sometimes inexpressibly so. The book, in itself and its antecedents, represents to me a good deal of labor and not a little sacrifice, but it has brought at least this reward. You will understand what I mean, as you have understood what in the book some will not understand. I of course, do not know your inner life, but I know that to every man who tries to do his duty there come trials and bitterness in which he needs all the faith he can hold to.

I thank you for the good words which you tell me you will speak for the book. You can do in this way great service. For much depends upon first reception, and a book which challenges so much that is buttressed by authority, and which moreover comes from an unknown man, will of course be contemptuously pooh-poohed by the commonplace critic and ordinary routine professor. If the book gets a start and attracts attention it will do much toward bringing to the front the great land question, and giving us something real in our politics. Appleton & Co., of New York, have the book in press, and I am anxiously expecting day by day that they will publish it. They will then send it to the papers and magazines, to whom so far I have not been at liberty to send any of the little edition I printed.

I wished very much to get acquainted with you, and was very much chagrined that I missed the opportunity, and especially to find that Mrs. Julian had been here while you were absent in Los Angeles and when we might have paid her some attention. The fault was my own, and arose from a habit of concentration into which I got while writing that book, to which it was necessary. But either East or West, I hope to meet you again. With respects to Mrs. Julian, I am,

Yours very truly,

HENRY GEORGE.

TWO INDENTURES OF NEGROES.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

[These documents are in possession of Mrs. Huntington, of Springfield, Illinois, granddaughter of Jesse K. Dubois, and great-granddaughter of Toussaint Dubois, of Vincennes. We are indebted to her for permission to publish them.—EDITOR.]

THIS Indenture made this sixteenth day of December in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred & Eleven, Between Pickard & Jane, his wife, freed people of Colour, of the County of Shelby & State of Kentucky, of the one part, and Peter Hansbrough of the County and State aforesaid of the other, Witnesseth

that the said Pickard and said Jane from perpetual slavery, they having been his slaves and in consideration of what hereafter follows do Indenture and Bind themselves unto the said Peter Hansbrough for and during the term of Thirty Years to serve him with fidelity and subjection at all times without absconding themselves from service. And we the said Pickard & Jane doth make no Exception to render our service or services unto the said Peter Hansbrough or Heirs, altho removed to any of the United States or Territories thereof. And the said Peter Hansbrough doth covenant & agree to use the said Pickard & Jane with Humanity and to support & clothe the said Pickard & said Jane while performing faithfully their duty as Servants during the above term of thirty years, after which to let the said Negroes go free to all intents & purposes.

In Witness whereof we Pickard & Jane doth freely and voluntarily set our hands and seals hereunto, the day & year above written.

Test:

ENOCH HANSBROUGH.

JOHN LOGAN.

THOMAS BRADSHAW.

SAMUEL SHANNON, JR.

TRUMAN WHITE.

IGNATIUS P. RANDOLPH.

PICKARD X [Seal].

JANE X [Seal].

PETER HANSBROUGH [Seal].

This Indenture made this sixth day of November in the year Eighteen Hundred and fifteen, Between Pickard, a free man of colour, of the one part and Toussaint Dubois, Sr., of Knox County, Indiana Territory, of the other part, Witnesseth, That the said Pickard who is and acknowledges himself to be upwards of Twenty-one years of age, for and in consideration of the sum of Twenty Dollars to him the said Pickard in hand paid, and of Five Hundred dollars good and Lawful money for me, and at my special instance and request, paid Tompson Taylor, agent of Samuel Oldham, and more especially for the consideration of the said Toussaint Dubois, Sr., having set me free and emancipated me, from all bondage whatever Hath, and by these presents doth, binding self, to the said Toussaint Dubois, Sr., as an Indented Servant for and during the full end and Term of Twenty years, from the date of these presents, and that I the said Pickard, will during the said Term, aforesaid, faithfully, and Honestly serve him, the said Dubois, Sr., his heirs, Executors or administrators or assigns, as well within the Indiana Territory as there-out, and that he the said Pickard will at all times give due obedience and attendance, to his or their Lawful business, and not at any time absent himself from his master, without his or their consent during the said Term. And that he will not at any time suffer his property or person to be injured if within his power to prevent it.

And the said Toussaint Dubois, Sr., for himself his heirs & doth covenant and agree, to and with the said Pickard, that he will at all times, during the said Term of Twenty years, furnish and provide him with competent and sufficient meat, drink, lodging and wearing apparel, as well in sickness as in health. And at the end of the said Term, to give him a freedom suit of clothes. Indiana Territory, ss.:

In Witness whereof the said Pickard, and the said Toussaint Dubois, has hereunto set their hands and seals. The day and year first above written.

his
PICKARD X [Seal].
mark

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of

GEORGE R. SULLIVAN.

JAMES E. READ.

B. PARKE.

DUBOIS [Seal].

Indiana Territory, SS:

Be it remembered that on the day of the date hereof, Personally came before me the undersigned one of the Judges in and over the said territory, the above and foregoing named Pickard, a man of color & acknowledged that he had voluntarily entered into signed and sealed the foregoing Indenture for the consideration and for the purposes therein mentioned.

Given under my hand & seal this Sixth day of November, Eighteen Hundred and fifteen.

B. PARKE [Seal].

Recorded in my office, Vincennes, Knox County, November 5, A. D. 1815, Book A, page 269.

J. D. HAY, Reco. K. C.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Indiana State Library, Indianapolis
Published by the Indiana Historical Society
CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

NOTES.

The portrait of Major-General Anthony Wayne, painted in 1796 by Henry Elouis, has been presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Mrs. Joseph Drexel. An excellent reproduction of it is published as the frontispiece of the July, 1911, number of the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.

The Laporte County Historical Society has adopted the plan of holding quarterly meetings, at which papers are read bearing on local history. The meetings are held in a room of the Laporte Public Library. William Niles is president for the year 1911.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

A MEDICAL HISTORY OF INDIANA.

[By G. W. H. Kemper, M. D. Illustrated. pp. xxi, 393. American Medical Association Press, Chicago. Copyright by the Author, Muncie, Ind., 1911. \$2.50.]

This book contains more reliable biographical information than any book published in recent years relating to Indiana. The author is also entitled to the highest praise for confining his biographical sketches to physicians not now living, thus avoiding the curse of most local histories, the profitable laudatory autobiographical accounts of the men whose vanity makes the history pay the publisher. The title of the work, however, does not indicate precisely its nature. It is rather a history of the medical profession of the State, limited largely to personal sketches. A reviewer's first feeling is one of disappointment that a broader

field was not covered by Dr. Kemper. A medical history of Indiana, to fully justify its name, should deal with the sickness and the health of the people of Indiana. To a layman it seems that there is room and material for an interesting work of this character. The conditions of life in the State have varied greatly during the nearly two centuries of its history; the health of the people, the diseases most prevalent and the generally accepted treatment of them, must also have varied. Facilities for taking care of the sick, statistics of health and disease, sanitary conditions, the presuppositions of the practice of medicine,—these and many other things would form valuable parts of a scientific medical history of the State. But Dr. Kemper is evidently more interested in the doctor than in the patients, and passes them by. For this he may be excused inasmuch as he has chosen to write a history of the doctors of the State rather than the book which the title would seem to call for. But even from his own point of view he is to be criticised for omitting a discussion of hospitals and medical colleges. If the reviewer is not mistaken, some of the most interesting medical history of the State is to be found in the development of these institutions. Only a couple of hospitals and a couple of medical schools seem, in a cursory reading, to be mentioned, and to them altogether only two or three pages are given.

Dr. Kemper's book, in fact, is practically limited to notes about doctors in Indiana and the practice of medicine as developed in the Indiana State Medical Society (or Association, as it is now styled). The author has been a member of the State Medical Society since 1867, was president in 1887, and since 1900 has been chairman of the committee on necrology. To the Transactions of the Indiana State Medical Society for 1901 he contributed a complete index of all the transactions from the beginning of the society in 1849 to 1900. The present volume is a collection of the several articles published in the Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association during the years 1909 and 1910 and the earlier months of 1911, and entitled "Sketches of the Medical History of Indiana." It is accordingly more or less fragmentary and unsystematic, and based too exclusively upon notes from

the State Transactions, the Medical Journal and the Journal of the Medical Association.

Within the boundaries of the field which he chooses to cover Dr. Kemper has done accurate historical work, and a great deal of it. Every page bears evidence of patient efforts to secure information and a careful sifting of evidence to get at the exact truth. A great deal of biographical material and many interesting points in the medical history of the State have thus been brought to light and will be preserved in accurate form. Too great praise can scarcely be given to Dr. Kemper in this respect. His work is so far superior to that of the average local historian that we must not only recognize his reputation as a physician of prominence and skill, but must accord him a high place in the ranks of the historians. He has preserved in permanent form a good history of the medical societies of the State, and has given within one cover and in compact, convenient shape, the titles of the publications of and the most important biographical facts about most of the physicians, not now living, who have practiced their profession within the State of Indiana. There are some interesting collections of cases given, and full information about the achievement which, in the minds of many doctors, stands highest in the medical annals of the State, an operation for gall-stones, the first of its kind in the world, performed in 1867 by Dr. John S. Bobbs, of Indianapolis, which fairly gave him the title of the founder of cholecystotomy. The respect of the non-professional reader for Dr. Bobbs is increased by the fact that the patient made a complete recovery and is still living at the age of seventy-four. The enthusiastic appreciation of Dr. Kemper's work with which Dr. A. W. Brayton introduces it will be confirmed by any one who reads it or has occasion to use it for reference. We have heard a great deal about the literary men and statesmen of Indiana, and we are all glad to know more about the medical men of Indiana, and to find that they have been an able and a worthy set of men. C. B. COLEMAN.

NEWTON COUNTY, 1853-1911.

[By John Ade. Map. 314 pp. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. 1911.]

Mr. Ade is one of the oldest settlers of Newton county, assisted in its organization, and has occupied a prominent place in its annals. His son, George Ade, has won a national reputation by his writings, but the father turns to literature only after retirement from active life. As he modestly puts it, "Most of the subject matter offered herewith was prepared during 1910 and was written, partly because I had been requested by friends to do so, but principally because I wished to occupy my mind and fill in the time. I am supposed to be too old to engage in actual business, but having been accustomed to constant employment of some kind ever since I was twelve years of age, it naturally goes hard with me to sit around and do nothing." Local historians may well congratulate themselves on Mr. Ade's frame of mind, for his history is very interesting and very much worth while. Many facts and reminiscences are here brought to light which would otherwise have been lost.

The first chapters give a good account by way of personal experiences of early conditions, while the later ones contain much information in convenient form about the men and the institutions of the county. Lists of county officials, pastors of the churches, and towns and additions to them, make the work valuable for reference. Altogether Mr. Ade has done a good piece of work, and it is to be hoped that this history of Newton county will have a good circulation. C. B. C.

RAFINESQUE, LIFE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[By T. J. Fitzpatrick, M. S. Illustrated. 239 pp. The Historical Department of Iowa. 1911.]

Samuel Rafinesque is one of the most brilliant as well as most picturesque figures in American science. His peculiarities, and the conditions under which he worked, barely prevented him from being one of the great names in the scientific advancement of the world. He is of local interest in Indiana through his

being one of the "boatload of learning" which went down the Ohio from Pittsburgh to Hendersonville, and then overland to New Harmony. He did a good deal of botanizing in this State, and was acquainted with the leading scientific lights of the country and with many public men, such as Henry Clay, who were interested in the promotion of science and culture.

Mr. Fitzpatrick has done a most excellent piece of work in collecting all available information about Rafinesque. The biographical and the bibliographical parts both seem to be exhaustive and well-nigh definitive. It is one of the best books of the kind published in this country. It is well illustrated with a portrait and many facsimiles.

Of the bits of autobiography included, the reviewer can not forbear to give the following, in spite of its length, as a description of Rafinesque's field work in this country some seventy-five years ago:

"Let the practical Botanist who wishes like myself to be a pioneer of science, and to increase the knowledge of plants, be fully prepared to meet dangers of all sorts in the wild groves and mountains of America. The mere fatigue of a pedestrian journey is nothing compared to the gloom of solitary forests, when not a human being is met for many miles, and if met he may be mistrusted; when the food and collections must be carried in your pocket or knapsack from day to day; when the fare is not only scanty but sometimes worse; when you must live on corn bread and salt pork, be burnt and steamed by a hot sun at noon, or drenched by rain, even with an umbrella in hand, as I always had.

"Mosquitoes and flies often annoy you or suck your blood if you stop or leave a hurried step. Gnats dance before the eyes and often fall in unless you shut them; insects creep on you and into your ears. Ants crawl on you whenever you rest on the ground, wasps will assail you like furies if you touch their nests. But ticks, the worst of all, are unavoidable whenever you go among bushes, and stick to you in crowds, filling your skin with pimples and sores. Spiders, gallineps, horse-flies and other obnoxious insects will often beset you, or sorely hurt you. Hateful

snakes are met, and if poisonous are very dangerous, some do not warn you off like the Rattle-snakes.

