TRAVELLING ON THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD IN IOWA

Although slavery was much discussed in Iowa prior to the Civil War, the people here came in direct contact with the institution only along the Missouri border. Here came the fugitive slave, endeavoring to escape from bondage, and the slave owner or his representative in pursuit of the fleeing chattel. To assist a slave to escape from his lawful owner was contrary to the law of the United States and any one found guilty of this so-called crime was subject to a heavy fine or imprisonment. Thus it happened that to many of the settlers in southern Iowa there came this problem. Should they assist the slave and thus violate the laws of the United States or return the fugitive to his master?

For some this choice had no difficulties; they felt that slavery was a justifiable if not a necessary institution and the return of an escaping slave was to them the plain duty of a law-abiding citizen. The holding of slaves, in their opinion, was not inconsistent with high standards of morals or religion.

This opinion was doubtless strengthened for many of the Iowans along the border by their observation of slavery as it existed in Missouri. Compared with the far South where the demoralization due to slavery had become much more evident and the slave power dominated the church as well as the State, the condition of the slaves in Missouri did not arouse great opposition to the institution. As a rule slaves in Missouri were treated with humane consideration; and, occasionally, some slave owner would become conscience stricken and free his slaves, giving them homes in a free State. Children of the master and the children of slaves

played together in their childish sports. Slaves were often allowed a tract of land on which to raise a marketable crop, the proceeds of which they could use at their own discretion. Slaves and slave masters attended the same church, listened to the same services, and worshipped the same God. The congregation was divided, however, the masters and their families occupying one side of the church and the servants the other. It was sometimes said that the slaves and their families formed the most gaily dressed portion of the congregation.

But there were other settlers along the southern boundary of Iowa who were opposed to slavery, whether the condition of the slave was good or bad. So strong was their opposition to the institution that, though they were law-abiding citizens, they felt that obedience to the fugitive slave law was a violation of the law of God and accordingly refused to assist in the return of fugitive slaves. Indeed many actively aided the colored fugitives, risking arrest and punishment for the sake of conscience. They agreed with Whittier when he wrote:

> Than garbled text or parchment law
> I own a statute higher;
> And God is true, though every book
> And every man's a liar!

Partly because of its geographic position and partly because of the news which percolated through slave circles in Missouri that there were friends in Iowa who would assist them, runaway slaves from Missouri were frequently seen in southern Iowa. The owners knew that a slave who disappeared had probably crossed the line into Iowa and advertisements offering rewards for the return of fugitive slaves were frequently printed. The following advertisement which appeared in the *Keokuk Argus* in 1846 is typical

of those which so aroused the opposition of anti-slavery settlers in southern Iowa:

> Run away on Sunday the thirty first of May 1846 from the subscriber, living in Waterloo Clark Co., Mo., a negro woman named Lucy about 36 years old, very stout and heavy made, very black, very large feet and hands, had on when she left a blue calico dress and a sunbonnet, no other clothing. It is believed that she will be conducted to the territory of Iowa in the direction of Keosauqua or beyond that place to a settlement of free negroes that was set free by Meirs living in Tully, Lewis Co., Missouri some years ago. Any person apprehending said slave and returning her to me, or securing her so that I can get her again I will pay a liberal reward and pay all reasonable expenses. Give information to Daniel Hines, Keokuk, or James T. Death, Farmington, Iowa.
>
> JOHN T. DEADMAN.

Prior to the activity of John Brown in Iowa the chief centers of anti-slavery sentiment in Iowa and especially of opposition to the return of fugitive slaves to their masters were Salem, the Quaker settlement, and Denmark, the New England village set down in Iowa.

SALEM

Salem, the center of Quakerism in southern Iowa, was first settled in 1835 when Isaac Pidgeon with his family crossed the Mississippi River to find a home in the unknown prairies to the westward and finally ended his search on what is now known as Little Cedar Creek, in Salem Township, Henry County, Iowa.

The new settler was a member of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, and he reported to his acquaintances in the East the richness of the Iowa territory and the advantages of the beautiful Black Hawk Purchase as a home. In the spring of 1837 he was joined by the families of Reuben, Henry, and Abraham P. Joy, Gideon, Stephen,

and Thomas Frazier, Thomas Cook, and Levi Commack, also Quakers. Being well grounded in the faith of their ancestors, they soon organized a meeting where they could assemble and worship in their own peculiar ways. Salem being thus founded became the Mecca of all emigrant Quakers who crossed the great river into southern Iowa.

The Quakers were a peace-loving people and generally engaged in the pursuits of agriculture. Settlements were made and meetings established in several places around Salem. Some four miles to the northwest was Cedar Creek meeting; to the south was Chestnut Hill; while to the east in what is now Jackson Township was the meeting of East Grove. In Lee County at a point about equally distant from Salem and Denmark was established the meeting of New Garden, which played an important part in the working of the so-called Underground Railroad.