“You meet rough or muddy roads to vex you, and blind paths to perplex you, rocks, mountains, and steep ascents. You may often lose your way, and must always have a compass with you as I had. You may be lamed in climbing rocks for plants or break your limbs by a fall. You must cross and wade through brooks, creeks, rivers and swamps. In deep fords or in swift streams you may lose your footing and be drowned. You may be overtaken by a storm, the trees fall around you, the thunder roars and strikes before you. The winds may annoy you, the fire of heaven or of men sets fire to the grass or forest, and you may be surrounded by it, unless you fly for your life.

“You may travel over a[n] unhealthy region or in a sickly season, you may fall sick on the road and become helpless, unless you be very careful, abstemious and temperate.

“Such are some of the dangers and troubles of a botanical excursion in the mountains and forests of North America. The sedentary botanists or those who travel in carriages or by steamboats know little of them; those who merely herborize near a city or town do not appreciate the courage of those who brave such dangers to reap the botanical wealth of the land, nor sufficiently value the collections thus made.

“Yet, although I have felt all those miseries, I have escaped some to which others are liable. I have never been compelled to sleep at night on the grounds, but have always found a shelter. I have never been actually starved, nor assailed by snakes or wild beasts, nor robbed, nor drowned, nor suddenly unwell. Temperance and the disuse of tobacco have partly availed me, and always kept me in health” [pp. 57-58].

C. B. C.

INDIANAPOLIS AND THE CIVIL WAR.

[By John H. Holliday. Paper covers. 70 pp. Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. IV, No. 9. Indianapolis.]

This monograph is of value not only to local history, but to national as well. It gives an authoritative account of the course of the war as viewed from an important, and in some respects

typical, Northern center, and shows with rare insight and careful research the effects of the war upon a city which the tide of battle never reached, but which was the seat of operations of one of the most active war governors, a great war market, a camp for Northern soldiers and for Southern prisoners. In the study of the French Revolution the best work now being done consists in pointing out the course of the revolution and the economic and social life of the people in the provinces and towns outside of Paris. An enormous amount of material has thus been accumulated which enables us to see the revolution in a new and truer light. Something of this sort is now being done in this country for our Civil War. Without invidious comparisons, it is only fair to say that Mr. Holliday's monograph is the best work of the kind known to the reviewer in any part of the country. He has a personal knowledge of the subject, as he was engaged in newspaper work in Indianapolis during the war. To this he has added a wide and penetrating reading of apparently all the sources of information bearing on his theme. He goes into all phases of life in Indianapolis, and, moreover, does not merely pile up isolated items of information, but shows cause and effect, and, withal, gives us a vivid picture of the city in the exciting days of the war. Any historian of the war as a whole will find here a great deal of material and sound judgment which cannot but influence his own conclusions. In quality and style it ranks with Mr. Rhodes' History of the United States from 1850 to 1877 as a masterpiece in the field covered.

As a contribution to local history Mr. Holliday's pages will be read with delight by all who are interested in their city and in bygone days. There is in them a delicious humor, never obtrusive, always apt. Large affairs and great events are given worthy treatment, but the routine of daily life and the fortunes of the average man are never lost sight of. There are five chapters: The Settlement and Its Life, Religion and Politics, The First Year of the Struggle, Rapidly Moving Events (principally 1862), The Bitterness and Magnitude of Conflict. All of these are not only a storehouse of information, but exceedingly interesting as well. Detailed criticism and extended comment cannot be given

here. Part of the material appeared in the chapter of J. P. Dunn's History of Greater Indianapolis which Mr. Holliday contributed. Much of it appears here for the first time.

The summary of the influence of the war given on pages 594 and 595 is of interest. "The war was over, but its grim era closed upon a new Indianapolis. The quiet town, with its simple life, was gone forever, and in its place was the bustling city, with new ideas, new aspirations, new ways. Much more than half the population were newcomers. As it had changed materially, it had changed in other respects. Its life was different. The war had brought sorrow to many households and broken up many.

* * * The alteration in circumstances made a difference, for many large fortunes had been made and many families had been impoverished or had gained nothing. There was more luxurious living and ostentation. The inevitable demoralization of war had to be reckoned with, and both morality and religion were affected. Hundreds of young men had become addicted to intemperance and the general moral tone had been lowered. Extravagances had increased in many things and was driving out the former simplicity. Change was over all." C. B. C.

LINCOLN'S BODYGUARD.

[By Robert W. McBride. Paper covers. 39 pp. Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. V, No. 1. Indianapolis. 1911.]

Judge McBride served from December, 1863, to the end of the war in the "Union Light Guard, otherwise known as the Seventh Independent Company of Ohio Volunteer Cavalry," organized by Governor David Tod. This company served as the bodyguard of President Lincoln. Its members had therefore an unusual opportunity of observing the President in his public appearances and conditions in Washington during the war. Judge McBride was corporal and company clerk, so that he was the logical man to prepare this memorial of the organization. His account, "with some personal recollections of Abraham Lincoln," was privately printed for distribution among the members of the company. It

now appears as one of the Indiana Historical Society publications.

One of Judge McBride's observations is of special interest. After showing the situation of buildings and trees around the White House and the unguarded appearances of the President, he says: "It can be seen how easy it would have been for an assassin to have killed him while he was on one of these solitary visits to the War Department, and how little actual protection was given him by the guards as they were posted. The evidence on the trial of the conspirators showed that they knew of his habit of visiting the War Department, and that they had at one time planned to abduct him, by seizing him on a dark night, while in the shadows of the park, lifting him over the brick wall that bordered the south side of the pathway, and hurrying him across the Treasury Park to a vacant house belonging to a rebel sympathizer, where he could be kept concealed in the cellar until he could be taken across the Potomac in a boat. The plan was practicable, and I have never understood why it was abandoned."

While the pamphlet does not bear directly upon Indiana history, its value and interest are such that it well deserves a place in our historical publications.

Members of the Indiana Historical Society may perhaps note that with Mr. Holliday's "Indianapolis and the Civil War," Vol. IV of the publications is closed and that Vol. V begins with Judge McBride's sketch of Lincoln's Bodyguard. C. B. C.

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A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF IRVINGTON, INDIANA.

BY MRS. VIDA T. COTTMAN.

EARLY HISTORY.

THE earliest tradition that we have relating to the territory now occupied by Irvington is one that is handed down by the late Alfred Wilson, a pioneer resident of Warren township. According to Mr. Wilson, his father, John Wilson, George Pogue and the McCormicks came together from Connersville in 1819* and located on White river at the mouth of Fall creek. John Wilson, who had providently brought with him a half-bushel of potatoes, made a clearing, built a shack and put in a crop. That summer another arrival offered Wilson \$100 for his improvements, which was accepted. With this money Wilson then entered eighty acres of land lying just west of what is now known as Hawthorne Lane. His first home was a double log cabin with a covered passageway between, which stood in what is now the Butler College campus. It faced an Indian trail which connected the Whitewater valley with White river. Soon after his arrival this trail became the Centerville road and later the right of way of the Pennsylvania railroad. There was a great deal of travel to the newly founded State capital along this new road, and the double log house became a frequented inn. In the early thirties the National road superseded the Centerville road; and the Wilsons built a more pretentious tavern on the new highway. The house was a ten-room, two-story structure of brick, and the materials for it were made on the place. This necessitated not only making and firing brick, but also securing the lime for their mortar, which they did by gathering boulders of limestone over the fields, burning them in great piles of logs

*This but illustrates the uncertainties of tradition. The McCormick group came in 1820, and George Pogue was not with them.

and throwing water over them in order to break the stones, thus facilitating the process. This house so laboriously constructed one year later was partially destroyed by fire, and frame additions replaced the burnt portions. One big room in the rear, equipped with a huge fireplace, was called by the family the emigrants' room. It seems to have corresponded to the steerage on a ship. Mrs. Amanda Caylor, a granddaughter of Alfred Wilson, says she remembers many nights when sleeping men, women and children completely covered the floor. Mrs. Caylor relates a pathetic story of one of these poor emigrants. He traveled alone, and, stopping there over night, took suddenly ill and died before morning. He had not told his name and carried nothing by which he could be identified. They buried him in the little graveyard near by. No trace of his friends or relatives was ever found.

John Wilson, who built the inn, died in 1840 and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Aquilla Parker, who lived on in the old place and kept the tavern. There were fourteen Parker children born there, twelve of whom grew to maturity. The advent of the Pennsylvania railroad about war time greatly lessened the travel by wagon, and the business of inn-keeping fell into decay, but the old tavern stood there until the nineties, and many Irvingtonians remember it well.

In 1822 the land from Hawthorne Lane to Arlington avenue was entered by Joseph Sandusky and his wife. The Sanduskys were a large Kentucky family, who left the South on account of their anti-slavery convictions. They first migrated into Ohio, where they left a sufficient impress to have the city of Sandusky for a namesake. A little later they came westward into Indiana, and with true pioneer thrift and courage took up this and several nearby sections, where they continued to live until about 1853, when they rented their farm to Mr. John Ellenberger, who still lives just north of Irvington. Mr. Ellenberger came from Cincinnati, making the trip here with his family and chattels stored in a big wagon. They traveled the old National road and made the trip in safety till they turned in at the gate of their new home, when a treasured rocking chair, which had surmounted the mass,

tottered, fell and was broken. It was not a small loss, for in those days such comforts were almost unknown in the pioneer cabins.

The Sandusky home was located on the exact spot where Mr. James T. Layman's house now stands. It was built of logs, with a basement lined throughout with logs, and a loft above. There was also a log house standing where our public school building now is. The land Mr. Ellenberger farmed comprised almost the whole of the original plat of Irvington. Its boundaries were Hawthorne Lane on the west, Arlington avenue on the east, the Brookville road on the south and a line just south of Pleasant run on the north. His first work was to put a stake and rider fence around this big farm. Mr. Ellenberger was a most energetic and successful farmer. It was he who deprived the north part of town of its glory of forest trees, but he did not dream of the needs and desires of a future town. He was after fields whereon he could grow corn, so the trees were felled. He made a great deal of money from their sale, which was the pay he was allowed for clearing. It is perhaps fitting to insert here as an offset that it is to Mr. Ellenberger's care and public spirit that we are now indebted for that beautiful bit of woodland, wild and nearer its native state than any other in Indianapolis, our new park—the Ellenberger woods. In 1858 Mr. Ellenberger bought his present farm on East Tenth street and was succeeded on the Sandusky place by a man who for many years ran a dairy, having his big barns on the site of Sylvester Johnson's present home.

There are not many relics of those early days. The home of Mrs. Amanda Caylor on Washington street just west of Pleasant run was built in 1849, and is typical of those old-time homes, with its many-paned windows, side lights, big brick fireplaces and great, roomy cupboards. The old pioneer schoolhouse was of logs and stood on Emerson avenue. Until a few years ago its big cornerstones could still be seen just north of the Pennsylvania railroad.

At one time there was a little settlement of Mormons in this vicinity, and there are still a few old barns which were erected by them. These bear a silent testimony to the thoroughness of

the Mormon carpentry, being yet in a state of usable preservation.

Two little cemeteries, the old Parker graveyard back of Mr. William Forsyth's, and the Anderson cemetery on East Tenth street, bear a partial list of those who formerly lived here. The little desolated burying ground just off Emerson is full of graves, but there are few stones, and the Anderson cemetery has many graves antedating the oldest stone marked by the writer, which bore the date 1840.

There is a vague tradition of the death of a mother and child, tenants of the Sandusky family, living in the Ritter avenue log house. They were smitten with a sudden, unknown and terrifying disease, and, dying, were denied burial in the cemetery by their frightened neighbors. Mr. Ellenberger, however, kindly gave the family permission to inter them on his farm, and they lie in some now unknown spot along Pleasant run.

IRVINGTON.

In 1870 Mr. Sylvester Johnson and Mr. Jacob Julian, of Wayne county, Indiana, having accumulated a little money, began looking about for a profitable investment. They were friends, and, after canvassing various projects, decided that the laying out of a suburban town would be agreeable and profitable to both. Through the late Rev. T. A. Goodwin they learned of this place and after looking over the ground and considering its juxtaposition to the State's capital, they decided to purchase 320 acres from the Sanduskys, paying therefor \$32,000. An eighty-acre farm just west of Ritter avenue had been purchased a short time before by Dr. Levi Ritter, and a little later a land company bought in the old Parker homestead. These various owners formed an alliance and concurred in plans to lay out a beautiful suburban town. The original plat of the town covered about a square mile, running from Emerson avenue on the west to Arlington on the east; from the Brookville road on the south to a line a little south of Pleasant run on the north.

It was a pleasant place to look upon in those days. There were many beautiful forest trees, broad green fields, and, winding

through fields and groves, sundry tinkling little streams, all tributary to Pleasant run. The draining and grading of the town have caused most of the little streams to disappear, but Pleasant run is still wending its rippling way through our midst. It was at that time considerably larger and well stocked with fish—red-eyes, goggle-eyes, suckers and even bass being taken from its waters in abundance. In the south part of town were a number of ponds, one about a hundred feet east of the present Irvington station, affording excellent fishing. It is only in recent years that Pleasant run has ceased from riotous overflows, learned to keep within her banks and to live thoroughly up to the reputation implied in her name. A son of Aquilla Parker relates the following story of the origin of that name: A party of government surveyors, along with their other duties, were charged with the bestowal of appropriate names on all the unknown streams they crossed. When they came to a creek east of here they spilled their sugar, and as a memorial to that momentous disaster called the little stream Sugar creek. Grassy creek was so denominated for obvious reasons. Buck creek signaled the shooting of a deer at that point. As they forded our dear little stream some one remarked: "This is a pleasant little run," and so they so named it on their maps.

The name of our town, Irvington, was bestowed upon it by Jacob Julian, who, along with the rest of his household, was an ardent admirer of Washington Irving. It is to Messrs. Sylvester Johnson, Jacob Julian and Levi Ritter that Irvington people are indebted for the unique character of their town. The name itself bespoke culture, and the plans were laid to attract people of means and refinement. It was to be only a beautiful residence suburb and was laid out in large lots, an acre being the average size.

Many have wondered why the majority of Irvington's streets are so winding. Mr. Johnson says they copied the idea from Glendale, Ohio. Mr. Johnson, Mr. Julian and the county surveyor of Wayne county, with more regard for the artistic than for the tired feet of humanity seeking shortest routes, wandered in and out, following little creek beds, bending out and around

to avoid cutting down some of the fine forest trees, and so staked out the curving streets for the town. In thus following the courses of the little streams the high ground adjacent was reserved for building sites. Oak avenue, Mr. Johnson says, has a bulge in it for the express purpose of saving a magnificent oak, which fact suggested its name. The first street in town to be graded and graveled was Audubon road, then called Central avenue. The two circles on this street make it unique. The circle south was designed for a park set out with trees and a statue of Washington Irving was to grace its center. The north circle was given to the town with the understanding that a young ladies' seminary was to be erected there within ten years or the land would revert to the owner. A fountain occupies the place designed for an Irving statue and the home of J. D. Forrest fills the circle north.

The nomenclature of our streets preserves the memory of many of those early residents—Ritter, Johnson, Julian, Downey, Ohmer, Graham, Burgess, Rawles, Chambers, were all named for men prominent in the beginnings of Irvington. The present generation in Irvington owe to these men a debt of gratitude for the effort they made in establishing permanent ideals for a suburb of cultured homes. The streets were broad and well graveled, trees were set out and zealously tended, not only in yards but along the highways; beautiful homes were built, each surrounded by spacious grounds; a large schoolhouse was erected, and such overtures made to Butler College, then the Northwestern Christian University, as to induce it to remove from Indianapolis. All the dwellings of that period are marked by a rather magnificent air and still lord it over the more insignificant houses of later date.

The home of Dr. Levi Ritter, which stood on the site of our present schoolhouse, was the first house of the new town to be completed. In 1872 Mr. Sylvester Johnson and Mr. Jacob Julian built their homes, costing \$20,000 and \$25,000, respectively. Among the other houses built at that period are the Bradbury house, owned now by Scot Butler; the Ohmer house, belonging at present to Willis Miller, and the Downey property, now the

home of T. E. Hibben. All the old brick residences were erected at that time. The George W. Julian home, B. M. Blount's, the two large bricks on South Ritter, the Earl house, the bunch of handsome residences southwest of the college, all date back to those days, as do many of our most substantial looking frame dwellings. On the theory that a man is not only known by the company he keeps but by the house he builds, these houses are certainly indicative of the culture and refinement of that day.

One of the unique features of the town which has been a factor in preserving the highly ideal character of the community is a clause which is inserted in the deed of every piece of ground lying within its original limits. This clause prohibits the sale of liquor on any premises inside the corporation on penalty of its reverting to its original owner. This idea was borrowed from Colorado Springs and was suggested by Sylvester Johnson, who says that the accomplishment of this provision is the proudest fact of his life.

The idea of the place was a taking one, and from the modest \$100 per acre paid by the original purchasers, in two years' time it had increased to \$1,000. In 1873 came a great financial panic, which swept the whole country, and Irvington did not escape. Its capitalists persisted, though woefully crippled. Roadways were graded and graveled, the maples which yet line its streets were set out and carefully tended, and a handsome schoolhouse was built. The promise of the college in their midst served to keep up interest, as did also a street-car line being built out by way of English avenue.

In September, 1875, the college building was finished and dedicated. Almost simultaneously came the completion of the street-car line and the inauguration of hourly trips between Irvington and Indianapolis. The early capitalists kept up their high hopes and also high prices until these last great features to the town had been realized, then wealth and prosperity still failing to materialize, many of them left town for other places, where they had hopes of retrieving their lost fortunes. It has been many times asserted that every investor of that day came out a financial wreck.

In 1875 practically every house in Irvington was occupied. Rentals were high. For a little six-room house containing nothing in the way of conveniences, and not even supplied with well or cistern, \$20 a month was asked and obtained. Inside of two years there were many vacant houses, and large and commodious dwellings could be rented for \$5 a month. In fact, through the succeeding years there were good houses here where people continued to live not even knowing to whom rent was due, for ownership was a mooted question on account of liens and mortgages and consequent litigation.

In Berry Sulgrove's History of Indianapolis and Marion County, published in 1884, is the following description of Irvington:

"Irvington contains, besides the university, a Methodist Episcopal church building, a handsome depot built by the Panhandle Railroad Company in 1872, and fronting on Washington Irving Circle stands a magnificent three-story brick public school building, which was erected in 1874 and is valued at \$20,000. The town has a telegraph and telephone station connecting it with all parts of the State. The street-cars pass between it and Indianapolis every hour. The town has a postoffice, I. O. O. F. lodge, one general store, drug store; wagon shop, meat store and blacksmith shop, and six hundred and fifty-two inhabitants. The Christian church has an organization in the town (membership nearly one hundred), services are held in the college chapel."

The writer can well remember the Irvington of those days. The Methodist church was then a struggling organization of about eighty members, and its building, a little plain wooden structure, was located near Pleasant run east of Arlington avenue. The college professors served the Christian church people in the capacity of pastors. The college was the social center for the majority of our citizens. As most families were represented there by sons or daughters, they felt free to join in whatever social activity it offered. Students were all lodged and boarded in private homes, which increased the intimate relation of college and town. Seldom, if ever, did the five flourishing college literary societies meet without a number of town people in their

audiences, and college entertainments were liberally patronized. Miss Catharine Merrill's Thursday evenings remain a delightful memory to many. Our Sunday-school teachers were recruited from the student ranks, and their assistance was counted on in all church activities. Thus there were few homes which were not permeated with an indefinable college influence which certainly made for culture and refinement.

Commencement week was a gala season, and the college chapel was always filled to overflowing for each performance. The exhibitions of the literary societies occupied the evenings up till Thursday, when the under-graduate address was delivered. Friday was commencement day, and every graduate read an essay or delivered an oration.

For this festive week most families had guests from abroad, and everybody went to everything going on. Even the children were interested and crowded the front seats, keen to see and hear. The graduating exercises usually lasted all day, and the noonday dinner eaten under the trees of the campus, was the great Irvington picnic of the year.

The simple pleasures of home, school, church and friendly neighborly intercourse comprised the social scheme. There were no clubs, no receptions, no luncheons, dinners or teas, and, isolated as we were from the city, few entered social life there. To go to an evening theater, concert or lecture was only to be accomplished by arduous efforts, as there was no evening car service except on Saturday nights. If a sufficient number of people could be interested a car was chartered. Down the middle of our graveled roads we walked carrying our lanterns, for then we had neither sidewalks nor street lights, and triumphant we were carried in our swaying chariot by a pair of little mules to our destination. It was always a happy, good-natured crowd, whose pleasure in the great event nothing could dampen, not even alighting in the mud to help the driver get his car back on the track.

The "magnificent three-story schoolhouse" mentioned by Berry Sulgrove was never altogether finished. At first we had only one room, then two, then three, and finally four. Outwardly

it was quite imposing, but within none too comfortable. The large rooms, with their very high ceilings, were only imperfectly heated by the one big stove. School was not so strenuous then, and the changing of seats which were too warm or too cold gave variety and spice. Out of doors the whole school ground was at our disposal. We had long recesses and noons, and really played. In pleasant, warm weather we often had school out of doors, and if we did not study nature we absorbed it.

In appearance the town presented a marked difference from its present aspect. The houses were scattered. Yards were surrounded by fences. Everywhere were long stretches of commons, over which grazed the village cows; for everybody kept a cow, and everybody's cow wandered where it listed. Mr. W. H. H. Shank had large flocks of sheep, and these also dotted our meadows.

Such conditions as these existed throughout the later seventies and eighties. There was little change in the personnel of the community and few houses were built. The piping of natural gas to the suburb marked the beginning of a growth in the town, which the establishment of an electric street-car line in 1892 greatly accelerated. The quick and frequent service to and from Indianapolis removed the bar which had long kept business men from locating their families here. Many homes were built, sidewalks were laid and streets improved. In ten years' time her development was so marked and she had become so attractive that Indianapolis was enamored, came courting, wooed and won her, and the two were made one. So endeth my story of Irvington.

REMINISCENCES OF JUDGE FINCH.

From The Indianapolis Journal, May 30, 1885.

[The following address by the late Judge Fabius M. Finch was delivered before the Tippecanoe Club in 1885, and is of particular interest as it touches the early settlement at "Horseshoe Prairie," near the present site of Noblesville, which antedated by a year the first settlement at the Indianapolis site. Judge Finch was for many years an honored citizen of Indianapolis.]

GENTLEMEN of the Tippecanoe Club—Occupying, as I do, the middle link between the present and past civilization in Indiana, it is proper that my subject should be on this occasion: "What I Remember of the Early Settlement of Central Indiana." better known as the "New Purchase."

My earliest recollections of Indiana commenced in 1817, at the beautiful town of Connersville, situated on Whitewater river, in Fayette, then a border county. The settlements surrounding that thriving village at that time were sparse, and farm improvements—farming being the sole occupation—were inexpensive and the production limited to a few articles of prime necessity; but as the wants of the people were few and the soil exceedingly productive, their enjoyments of life, as then understood, and the ease of living were quite as free as those of their present wealthy successors in the valley of that classic stream.

While we resided at Connersville, I remember as of yesterday, an almost universal custom of the surrounding farmers and traders, of coming to town every Saturday to buy goods, trade in live stock or lands or "swap" horses, hear the news and settle up old scores by arbitration, and not unfrequently by fisticuff fights. These fights had rules, not written and elaborate like those of the modern prize ring, but well understood and binding in their authority on all who engaged in the amusement in the regular way. No Saturday ever passed, in my recollection, without most of these pursuits being engaged in, fighting being as frequent as either of the others—sometimes simply to settle who was the best man in the neighborhood. This manner of settling

a question seemed equally enjoyed by the actors and spectators. No arrests were ever made for these fights at that day. They were free to all.

I have seen many a scarred face, and neck, and shoulder, and eye, made by the fist, the teeth and the thumb-nails of combatants in these contests, which men carried for weeks afterwards and no questions asked. "Gouging" consisted in running the thumb into an opponent's eye with all one's force, so that the eye was frequently started from the socket. Usually the combatants stripped naked to the waist, and hence biting was made easy.

In the year 1818 the United States purchased of the Indian tribes owning the same the tract of land extending from the northern boundaries of Rush, Fayette, Wayne and Henry counties west to the Wabash river, north to the Miami reservation and south to the northern boundary of Owen and Jackson and Jennings counties. This land was popularly known as "the New Purchase," by which name it acquired a literary fame. In 1819 it was deemed open to settlement, and its farming lands attracted settlers.

A party of seven or eight families, picked for the purpose, and mostly, or entirely, from Eastern States, was formed under the lead of my father, John Finch, at Connersville, to make a settlement in this popular purchase. In the spring of that year a party of his sons and others was sent out to locate a site on the prairie west of White river and nearly opposite the present town of Noblesville, and to build houses, break ground and put in spring crops. In August the main body of the emigrants, together with their goods and supplies, landed at their new homes, after traversing seventy miles of unbroken forest, over a road of their own make, and into a forest where their nearest neighbor would be seventy miles away. The location was a beautiful one on the western edge of the prairie, around which the river curved in such a way as to assume the shape of a horseshoe, and my father in consequence gave it the name of the "Horseshoe prairie," which it still holds.

The transition from village life in Connersville to forest life on

White river was so great that many among the ladies and younger members of the colony thought with sad memories of what they had left behind and what this lonely forest home promised them. But the household cares of the ladies and providing for the numerous wants of their families and the necessity of making their crop and taking care of their live stock, and the excitement of hunting, occupied most of the time of the young men. The older ones had no time to be sad. For the first two months after the settlement was made the emigrants were on a stretch to provide their homes so as to be habitable, and to assure their crop. After that they were still more busy fighting off the dreadful fevers and agues which began to make inroads into their numbers. So it was literally work or die. The emigrants had not fully known nor provided for all the dangers and difficulties of the movement. This fearful sickness was not fully foreseen. As there was no physician in the colony, nor was one expected, a supply of what was supposed to be needed medicines was laid in at starting. A general knowledge of their use was known, which was supposed to be sufficient. But the diseases were more stubborn and difficult than was anticipated, and the supply of medicines proved inadequate in quantity and quality. Besides the science of medicine, if it then deserved the name of science (which is doubtful), was in a very weak infancy, and the whole process of meeting the prevailing disease proceeded on a false basis.

The hot August and autumnal sun pouring upon their log cabins and decomposing the rank vegetation surrounding them, destroyed by their improvements, filled the air with miasma and their blood with poison. Chills and fever raged, and according to the learning (?) of that day these were treated by the most vigorous and depleting process, thus reducing the patient's strength and rendering him more amenable to the disease, the theory being that by weakening the man you weakened the disease. His home was rendered more uncomfortable by the myriads of biting and stinging insects which assailed him on every side, by night as well as by day. At night he was serenaded by packs of wolves, howling lullabies in his very dooryard at times.

He met the disease, first, with blood-letting; second, calomel; third, jalap, or some other cathartic "to work it off"; fourth, hot water and corn meal gruel; fifth, exclusion from the fresh air. The insects he met with a stifling smoke, the wolves with his rifle or his dogs, or both. As a relaxation from the vigor of jalap, salts were sometimes indulged in, also senna and blisters. If the patient persisted in living he was given a decoction of barks (cinchona) to give him strength, which had a happy effect and doubtless saved many lives. Late in the season of this first year frosts acted as a powerful disinfectant and enemy to disease, so that by New Year's day most of the emigrants came off with a cadaverous countenance and an ague cake in the side. In that fall's sickness my father lost two members of his family, the victims of want of skill and want of medicines. At one time during that fall's sickness there was but one well person in the neighborhood of fifty persons, and no neighbors nearer than seventy miles. In the second year of the settlement there appeared in the neighborhood a man who gave himself the name and title of Dr. Guthrie. He was of the true Sangrado type in appearance and also in practice, except the hot water. In fact, water or any other drink except gruel, he forbade. The patient was kept by him in a close room, bled freely, given calomel or blue mass, gamboge, or other cathartics, and after the effects of the latter was seen on the patient, he was given Peruvian bark (cinchona) in decoctions, and when able to speak, a little gruel made of cornmeal to counteract the depletion he had undergone. He was then kept in a hot room, under blankets, unless it was thought best to salivate him, which was not an uncommon practice. If the patient did not die the doctor was eulogized; if he did, the disease got the credit of it instead of the treatment. From his substitution of gamboge for jalap—the regulation cathartic—he got the name of "Old Gam." He also introduced the spring lancet in place of the time-honored "thumb lance" then in use. These innovations on the practice, together with a dried, snuff-colored, sub-sulphurous and semi-plug-tobacco cast of countenance and his ever lugubrious expression of face, had a wonderful effect on his patients and gave him among them a vivid ante-

mortem popularity. Yet his most fortunate patients were those he visited least.

I would like to pause here and show what progress I have observed has been made in the science of medicine in the last sixty-five years, but time does not permit, and medical journals have done the task more effectually than I could do for general instruction. At that time the settlers found that frost was their best friend against disease. Towards the approach of winter it was found that the supplies which were brought from the "settlements" were nearly exhausted, and resort must be had to their new resources. Game of every variety, of great excellence, as well as fish and wild fruits of every variety were in abundance and easily obtained, but how to obtain bread was the problem to be solved. The crops of corn and vegetables they had put in were abundant, and out of the first of these came the solution.

The first trial on the ripening corn was made by shaving down the hardening grain into thin shavings on a "jack plane," which, when well cooked, made a sort of pasty mush, which was eaten with milk and sometimes made into griddle cakes, and was quite a favorite for a time. When the corn got hard a mortar was made by hollowing out the end of a log by burning and standing that end uppermost. A pestle was made of an iron wedge fastened to a spring pole. In this way the corn was beaten into "samp." This samp was winnowed or sifted, and in various preparations was used in milk and made into a sort of bread, or used as hominy is now used, fried or stewed, etc. But as wants increased a hand-mill was made out of two flat stones, with surfaces ridged into furrows, and a peg fastened in one side to hold and turn by, much after the biblical style. Two, by taking hold of this peg, could propel the upper stone fast enough to produce meal as fast as three or four families could use it, the other five families of the neighborhood having to wait their turn till the next day or resort to the "samp mortar."

These processes were next summer (1820) superseded by a horse-mill, which my father constructed and put into operation. The stones were made out of the boulders which then strewed the uplands, laboriously hewed and split into the proper shapes,

and with their faces ridged into furrows, so that a fine quality of meal was produced to the amount of thirty or forty bushels a day. Corn was the only grain grown that year. The next year buckwheat was sown and ground, but with the means of bolting in use a very indifferent quality of flour was produced. The mill supplied that neighborhood, and for twenty miles around, until after the "land sales," when John Conner constructed a water-mill at the lower end of the "horseshoe prairie," which was the admiration of two or three counties.

There was little money in circulation—mostly silver—and the settlers had few things which would command money. Peltries, ginseng and a few others, besides labor, which was in small demand. A few articles of prime necessity, such as salt, iron, smithwork and a few others. Leather and sugar were home-made. Even with money wheat flour, which had to be hauled seventy miles over a mud road, could rarely be bought, as little was offered for sale. Through the profits of his smithshop my father was always able to command some money, and I recollect, as of yesterday, when an enterprising huckster came into the settlement with salt and some other articles, among them two barrels of flour, my father bought one of these and William Conner, the Indian trader, the other. Nothing happened that season, within my recollection, which brought such real joy as did that barrel of flour, and none of the richest confections of these days of high living bring such enjoyment and gladness as did the first "shortcake" made from that barrel of flour. If any of you young gentlemen do not know what "shortcake" is, God pity you for what you don't know. Its manufacture is now one of the "lost arts."

In the spring and summer of 1820 the settlement had assumed the proportions of a colony, and took an interest in the outside world. Among the most interesting of the events to the State then transpiring was the location of the seat of government of the State. An act for that purpose was passed in 1819-20 by the Legislature, then sitting at Corydon, and commissioners to make the location were appointed by the act. These met in May, 1820, at the house and trading post of William Conner, on White river,

three miles below our settlement, and from thence diverged in various directions, examining supposed eligible sites. At one time a strong feeling was shown for the "Bluffs of White River," thirteen miles below this city, but the final preference was for the present location by a large majority. It is worthy of remark that no suspicion of a job was ever entertained against any member of the commission in this selection. Naturally this event produced a tremor in our hitherto quiet community, the more so as several of the commissioners and their escort visited the settlement. Among them Governor Jennings is specially remembered. They were shown the beauties of our location and introduced to and entertained by the sports and amusements of society. Among these were fishing with the gig, a favorite and exciting method of taking fish. The Governor was quite an expert with the gig (which was used in the canoe then so commonly in use), and made a number of very creditable throws during his short trip.

The great popularity of fishing and hunting among the present population of Indiana will justify me in digressing into a description of these pastimes, which then assumed the dignity of employments, to assist in furnishing the family supplies.

Fish were abundant in White river, even beyond what I shall be able to make any one believe now. I have stood on the bluff bank of the river, fifty or sixty feet above the water in "the deep hole," on the prairie, and seen the surface of the water as far as the eye could reach, so literally covered with fish—about six inches below the surface—that they appeared to touch each other and in many instances did touch; and this of all kinds of fish, from the monster muskalonge to the hated gar, large and small—but mostly large—lying together, a happy family, "sunning themselves," as it was called.

In shallower water these could be taken by the hook, the seine or the more popular gig. The hook was considered too slow for fun. The fish were so abundant that "no such word as fail" was known in any kind of fishing. These fish, it seems to me, had a better flavor than the pork-house fish taken in the river now.

But the "boss" amusement was deer hunting in a canoe at night

by torch-light. Two persons constituted a crew—one to paddle and steer, the other to use the gun. The outfit was the canoe made of a log, generally poplar, beautifully hollowed and tapered for speed and safety, a single one-bladed paddle, and a torch, generally made of hickory bark, and the gun. These, with the gunner, were placed in the front of the canoe, the steersman in the stern. Deer in warm weather came to the river at night to feed on grass in the water. They could then be free from the flies and biting insects which attacked them by day. When the hunter sees his game in the water, the canoe is driven directly towards it. As they approach the deer the gunner rocks the canoe, giving a weird appearance to the canoe and torch, which so dazes and bewilders the deer that it stands, its gaze fixed upon the strange apparition. The canoe can be run in a few rods of it without causing it to move. Instances are related where the canoe has been run against them. If the gunner has experience, and does not get the "buck fever," he has everything his own way. But if, like the deer, he becomes fascinated and dazed by the situation, he is liable to see a deer of mammoth proportions almost floating in the air, and so his shot is liable to be ten or twelve feet above the deer. The crack of the gun, hit or miss, breaks the spell; the deer understands that, and takes his leave.

The seat of government being fixed upon, the next matter of interest was the land sales in the New Purchase. These took place in 1821, at Brookville. No public land could be sold until it had been offered at public sale. Afterwards it could be bought by private entry at \$1.25 per acre. If you attend the sales you were liable to get your selection at a small advance on that sum. Settlers had made their selections and scraped together every dollar possible for the occasion to secure their chosen homes. The sales were of great interest, and produced the talk of the neighborhood for months in advance. Many who attended secured their homes, but some met disappointment. The winter ensuing these sales the Legislature, sitting at Corydon, passed a law organizing most of the lands in the New Purchase into counties, by which Marion and Hamilton counties, as now bounded, were included in one jurisdiction, and providing for

the election of one set of officers for the same. These officers were, principally, clerk, sheriff, two associate judges, a recorder and coroner; and the selection of these officers became the exciting and agitating subjects for the thoughts and discussion of the people, the principal interest centering in the clerk. For this office there were two candidates, the late Jas. M. Ray, representing the Whitewater party, Whitewater being known as "In Yander," and the late Morris Morris, representing the settlers from Kentucky and Tennessee, known as "Old Kaintuck." The contest was exceedingly warm and spirited, the candidates traveling on horseback over the entire settled portion of the two counties, and making personal appeals to the voters. Through the influence of his old-time friend, William Conner, Mr. Ray obtained a decided majority in Hamilton county, and was thus elected. Mr. Morris, I believe, led in Marion. In this election, as in all others for years afterwards, whisky cut a conspicuous figure. It was provided and boldly and openly set out by the friends of the candidates, or themselves, in buckets, or jugs, or sometimes a barrel head was stove in, and tin cups provided for all comers, "and passed around." I do not pause to comment on that practice nor compare it with the present. I give the facts, for "such was life" then.

One of the advances in the mechanical arts which has struck me most forcibly is the progress made in the last sixty-seven years in manufacture and repair of iron and steel tools and implements. This progress, I think, is mainly due to a "judicious tariff for their protection." Sixty-seven years ago the common chopping ax was made at the smith's forge by hand, out of iron known as "ax-bar" iron, a large, flat bar of iron four or five inches wide by three-fourths to one inch thick. From this bar the upper part or pole of the ax and the eye were formed by hand, and steel, scantily, for it was precious, was put in the lower part, and formed the edge. Chains, and horseshoes, and nails, both for horseshoes and common use, were hammered out of more slender bars, known as horseshoe and nail-rod iron. So was cutlery, which was even then made at the common smith shop. All these things were made by the most laborious and painstaking toil,

some branches requiring great care and experience. For example, tempering steel tools was a fine art. When properly heated and suddenly cooled in water, and again slightly heated, if it showed the blue hue of the pigeon's breast by the file test, it was pronounced *au fait*. Making, tempering, handling and grinding an ax, required one and a half or two days' work, and when done was worth from \$3 to \$5, a dollar then being worth more than three now. So of all the other branches of the industry of "Tubal Cain, the first worker in iron," from making an iron wedge to completing a gun, lock, stock and barrel. The necessities of that age and that colony induced the manufacture of all that was then required in that civilization. Clothes were made out of flax grown on the grounds of the settlers, pulled, retted, broken and dressed by the men, and spun and woven by hand by the women. Wool was raised from the sheep of the settlers, and shorn from the sheep, washed—sometimes on the sheep's back—and "picked," and was then carded, spun and woven into flannels, cloths, linseys, and later into "jeans" by the women.

The flannels designed for the use of the women and children were colored blue in "dye-stuffs," indigo and something else, or brown by the use of various native barks, among them butternut, with minerals. The farmers and their sons sometimes in winter wore buckskin pants and vests, and I give it as my verdict that nothing then or since known is quite as pleasant as a new pair of buckskin pants on a cold morning. The blue and brown flannels were mostly used for dresses for the mothers and daughters, and when neatly made into not too closely fitting dresses, with no other attempt at ornament than one or two small tucks or flounces at the bottom, and worn with a small white ruffle about the neck, the wearer seemed as well satisfied and was as much an attraction and as lovely and as loving as their modern sisters are. The bonnet was a modest straw, or calash of chintz—rarely of silk—or a sunbonnet of calico or white goods, but each worn without more than a single bow of ribbon. It is invidious to make comparisons; and no amount of criticism will ever produce a change in the style of dress which has the stamp of fashion,

but it may be well questioned whether there has been any improvement in decorating the "form divine" of woman in the last fifty years.

I am not trying to bring these recollections down to a later date than 1826, when my father removed from the prairie to Stony creek, where he spent his late days, and is buried. What I remember since that, and especially since my manhood, "is neither here nor there" to anybody. At the period I am speaking of, society was in its rudest form of intelligent civilization. The ax, and the plow, and the rifle, and the fishing tackle, of whatever form, together with the ruder branches of mechanic arts, were the mainstay of the family in the hands of the men of that day. And the loom and the spinning-wheel, large and small, and the needle, and above all, the kitchen, were the allotment, in the duties of life, to woman. Literature, however, was not neglected, as most of the families came stored with the best thoughts of that time, in books and pamphlets.

I would like to describe the primitive houses, and house furniture of that age, but I have already taken too much time and need pursue the subject no further. What the privations and sufferings of these men and women procured, we enjoy the fruits of now. The reflection to be deduced from these facts is, that as all excellence is the product of suffering in some form—as it purifies and ennobles, and strengthens—so we who are the inheritors of this suffering ought to show an advance in every beneficial progress of life which has been made since then, and I think we do.

SOME PIONEER FRAGMENTS.

BY BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

[These "Fragments" are arranged from an unpublished manuscript of the late Benjamin S. Parker which belonged to a series of papers by Mr. Parker that ran through Vol. III of the magazine.—EDITOR.]

OLD-TIME FARMING MACHINERY.

THE first threshing machine that made its appearance in the backwoods of Henry county was a crude, heavy affair of wood, with wooden cylinders and concave set with irregular rows of iron spikes, and the gearing a rough combination of wooden wheels and iron cogs. It did not separate the wheat from the chaff, and these were shaken from the straw with wooden forks or rakes. It required half a dozen good horses attached to the levers to furnish enough power to run the apparatus, and its threshing capacity was thirty to sixty bushels a day.

The next thresher that I remember was a traveling one operated by cog wheels attached to the hubs of the wagon upon which it was hauled about. This machine was partially successful in cleaning the wheat, but scattered the straw and chaff and probably fifteen to twenty per cent. of the grain about the fields or along the roads. A great exhibition for the country folks it was when one of these threshers, drawn by six stout horses driven by a rollicking jehu and fed by an expert with bundles thrown from a wagon driven alongside, came noisily down the road on a display trip, scattering straw and chaff to the disgust of wayfarers and the delight of those onlookers who did not suffer.*

These clumsy devices did not, perhaps, greatly lessen the toil of the farmer, but they were of moment as ushering in the new era of labor-saving machinery that was destined to revolutionize agriculture. They were certainly a notable departure from the primitive reap hook, sickle and flail, and from the old method of separating the grain from the chaff by pouring it all together from an elevation while two persons fanned it in its descent by

*This threshing in transit, the reasons for and practicability of it, are not clear to us. If any of our older readers remember the machine, we would be glad to have a fuller description.—EDITOR.

a skillful waving of a sheet. When this latter process was superseded by the improved fanning mill it was hailed as a great innovation and in short order a familiar figure on the country roads was the fanning mill peddler with his gorgeous red wheat cleaners. With these improvements the statisticians began to figure on great profits for those who raised wheat, and their optimistic forecasts have been justified.

GYPSY AND NEGRO FORTUNE-TELLERS— SUPERSTITIONS.

In the palmy days of the old National road, when the long procession of travelers by wagon was moving westward, an element of the panorama to impress itself on a boy's memory was that of the Gypsy fortune-tellers, then as now true Ishmaelites, picturesque in their vagabondage. Their camps along the road or by some little stream near the towns was a familiar sight, and their begging, horse-swapping and occult arts were freely practiced with both citizens and travelers. The fortune-teller had a wider field to work in then than now, for there was vastly more credulity, not only among the poor and ignorant but among the classes that are now supposed to be superior to it. Gross superstitions prevailed, and the mysteries of coffee grounds, palmistry, astrology and all the rest found ready victims willing to part with their coins. Women especially were patrons of the dark-skinned seeress, and she made a specialty of love, marriage and domestic troubles. Yet things were not altogether easy for our semi-barbarous vagrant, for the owners of chicken roosts, cornfields and potato patches harbored toward him a deep-seated prejudice, while his reputation as a child-stealer made him at times uncomfortably unpopular.

In the matter of superstitions the beliefs of the negroes were particularly primitive. Among them witchcraft and voodooism had many adherents. If a horse tangled its mane and twisted it into loops by rubbing in the stall it was thought to have been ridden by witches who had made the mane into stirrups. Eggs that failed to hatch, cream that would not churn, children that suffered from fits, and similar things out of the normal were

said to be bewitched, and certain people, usually old women, were frequently under suspicion as the cause. A belief in spells and bargains with the devil also prevailed, and some negroes were regarded as possessing mysterious powers by virtue of some unholy pact. An example of this was old "Tickle Breeches," a venerable Senegambian whose reputation as a fortune-teller was such that not only people of his own class but fine town ladies in their silks paid willing tribute to his art. Besides this he was locally famous as a fiddler, and in demand at all the dances of his part of the country. A story circulated by himself and more or less believed was to the effect that his skill was supernaturally derived from the evil one, to whom he sold himself one dark night in the midst of an assembly of black cats with fiery eyes, gathered for the occasion at a lonely crossroad.

[Apropos to early Hoosier superstitions, we here append two newspaper items of curious interest, both published in *The Indianapolis News* in 1907. —EDITOR.]

Greenfield, Ind., April 19.—After four two-inch boards had been taken off an oak log, at James Webb's sawmill, a walnut peg, an inch in diameter, was found, where it had been driven into the log. The peg was a foot long and reached the heart of the big log where, it is estimated, it had been driven probably seventy-five years ago. At the end of the peg was a coil of black hair, long and silken.

Mr. Webb has endeavored to learn the history of the log, but to no avail.

Old people of the neighborhood are of the opinion that the coil of hair was placed there in accordance with a prevalent custom of pioneer times. This custom provided that when a man and wife could not get along or agree instead of separating, as in these days, the neighbors cut a lock of hair from the head of each. A hole was then bored in a thrifty tree and the locks of hair driven to the heart by a walnut pin. After this it was believed the couple would live happy ever after.

Petersburg, Ind., December 21.—While Omer Lynch and Edward Armstrong, east of this city, were in the woods felling trees, they cut down a large white oak tree and found in the

body evidences of an auger-hole. On close examination trimmings of finger nails and a lock of hair were found to have been plugged up in the hole; a tight-fitting plug preserving the collection from the elements. The plug evidently had been there for many years, as several inches of new timber had formed over it. An old citizen says that in the early days it was a common belief that if a person had asthma, and he would take a lock of his hair and the trimming of his nails and put them in a hole bored in a green tree, at a height equal to his own height, the disease would be cured.

OLD FERRY RATES.

THE following ferry rates, taken from the Marion County Commissioners' records for 1822, applied to the ferry across White river at Indianapolis. This ferry, which was in use until the building of the National road bridge in the early thirties, was just below the present Washington street bridge:

	Cents.
For each wagon and four horses or oxen.....	62½
Each wagon and two horses or oxen.....	37½
Each small wagon and one horse or ox.....	31¼
Each extra horse or ox.....	12½
Each head of neat cattle	3
Each head of swine	2
Each head of sheep	2
Each footman	6¼

OLD-TIME SLUMS OF INDIANAPOLIS.

BY GEORGE S. COTTMAN.

MR. J. F. WRIGHT, whose long and intimate connection with the charity work of Indianapolis made him familiar with the "submerged tenth" of the city, has collected into several manuscript books a fund of curious lore than touches that element of the city's population. Included in this information is a long list of slum names that have at one time or another attached to various buildings and localities, illustrative of that strange and oft-times happy slang of which the facile American is so prolific. One notable fact is that such names were much more numerous here at an earlier day than they are now, indicating the moral sanitation which may fairly be said to have taken place in our community. It is said that Indianapolis is to-day, for a city of its size, exceptionally free from slum conditions. Whatever vice flourishes here makes at least a show of hiding its head and not flourishing itself in the more respectable quarters; but it is only of recent years that this boast could be made. A quarter of a century ago open dives could be found in the very heart of the business district, and Mr. Wright's list shows that these were but the overflow of a corruption that had long afflicted the town. A notorious wandering family, well named Ishmael, and an influx of kindred spirits who speedily became bound together not only by common sympathies but by intermarriages, formed at an early day the germs of a social disease not to be soon eliminated, and these slang names are, for the most part, a reflection of that disease.

As early as 1835 the "South Side" was distinguished from the "North Side," Washington street being the dividing line, and this south half of the town was pretty well supplied with grotesquely-dubbed localities. East of East street and south of the Panhandle railroad, peopled largely by Irish, was known as "Irish Hill," and was made notorious by the troublesome and bellicose nature of the residents there. "Vinegar Hill," bounded by South, School and Huron streets, got its acidulous sobriquet from the disposition of its feminine residents to advertise one another's

shortcomings, this abnormal propensity being so strong, it is said, that they even promoted the church militant by praying offensively, each against her sisters, at the prayer meetings. "Vinegar Slip," origin of name unknown, was the south end of Mississippi street, near the rolling mills, and was known to the police as a hiding place for criminals. The strip of ownerless ground along the river back of the Greenlawn Cemetery, which was long used as a public dumping ground, and where people of the poorest class "squatted," patching together grotesque shanties out of old boards, scraps of tin and what not, was christened "Dump-town."

"Dogtown," near the stockyards, was so called from the vast number of dogs that were kept there as a guard against the tramps who infested the place. "Poverty Flats" was between Mississippi street and the river, extending from the Union tracks to Morris street. "Over the Rhine" was over the river from Greenlawn Cemetery. Several tenement houses on West street near Georgia were known as "Holy Row;" "The Bowery" was Pearl street east of Alabama, and "Cary's Corner" was a house on Delaware street where Mozart Hall now stands, which half a century or more ago was an abiding place for emigrants and other people of the poorest class. "Happy Hollow" was Helen street, near Kingan's porkhouse, and Virginia avenue was "Lovely Lane," so named thirty years ago by the colored people, who built upon it a meeting house which was labeled "Lovely Lane M. E. Church." The unconscious irony in this naming will be obvious to any one who remembers the horrible depths of muck and batter that pre-eminently distinguished Virginia avenue before it was asphalted.

Along Washington street were "Barbers' Row," near Blackford; Steven's "Colonnade," "Stringtown," across the White river bridge, so called because of the way the houses strung out on both sides of the way, and "Slabtown," west of Mt. Jackson. "Greasy Row" was the square opposite the courthouse.

A particularly unsavory part of town was a strip of territory lying along or contiguous to the canal. The "Yellow Bridge," originally painted that color is to the present day regarded as the

gateway to "Bucktown." "Long Branch," which stood on the bank of the classic ditch, was a house well known by name throughout the town, and the fame of it was decidedly ill; and the "Park House," of kindred reputation in its day, also stood on the canal, near Military Park. "Sleighto," a liquor joint frequented by toughs, stood near the canal at Eighth street, and just over the ditch, which was facetiously dubbed "the St. Lawrence," was a similar dive called "Canada." "Chism's Fence," at the corner of North and Blackford streets, a resort for the lowest class of blacks and whites, was kept after the war by a son of infamy named Bob Chism, and a brother in iniquity, Rollo House, was the proprietor of a shanty built on piles near the pesthouse, known in criminal circles as "The Crib." "The Nest," in the same locality, was a similar den. "Lindenbower Station," a cottage in an alley north of old Fourth street and west of Mississippi was, prior to 1878, also a notorious pest hole. Not far from this place was "Hoplight Station," an alley corner, so called because the beaux and belles of the neighborhood used to congregate there and dance of moonlight nights. To prove still farther that these were not devoid of poetry and sentiment, a prosaic and presumably dirty alley, not far off, became "Lovers' Lane." A tenement row on Court street near Blackford was known in 1877 as "The Dirty Dozen," because from these there issued daily just twelve dirty looking girls who went to work at Kingan's.

In other parts of the town "Wall street" was the north side of Market street where the Terminal Station now stands, but then occupied by negro gambling dens; "Rag alley" was Columbia alley from Ohio to Michigan streets, and "Cockroach row" was a block on Massachusetts avenue not far from Pennsylvania street. "The Met," "Crone's," "Atlantic Garden," "The Zoo" and "The Adelphi" were low theaters which, at various periods, contributed their mites to the demoralization of the city. "Dogberry Row" designated the dens of "justice" scattered about Court and Delaware streets near the courthouse, which, about 1882 were infamous for robberies under cloak of the law. People too poor and ignorant to help themselves were brought into these justice of the peace courts on trumped-up charges and always fined, the

scheme being to secure costs. Blackmail was levied on houses of ill-fame, which paid weekly sums to prevent raid, and cases were often tried by night to avoid publicity and newspaper exposure. The constables are said to have all been criminals, though why this charge should be confined to the constables is not apparent. One other notable colony that belongs to this lovely list was "Brickville." "Brickville" forty years ago occupied a stretch of territory from Woodruff Place east to the Center township line, and from Clifford avenue to the National road. It was so named from numerous brickyards located there, and the "colony" was made up of the brickmakers, a hard set, many of them Kentuckians, who were a law unto themselves and as defiant as they dared be of the powers that were—except in the stringent winter seasons when, like the untameable red man, they would bury the hatchet and come in to the government agent—i. e., the township trustee, to be fed. Their little kingdom was so overrun with dogs it required considerable courage in an officer of the law to venture among them. One man kept no less than thirty large, savage sheep-killing brutes, and no one knows of him ever having paid any tax. A case that came into court illustrates the moral status of these people. A man, being offended at his step child one cold night picked it up by the ankle and hurled it over the yard fence, breaking its arm. The mother approved the act. The child, afraid to return to the house, sought to keep warm by huddling close to a calf lying in some straw. Finally a next door neighbor came out and got the little outcast because, as he explained apologetically in court, "he hated to hear it cry and thought he'd take it in."

These Brickvillians had a social life all their own, and Mr. Wright describes the typical Brickville dandy as a compound of brilliant colors with red, blue and yellow stripes in his trousers, a red undershirt crossed with bright hued suspenders, and a gaudy neckerchief, with cowhide boots upon his feet and a broad-brimmed brown hat surmounting all.

"Brickville," by the removal and dispersion of the brickyards, has long since ceased to exist as a "center of population," and most of the people who are now familiar with that ground know nothing of the vanished race that once flourished there.

PROFESSOR LARRABEE AND "ROSABOWER."

[The following account of Professor Larrabee, a once well-known educator of Indiana, and the author of a now-forgotten book called "Rosabower," is of special interest because written by Professor Larrabee's son. It originally appeared as a communication to The Indianapolis News.—EDITOR.]

PROFESSOR LARRABEE went to Greencastle in the spring of 1841. The town was then in an extremely rough condition. There were no streets, but the horse paths and wagon tracks wandered about in the lanes marked out for them wherever there seemed to be the least depth of mud, and the pigs and cows disputed for occupancy with human intruders; no sidewalks except here and there a foot-log laid across a runlet, or a fence rail that some one had thrown down into the mud. The college stood on a ridge between two deep ravines, on a sort of terrace of yellow clay, with no grass or trees around it.

Very few of the people had found time to attend to the higher culture, and manifestations of taste were rare. As a rule, little attention was paid to the decoration of yards, and it was something if they were kept simply neat. A brilliant exception was the beautiful flower garden of Eliza Detrick, on the hill beyond the public spring, and back of General Standiford's house, which stood where Captain Thornburgh afterward built his mansion, now occupied by Mr. Renick. There were other women who had a taste for flowers, as we found out later; among them, Mrs. Jennings, wife of "Squire" John S. Jennings. Professor Larrabee had taken with him a selection of the choice flowers and shrubs of the day, and some of the people wondered what they were good for, seeming unable to understand how a man should want to raise anything he could not eat or feed or make something out of. They soon took a hint, however, from the newcomer's example, and in a year or two the effects of his zeal in tree and flower planting and the decoration of grounds could be observed all over the place. This was, I believe, the beginning of the development of taste in the community, which, going on continually and accel-

erated from time to time by other influences, has made Green-castle the beautiful and homelike city it is.

Professor Larrabee had a deep love for nature, which had grown upon him during his early life on the seashore and afterward amid the dense evergreen forests and among the steep, rocky hills of Maine. Though he became strongly attached to Indiana, he craved the familiar scenes of his native State, and obtained a large assortment of evergreen seedlings, which he cherished with great care till they became large enough to plant out, so that he might reproduce one of the features of a Maine landscape.

On one of his lots, just south of the "Rosabower" house, but a quarter of a mile from where he was living at the time, was a small grove of forest trees, beeches and sugar maples and elms. The ground sloped gently toward the spring and the "branch," and there was a little patch of bottomland. This he filled with tamaracks, while he planted the slope thickly with balsam firs, spruce, pine and hemlock. A dear recollection of his childhood had something to do with this. Becoming possessed when a small boy with an intense religious interest, which proved permanent and controlled his future life, he arranged in a retired grove of fir trees on his grandfather's farm a convenient place to which he resorted every day for worship. The memory of this "bower of prayer" was revived in Rosabower.

A large old beech tree, already beginning to decay, stood in the middle of the bower. Professor Larrabee fixed a place for writing under its shade, and there spent the leisure hours of his summer days and did much of his literary work. Under the edge of the spread of the limbs of this tree, he laid little Emma Rosabel, and thirteen years afterward Mrs. Larrabee; and there, four months later, he was laid himself; all to rest there till they were removed to Forest Hill cemetery. The old beech tree disappeared many years ago.

There was no display of art in Rosabower or in any of Professor Larrabee's grounds. The aim was simply to present nature in a pleasant aspect.

The death of his little daughter was a marked event in Profes-

sor Larrabee's history. There had been a May party, with a May queen, at the school, in which the whole town seemed to be interested. The little girl of three and a half years old was very happy in watching the preparations and proceedings, and every one enjoyed her interest in them. Almost immediately after the party she was attacked with a brain fever, from which she died in less than three days. It was my parents' first and only bereavement, and drew to them great and wide sympathy. I do not think either of them ever recovered from their grief over it.

It seems to me that the house at Rosabower has been invested with more romance than it was ever entitled to wear. It was built to satisfy a long-felt want, and the plans were governed by individual, and not very practical, tastes. I do not think any house like it was ever built in England, or in colonial America.

The opening of Mrs. Larrabee's female academy marked an era in the history of education in Indiana. The need of facilities for the instruction of girls was a crying one at the time. I do not know what the Presbyterians and Congregationists had done then for this cause, but they could hardly have had schools of more than local importance. Outside of these, the principal resources for the higher education of girls were the schools of Mrs. Tevis, at Shelbyville, Ky., and the Sisters' school at St. Mary's-of-the-Woods, near Terre Haute. In 1836 the Rev. Smith L. Robinson, a Methodist minister, prepared to start a school for girls at Terre Haute, and applied to my father, then in charge of a seminary in Maine, for a teacher. He sent out a young woman, a student of his, of suitable qualifications. She arrived at Terre Haute in October, ill with measles, and died in less than a week. Less than a month afterward, and before an answer to his letter announcing her death could reach him, Mr. Robinson, too, died, and the projected school was given up.

In almost every letter my father received in relation to his engagement at Asbury University he was urged to bring teachers with him, and particularly teachers for girls. He accordingly took with him a considerable company of teachers, who found employment at various points in the West. Mrs. Larrabee's sister accompanied her to Greencastle and opened a school there.

When she was married and went away another tried friend was brought from the East, and so the supply was kept up. At last, Mrs. Larrabee, urged by the Rev. E. R. Ames, Alfred Harrison, of Indianapolis, and others, took in a few young women as boarders and started the academy. The school grew rapidly, gained a high reputation and was attended by pupils from all parts of the State. It may help to an understanding of what the last clause means when I say that it often in winter took two days to travel from Indianapolis to Greencastle. A few years after this Ft. Wayne Female College was established and the education of Hoosier Methodist girls began its course of regular development. Mrs. Larrabee transferred her school in 1852 to Jeremiah Tingley. Its work was afterward carried on by different teachers, all competent, till young women were admitted to the university, and a special school for them was no longer needed in Greencastle.

The last time I was in Indianapolis one of my old friends said to me that the history of Mrs. Larrabee's school ought to be written out in full. I think so, too; but though I have material of exceeding richness in regard to all the other features of my father's career as an educator, of which I am just now trying to make a good historical use, I have very little about this, and my own recollections of the matter are rather scanty and indefinite. I should be glad if any of my mother's old pupils who may agree with the friend I have spoken of would furnish what they can recollect that might be of use in preparing such a history. If they will direct any communications they may have to make on the subject to me at 45 Willow avenue, Plainfield, N. J., I shall be heartily thankful to them.

W. H. LARRABEE.

Plainfield, N. J., 1901.

PUPILS PAST AND PRESENT—A COMPARATIVE STUDY.

[The following interesting and informative study by Mr. V. W. B. Hedgepeth was originally published in The Indianapolis News five or six years since, we judge, though the exact date is lost.—EDITOR.]

BY A very opportune find by Principal Riley, of Springfield, Mass., the most satisfactory comparison of the school methods of our grandfathers' time and of our own was recently made possible. While rummaging in the garret of an old school building complete sets of examination papers, together with the answers and markings, all bearing the date of October, 1846, were found and are to-day in a bound volume in the office of the superintendent.

By submitting these questions to pupils of the same age and comparing results the school authorities in Springfield were enabled to arrive at some comparison as to the progress or retrogression of the school system, in Springfield, at least.

Originally the questions were given to pupils of the ninth grade, which would correspond with the freshman class of our own high school. In order to make the test absolutely fair, they should have been submitted to the high school rather than the eighth grade.

The writer often has been called on to dispose of the charge that, in general, our grandfathers, as children, were better spellers and better arithmeticians than the children of our own generation. At their best, heretofore, the champions of the old and the new have not been able to find any fixed basis for sound argument, but have proceeded from their own conclusions, which are often colored by personal prejudice.

December 20 the questions were taken verbatim from the list of 1846 and submitted to the pupils of our eighth grade, both eight B's and eighth A's. The time consumed in the arithmetic examination was, approximately, forty minutes, and in spelling about twenty minutes. The questions were given without any preparation whatever on the part of the children, without any previous notice to teacher or pupil, and without any intimation

as to why the examination was called or any information as to the source of the questions.

The following were the questions in arithmetic:

1. Add together the following numbers: Three thousand and nine, twenty-nine, one, three hundred and one, sixty-one, sixteen, seven hundred two, nine thousand, nineteen and a half, one and a half.

2. Multiply 10,008 by 8,009.

3. In a town five miles wide and six miles long, how many acres?

4. How many steps of two and a half feet each will a person take in walking one mile?

5. What is one-third of $175\frac{1}{2}$?

6. A boy bought three dozen of oranges for $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents and sold them for $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents apiece; what would he have gained if he had sold them for $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents apiece?

7. There is a certain number, one-third of which exceeds one-fourth of it by two; what is the number?

8. What is the simple interest of \$1,200 for 12 years, 11 months and 29 days at 6 per cent.?

In 1846 the average per cent. of correct answers was 29.4. In Springfield, in 1905, the average per cent. of correct answers in this same examination was 65.5, and in Goshen the average of correct answers reached the remarkably high grade of 87.8 per cent.

Following is the list of words to be spelled:

Accidental.	Eccentric.	Hysterics.
Accessible.	Evanescent.	Imbecility.
Baptism.	Fierceness.	Inconceivable.
Chirography.	Feignedly.	Inconvenience.
Characteristic.	Ghastliness.	Inefficient.
Deceitfully.	Gnawed.	Irresistible.
Descendant.	Heiress.	

It will be noticed that their array is rather imposing and would be formidable even to the reader.

The average per cent. of correct answers in both subjects was:

1846—Springfield, arithmetic, 29.4; spelling, 40.6. 1905—Springfield, arithmetic, 65.5; spelling, 51.2. 1905—Goshen, arithmetic, 87.8; spelling, 46.2.

In 1846 the Springfield school year consisted of forty-four weeks of actual school work, each school day containing six hours. In 1905 in Springfield the year consisted of forty weeks of five hours each day. In other words, in 1846 the schools were in session about 1,340 hours; in 1905 the schools were in session about 1,000 hours. In 1846 the schools were among the best, as they had been the first to have a regularly appointed superintendent, they were entirely without any foreign, non-English-speaking element, had been highly complimented by Horace Mann and were under excellent supervision.

Their course of study was definite, and consisted daily of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and spelling. Spelling especially was strongly emphasized, as the following extracts from the course of study at that time show:

“Accuracy in spelling and excellence in reading are deemed of the first importance.

“Ability to spell correctly is deemed highly important, as lying at the foundation of all requirements, without which no person can be accurate or intelligible as a scholar, or ever safe from exposure to great mortification in after life.”

At the present time in Goshen the school year consists of thirty-six weeks of five hours a day, making the year contain 900 school hours. In both cities the children are supposed to enter the grades at six years and the high school at fourteen years of age. In reality the children who took the examination in 1846 had been in school correspondingly three years longer than their Springfield grandchildren in 1905, and more than four years longer than the Goshen children who wrote this examination.

Nevertheless the pupils of 1905 reached a much higher per cent. of effectiveness than their grandfathers of 1846. This is shown not only in the total of correct answers, but in reduced differences. For example, in 1846—

“More than one-fourth of the examples were passed over as too difficult to attack, and the incorrect answers were so far from

the mark as to overwhelm one with the conviction that the children were entirely lacking in power to mentally approximate the results. Answers to the fifth example varied from $5 \frac{1}{3}$ to 6,312. Below are some of the incorrect answers to the problem in simple interest—a problem which was worked correctly by only thirteen pupils. Dollar signs, decimal points and commas are the pupils', the first two conspicuous chiefly by their absence:

“\$87.58.00; \$93,58; \$114.00; \$179.80; 907.92; \$937.80; \$9328.00; 93.28; 96.86; 115.08; 2.15.80; 449.50000; 475.00; 638.00; 932.200; 1860.58; 93.580; 491040; 892800; 31966 $\frac{2}{3}$; 19080000; 110; 88.05; 4593600; 5587200; 770017400; 11038980000; $72\frac{1}{2}$.”

“Less than one-half of the class got the correct answer to the first example; fifty had the second correct; only eleven secured the desired result in the fourth, and seven—all boys—obtained the mastery in the fifth. Of twenty-nine girls, not one had the right answer to the fourth or sixth, and only three worked the interest problem to a successful conclusion. The girls averaged 9 per cent. on the test.”

In Goshen only five pupils missed solving the first example correctly. The fifth was solved by all but two—both boys—who gave as their answers 351 and $526\frac{1}{2}$, respectively. These appear rather large numbers to be one-third of $175\frac{1}{2}$. With reference to the interest problems eight pupils omitted it altogether and seven solved it incorrectly, all the rest of the class having presented a correct solution. The seven incorrect solutions were: \$25991.80, \$3218.00, \$896.80, \$887.80, \$467.90, \$978.00, \$869.80.

Out of a total of forty-six who made 100 in arithmetic twenty-six were boys and twenty were girls. The whole class of 101 was composed of fifty-four girls and forty-seven boys. These comparative results in arithmetic speak for themselves.

Equally interesting are the results in spelling. For instance, on the old papers the words heiress and baptism were spelled in the following ways:

heirress	airest	babtism
heiruss	airresst	babtisism
hurriess	airhess	batism
heirees	arress	batisim
heirness	arris	baptsim
heirress	aries	baptisim
heress	ariest	baptisimm
hirress	areres	baptisem
hieress	arerest	baptisom
airress	eiress	baptisum
airess		baptisemn
		baptysm
		baptisiam
		baptisiasm

Our own papers show some brilliant flashes of originality, but with some differences. In the old papers we find that thirty-one pupils out of eighty-five misspelled baptism in fifteen different ways. The word heireess was written by forty-three pupils in twenty-two different ways. In our own papers we find that thirty-one pupils out of 101 misspelled baptism in twenty different ways and nine pupils misspelled heireess, each in his own way. The list follows:

babbtizm	batistion	hirest
babtizimn	babptisim	eiress
babtismn	baptysm	hierest
babtisiom	babtism	harriss
batisim	baptizem	earess
baptisim	babtazim	hirress
baptisism	babtisum	herris
bapitisan	babtisem	airasess
baptizam	babystism	heirous
bathizthm		

Notwithstanding the fearful and wonderful ways in which our children managed to misspell baptism, we have the satisfaction of knowing that with approximately four years' less schooling

they raised the total percentage of correct answers from 40.6 to 46.2.

When we consider that originally the questions were set for pupils who heard English in all their homes, who attended school one-third longer each year than now, who had fewer studies and hence more time for each, who had been during the five preceding years under able principals, were in a school in which the younger and backward pupils had been taken out nearly two years before, and who were of an average age with our present high school freshmen, the results of the examinations in 1905 present to the thoughtful critic a number of very plain facts. The results establish the superiority of the modern schools in spelling and arithmetic. If the test had been set for pupils in Springfield alone this conclusion might be questioned, but it would be difficult to prove the incorrectness of it since the pupils of two representative schools so far apart as Springfield and Goshen show uniformly greater grasp and increased power.

Nor is it difficult to explain the reasons for the superiority of the modern school. In 1846 eleven different books, excluding geography, history and physiology, were read below the high school. To-day our children read from seventy to eighty, in covering the same course. Our school libraries are filled with books that are not only informational but have their substance arranged in a manner to stimulate and arouse the interest. These books cover a vast range of subjects, and in their reading the child acquires unconsciously a large vocabulary, an increase of power over the spelling of words, larger opportunities and is broadened in his sphere of usefulness.

There can be little question that the school to-day is vastly superior in efficiency to the school of our grandfathers' time, and in my own mind there is equally little question as to the fact that in like manner will the schools of our grandchildren be superior to our own.

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THE FIRST MANUMISSION SOCIETY.

UNDER date of August 18, 1908, "C. M. G." of Richmond, Ind., contributes the following to an Indianapolis paper. The statement, it will be noted, involves not only the above caption, but the origination of the Republican party:

Sir—The late Charles Osborne, for years the minister of the Friends' Church at Economy, in Wayne county, and an old-time school teacher, left a number of carefully preserved documents relating to the early history of public movements in this country. Mr. Osborne was the direct descendant of Charles Osborne, one of the eight men who organized the first manumission society in the United States.

That first society was formed in an obscure Tennessee settlement in 1815. All of the founders of the society moved to Wayne county, Indiana, some years later and very soon after their arrival took up the agitation of the slavery question. They were able, fearless men, who urged the acceptance of their ideas on all occasions. They called meetings and invited speakers into the neighborhood to discuss the question. They secured pledges from men and women to fight the evil of slavery at the ballot-box, the women with their influence and the men with their votes, and there in the backwoods formed the nucleus of a party whose power overwhelmed the country and drove slavery from America. These pioneer agitators were the forerunners of the hosts who now make up the Republican party, and that party, according to the documents left by Mr. Osborne, had its start in Perry township, Wayne county, Indiana.

On the 9th and 10th of November, 1840, an anti-slavery meeting was held in the Friends' Church in Economy. Charles Osborne was president and John M. Williams secretary of the meeting. A committee of three, consisting of Arnold Buffum, Daniel Worth and Nathan Johnson, the latter the grandfather of ex-Congressman Henry U. Johnson, was appointed to propose business for the convention. The committee reported the following resolutions:

“That we recommend to the abolitionists throughout the United States to call a national convention of the friends of independent nominations as early as practicable, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President for the election in 1844.

“That we recommend to abolitionists in this State to make independent nominations for executive, legislative and judicial offices, and to withhold their suffrages from all candidates who do not make a public avowal of their intentions to advocate a system of protection for the liberties and rights of all men.

“That five delegates be now appointed to attend a state convention to promote independent political action, to be convened at the time and place of holding the next annual meeting of the State Anti-Slavery Society; and the several district conventions are hereby invited to choose a like number of delegates to said convention.”

The delegates were Daniel Worth, Asa Bales, Josiah Bell, Nathan Johnson and Micajah White.

The State convention called for in the resolutions was held at Newport, now Fountain City, in Wayne county, on February 8, 1841. It was organized by appointing Andrew Spillard president and John A. Moorman secretary. The question of forming an Abolition party was discussed throughout two sessions and finally resulted in a call for a national convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, “who will not basely renounce the fundamental principles of righteous government to secure slave-holding popularity.”

Obedient to the call of this convention a State political party was formed in opposition to slavery. Under different names and at different times the new party met in conventions and went before the people for their suffrages. Finally, in 1860, under the name of Republican, the party was elected to power and Abraham Lincoln was placed in the presidential chair to enforce the principles struggled for by the early settlers in Wayne county.

Touching the question of the Republican party and its beginning an editorial writer on the paper that published the communication has this to say:

A correspondent in a communication printed yesterday presented some interesting facts relative to the early anti-slavery and abolition movement in Wayne county. His statements were correct in the main, especially in praising the high stand against slavery by the early settlers of Wayne county. But there are historical details that do not support the claim for Indiana as the birthplace of the Republican party. Indiana joined the Republican procession soon after the organization of the party and was the home of many men who early espoused the party's principles, but it was not the party's birthplace. If that event can be definitely localized the honor belongs to Michigan. George W. Julian, a native and long-time citizen of Wayne county and anti-slavery candidate for Vice-President in 1852, in an account of "the first Republican national convention," says:

"The Whig party had received its death blow in the presidential campaign of 1852, but it still had a lingering and fragmentary existence. In Michigan its members had united with the Free Soilers and bolting Democrats in State convention as early as July 6, 1854, in forming a Republican party and giving it that name, and this action was followed soon after by like movements in Wisconsin and Vermont. In Indiana a combination was formed consisting of conservative Whigs, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, Know Nothings and Free Soilers. It called itself the People's party and for three years in succession, beginning in 1854, it disowned the name Republican."

In another place Mr. Julian says: "The honor of taking the first step in the formation of the Republican party belongs to Michigan." That is undoubtedly true, at least as far as the West is concerned. When Oliver P. Morton, originally a Democrat, left that party in 1854 and joined the party of which he was afterward to become the leader, it was known in Indiana as the People's party. He ran for Governor in 1856 as the candidate of the People's party. The name Republican was not used in Indiana until at least three or four years after it had been used in some other States.

In referring to Charles Osborne, an early abolitionist in Wayne county, our correspondent says his father was one of the

organizers of the first manumission society in the United States, "formed in an obscure Tennessee settlement in 1815." Abolition societies had an earlier beginning even than that. There lies before us a book published at Philadelphia in 1795, entitled:

"Minutes of the proceedings of the second convention of delegates from the abolition societies established in different parts of the United States, assembled at Philadelphia on the 7th day of January, 1795, and continued by adjournment until the 14th day of the same month, inclusive."

This convention was attended by delegates from Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. All the anti-slavery men of that day are deserving of credit as men of high conviction, but the record shows that the abolition society of Tennessee was antedated by many others. The anti-slavery meeting at Economy, Wayne county, in December, 1840, is correctly described by our correspondent, and was an interesting incident of that period, but it had no particular bearing on the organization of the Republican party as such fifteen years later.

WHAT BOOK-L'ARNIN' WILL DO.

THIS gem, the creation of one of our superintendents of Public Instruction, and taken from a State Manual, is not exactly in our line, but the latter part of it should be "canned" for the benefit of posterity, and we venture to use it as a space-filler:

"The danger that confronts the adolescent if he comes to this period without a body of foundation principles upon which to base his conduct and out of which to carve his future career is great, indeed, even though great care and patience have developed an automatic tendency to right conduct. Even a well-developed, well-knit soul-texture and will-plexus might be able to appreciate the rationale of its automatic tendency to right conduct when the 'storm and stress period' of life is reached."

THE OLD NATIONAL ROAD.

As Described by George Cary Eggleston.

THE plan was to make the National road a Broad one, after the manner of the Romans, whose empire-building methods the statesmen of that time had minutely studied. The roadbed was sixty-six feet wide. The gradients were so low that a pair of horses might haul a very heavy load over them without difficulty. Every creek was well bridged, and every brook culverted, while the surface of the road was made smooth with broken and pulverized stone.

This was in Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia. When the National road had crossed the Ohio and entered the wilderness, a far less costly system of construction was adopted.

The road from Cumberland to Wheeling had cost six thousand dollars a mile, without counting the cost of bridges, from the Ohio forward into the West, about three thousand dollars a mile—and much less as the road advanced—sufficed.

On the eastern division the road was paved six inches deep in broken stone; every little brook was bridged by a stone culvert, and every mile of the road was drained by two deep ditches, one on each side of it. West of the Ohio the only work done was to clear away the timber, grub up the stumps and dig ditches. There was no thought of a stone coating to the roadway, and no thought of anything else except to open a track over which wagons might be hauled through the mud.

Here and there in creek bottom lands the road was corduroyed. That is to say, timbers were laid upon its surface to keep the wagons from sinking hopelessly into the soil.

In this way, year by year the National road was extended westward, and as it was extended, the travel over it increased.

From Wheeling, in Virginia, it stretched in very nearly straight line westward, through Columbus, Ohio, Indianapolis and Terre Haute, Indiana, to Vandalia, then the capital of Illinois.

A QUESTION OF HISTORICAL ACCURACY.

MR. DUNN'S attack in the September number of this magazine upon the accuracy of a paragraph in my article on "The Development of State Constitutions" in the June number, seems to call for a defense from me. Much of Mr. Dunn's article is a general argument for the new proposed constitution. Into this, though differing with him on some points, I do not care to enter, but will confine myself to the exceptions he takes to my statements.

The first of these refers to my characterizing the method pursued in drafting and submitting the proposed constitution to the people as a "revolutionary scheme." This he says is "mere unfounded epithet, and not an impartial historical statement." The scheme is, or rather was, revolutionary because it involved the reversal of the best and the strongest tendencies in our constitutional history, both State and national; namely, the regarding of constitution making as a peculiar and most important function of the body politic, to be separated so far as possible from temporary party politics, and to be intrusted to the ablest possible body of men assembled for the exclusive purpose of creating the fundamental law. The constitutional convention, more than almost any other political institution, has commended itself for its representative character and for the ability enlisted in it. One proof of the consistent development of this institution will suffice. In eleven of the thirteen original States, the first State constitution was drawn up by the legislature, but so strongly has the current run toward the use of the constitutional convention, that since the Civil War out of scores of constitutions adopted and a larger number proposed, Mr. Dunn is able to cite only three exceptions, and those only partially such, to the practice of calling conventions to frame State constitutions. Starting in the time of the national constitutional convention at Philadelphia in 1787, the practice has become practically universal. The attempt to dispense with the constitutional convention by proposing a constitution through the legislature, a method

practically abandoned throughout the United States and never used in Indiana, is certainly, as far as it goes, "revolutionary." It is all the more justly characterized as such in that this particular legislature was elected with no thought in the mind of the voters that it would propose a new constitution.

As to my statement that the bill submitting the proposed constitution to the people provides means of counting the Democratic party vote as a vote for the constitution. Mr. Dunn's claim that it involves "the adoption of a principle of vast importance" in no way refutes the plain fact that in this particular instance the intention was to have the Democratic party endorse the measure and have straight Democratic votes counted as votes for it. He surely can not think that the scheme was launched with the vague idea that possibly the Republican and other organizations would officially declare for its adoption. I neither asserted nor denied the wisdom of the general policy of making constitutions and constitutional amendments party measures. I merely summarized the situation as it was. The following assertion of Mr. Dunn, and his qualification of the exception he admits must be taken as evidence of his enthusiasm rather than as a test of his historical accuracy: "It is safe to say that by the time it (the proposed constitution) is voted on, it will have received fuller consideration than any constitution ever voted on in America with possibly the exception of the constitution of the United States."

The legislative power of initiative which Mr. Dunn states I deny, I denied only with reference to the Indiana legislature framing a new constitution and submitting it to the people. The argument for this position is too long to give here in full, but it may be based upon the theory of the legislature embodied in our constitution, and on its detailed description of the function of the legislature in proposing amendments, without mention of any power to propose a new constitution. The judicial decision which Mr. Dunn cites deals with legislation and government under the constitution, not to the formulation of a new constitution. That the legislature disregarded provisions in the constitution of 1816 concerning revision, is not proof that it "has the power to submit

to a vote of the people any question of fundamental law, if it be not expressly prohibited by the constitution." If it proves anything, it proves too much, namely the right of the legislature to submit any question even if it be expressly prohibited by the constitution. However, Mr. Dunn's statement that "no vote of the people on the question of calling a convention was taken in 1828 or in 1840" seems open to question, though I have not had time to look it up at first hand. Mr. W. W. Thornton, in his authoritative article on *The Laws of Indiana*, in this quarterly, Vol. I, p. 27, gives the number of votes cast both in 1828 and in 1840, and speaks of the question being submitted the "fourth time" in 1849.

Mr. Dunn also takes exception to my saying that precedents are against the method used to get the proposed constitution into being and before the people. In doing so he rejects the two occasions on which Indiana adopted constitutions on the ground that the conditions then were different, inasmuch as our present constitution was not in force then. This refusal to accept as precedents the only direct examples we have for the process of constitution making in this State is a good deal like saying that a change of clothing destroys a man's past. As far as Indiana is concerned, precedents call for a constitutional convention, because in the formation of both our constitutions the constitutional convention was one of the most essential elements in the whole process.

In saying that the governor might as well dispense with the legislature in this process, as the legislature eliminates the convention, I was only emphasizing the above fact, and did not seriously propose, as Mr. Dunn seems to think, that the governor assume this power. He is correct in stating that "there cannot be shown, in all the history of Great Britain, or of the United States, a solitary case where an executive undertook to submit a constitution to the people.' The nearest to it that I know of is the present case in question in Indiana, where Mr. Dunn himself really ascribes the proposed constitution not to the legislature, but to the governor: "I feel at liberty to say that to Governor Marshall the purification of the suffrage is the chief feature of

the proposed constitution, and I believe that future generations will be grateful for his effort to remove the existing evil."

My statement that the present constitution "makes no provision for the calling of another constitutional convention, nor does it make any mention of the possibility of a new constitution," is in part admitted by Mr. Dunn and in part denied. I based it on the text of the constitution as interpreted by the discussion in the convention of 1850. Most of the speakers there carefully distinguished between amendments, which they provided for, and the formation of a new constitution to supersede theirs, which they disliked even to consider. To devise power for the legislature to propose a new constitution from the grant of "legislative authority" and the phrase "the people have, at all times, an indefeasible right to alter and reform their government," is in this instance stretching the theory of implied powers too far.

Mr. Dunn further quotes my statement, "If on the other hand, the new constitution be, as is claimed by the opposition, not in fact a new constitution, but a series of amendments to the old, the whole proceeding is plainly unconstitutional," and continues, "This claim is a mere verbal quibble." I understand him to object here not to my statement of the case, but only to the "claim" advanced by the opponents of the constitution who took the matter into court. As my purpose is to defend my historical accuracy and not to argue against the proposed constitution in general, this does not call for discussion in this place.

C. B. COLEMAN.

A FEARFUL AND WONDERFUL ANIMAL.

THE following, taken verbatim from an old copy of the Kentucky Gazette, needs no comment:

WILD MAN OF THE WOODS.

Five or six days since my business called me to Danville, and thence to Harrodsburgh. Whilst descending the cliff on the north side of the Kentucky river, I very unexpectedly encountered a being whose strangeness of visage inspired me with the most horrid sensations. When I first saw him he was lying upon the ground, his tail tied to the limb of a tree about twenty yards distant. I would judge it (the tail) to be thirty yards in length and about the size of a bed-cord. The tramping of my horse's feet started him, and he bounded to the tree, climbing up by his tail which, as before stated, was tied to a limb. Recovering somewhat from my confusion, I advanced nearer the tree, where I minutely surveyed his whole appearance. His head was of the usual dimensions, and his hair was long and flowing, reaching nearly to his waist. His eye (he had but one, in the center of his forehead) was almost white, and near the size of a silver dollar. His body was covered with hair and feathers and his feet resembled those of the bear. He skipped with the greatest facility from limb to limb, and muttered some unintelligible words in a harsh tone. Whilst he was intently gazing at me I rode round the tree about four times, his head turning each time with me. When I stopped his head was still for a moment, when it wheeled with the velocity of a top until it resumed its former position. Seeing him about to descend by means of his tail, I put spurs to my horse and reached the ferry greatly terrified and nearly out of breath.

The above statement is sent you at the request of my neighbors, who will certify to my good character, having resided among them for nineteen years.

PATRICK C. FLOURNAY.

Jessamine County, Ky., January 3, 1831.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor*

EDITORIAL.

With the present number the undersigned again assumes, at least for a time, the editorial charge of this magazine. Professor C. B. Coleman, who for the last four years has faithfully performed this gratuitous service, is now away on a leave of absence from Butler College, Indianapolis, where he holds the chair of history, and is pursuing his studies in American history at Columbia University. In taking over Professor Coleman's task a certain unpreparedness on the part of the present writer has not only caused delay, but has made impossible as much variety as the magazine should present. It has been necessary to depend over-much, perhaps, on reprints, but if now or in future numbers reprints are freely used, the endeavor will be made to seek out matter that is valuable and so inaccessible as to be well worth republishing.

GEORGE S. COTTMAN.

A GEORGE ROGERS CLARK DOCUMENT.

Mr. John Owens, of Charlestown, Ind., sends us a surveying document of 1786, the interest of which is enhanced by the signature of George Rogers Clark as party to the transfer of 500 acres in Clark county to John Holker. The price received for this land is not shown. A feature of the document is a rude diagram or approximate square, the four corners of which are designated as K T, K U, L U and L T. The survey reads:

"Surveyed for George Rogers Clark, 500 acres of land in the Illinois Grant No. 229, being part of his claim allowed by the Board of Commrs. Beginning at K T, a beech, the west corner

of ano[ther] survey of said Clark's No. 212, running thence with a line of said other survey No. 50 E. 266 $\frac{2}{3}$ poles, crossing two branches, waters of 14 Mile creek, to K U, a beech; thence with a line of Henry Floyd's survey No. 230 N. 40 W. 300 poles, crossing a branch, to L U, a poplar; thence S. 50 W. 266 $\frac{2}{3}$ poles to L T, an elm; thence with a line of Richard McCarty's survey No. 228 S. 40 E. 300 poles, crossing a branch, to the beginning.

“EDM'ND ROGERS,, Asst. S.

“W. CLARKE, P. S.

“Recorded & Exd. 1st March, 1786.”

On the reverse side of the sheet is written:

“I do hereby assign all my Rights and Interest to and in the within mentioned Lands to John Holker, his heirs & assigns, and desire that a Deed may be issued for them in his name.

“G. R. CLARK.

“Test: BUCKNER T. THURSTON.”

AN EARLY GREENCASTLE NEWSPAPER.

A copy of *The Western Ploughboy* that has come into our possession is of interest owing to its rarity. The *Ploughboy*, edited by G. W. Osborn, was published in Greencastle, Indiana, and this copy bears the date of June 23, 1836, it being Vol. II, No. 36. It has the customary four-page form and is printed on a 22 x 32 sheet. As is usual with the early papers, there is very little in the way of local news, the chief item being a smallpox scare of sufficient moment to cause a public meeting and the creation of a board of health. This board had for its members Doctors A. C. Stevenson, S. J. Scott, William E. Talbott and T. W. Cowgill, together with John Thornburg, Silas Jones, John Standiford, and John W. Osborn. It was requested of it to “enjoin upon our fellow-citizens generally the necessity of vaccination.” Names of other local citizens mentioned in connection with Fourth of July arrangements are: William H. Shields, F. B. Amsden, William B. Gwathmey, William M. C. Blake, J. W. Lyon, John Cowgill, Thomas Robinson, James M. Grooms, Amasa Johnson, Westley

White, Isaac Ash and L. B. Marshall. In the advertising columns we find Allison & Robinson, David Eagon, James Gore and Silas Jones & Co., merchants; Robert M. Wingate, cabinet-maker and house joiner; William H. Cooper, saddler; Taylor & Dicks, tailors; Milton F. Barlow, hatter; P. S. Wilson and John N. Hart, proprietors of the Bell Tavern; Dr. Scott, and Edwin Heath, Jacob Durham, J. H. Lucas, James Johnson, Reuben Wright, justices of the peace for Putnam county. Most of these latter officials advertise stray horses taken up, indicating the troubles of the pioneers in this regard in the days of large range and few fences.

The ubiquitous candidate is, of course, in evidence, and in a long communication James Nasler, would-be legislator, sets forth his views on the subject of internal improvement. In the internal improvement of the State Mr. Nasler sees glorious possibilities, and these as he sets them forth in detail, sound rather amusing in the light of subsequent experience. There is also an allusion to the removal of the county seat from Greencastle, showing that there had been some agitation of the question.