Many of these Quakers or their ancestors had first settled in North Carolina, where they came into actual contact with slavery, an institution that was obnoxious to the soul of all ardent Quakers, whose cardinal faith was the love of justice and equality among men. To free themselves from this unwholesome environment, the Quakers emigrated to Ohio and Indiana, and thence to the free, open prairies of Iowa. The knowledge of slavery acquired by actual contact made the Quakers of Salem the natural enemies of the slaveholders of the adjoining State of Missouri and it was difficult for them to restrain their indignation at the institution.

It may seem strange to many that such law-abiding, peace-loving people should be found boldly and persistently violating the laws of the land. A knowledge of some of the fundamental principles of the Friends, however, will explain this seeming contradiction. "The one corner-stone of belief upon which the Society of Friends is built", says one writer, "is the conviction that God does indeed communi-

cate with each one of the spirits He has made, in a direct and living inbreathing of some measure of the breath of His own life; that He never leaves Himself without a witness in the heart as well as in the surroundings of man''. On this theme of the ''inner light'' William Penn wrote: ''That which the people called *Quakers* lay down as a main fundamental in religion is this — *That God, through Christ, hath placed a principle in every man, to inform him of his duty, and to enable him to do it; and that those that live up to this principle are the people of God, and those that live in disobedience to it, are not God's people, whatever name they may bear, or profession they may make of religion.*''

The reader can now see that upon this principle of the ''inner light'' the Quaker relied for guidance. He did not carry his Bible into the pulpit or read the scriptures in his public worship: the Bible had been handed down through the hand of man and might contain the imperfections of man, but the message received by direct communion with the Holy Spirit was always true and righteous altogether. Relying on this principle the Quakers were often brought into conflict with the rules established by society and the statute laws enacted by the governments. For this they were often persecuted, banished, and sometimes hanged; but they persisted in their ways and quietly suffered persecutions for conscience sake. As every human being, of whatever sex, race, or tongue, possessed the ''inner light'', every person stood on an exact equality in the sight of God. Acting on this thought, the Quaker refused to remove his hat in the presence of court or king, priest or potentate, because this would be an act of servility; he never addressed another as ''Mister'' (master), for this implied superiority in the one and servility in the other; he never addressed another as ''you'', for this was the language of a servant to his lord. He used the words ''thou'' and ''thee''

which signified equality among men. The reader can readily see from these precepts why the Quakers, of all men, were opposed to bondage or slavery.

From this foundation principle of the "inner light" was developed another precept or "testimony" as the Quakers called it. They refused to bear arms even in war or engage in personal combat. This principle of non-resistance developed in the Quaker a characteristic that distinguished him from most other men. As he could not carry out his designs by force, he developed a sort of cunning or strategy which carried him safely through many a dangerous situation. This superiority in strategic power is what made the Quaker so successful in assisting the fugitive to elude the grasp of his pursuer. Who but a Quaker would have thought of driving to a distant flouring mill and after purchasing a load of bran drive boldly along the highway, while beneath his sacks of bran was concealed a cargo of human freight, whose destination was the land of freedom; or of loading hay on a wagon and leaving a hollow interior where human beings could be concealed and carried in comfort and security; or of clothing a fugitive slave in the garb of a Quaker woman, with bonnet and veil, placing him in a carriage, and driving fearlessly along the public road to friends and security? Such were the tactics of the Quaker with which he won his bloodless battle.

Since this work of liberation was of necessity carried on in secret, no record of the work could be made and, all the original actors in the drama having passed to their reward, it is difficult to get accurate information in regard to names and dates. It will, therefore, be necessary to rely largely on tradition for a history of those stirring days. Some of these anecdotes illustrate the methods of travelling on the Underground Railroad.

At the home of Joel C. Garretson, five miles southeast of

Salem, a fugitive slave tapped lightly at the cabin door in the early hours of the night. Mrs. Garretson opened the door and saw a colored man before her. The negro gave her to understand that he was a fugitive and was closely followed. Not wishing to arouse the curiosity of her own children and those of a neighbor who were present, she, by a wave of the hand, directed him to a peach orchard which stood near by. The negro lay down around the base of a bushy tree around which the grass and weeds had grown until they almost touched the spreading branches of the tree, and awaited the outcome. It was well for him that he found this hiding place as quickly as he did. In a few minutes his pursuers arrived, for Joel C. Garretson was an open advocate of the emancipation of the slave, and his home was the natural place to look for the fleeing property of the slaveholders. The pursuers came to the house and cautiously inspected the premises, and looked in at the windows, but made no attempt to enter the house. They carefully searched the orchard passing back and forth among the trees almost in reach of the breathless fugitive who lay silently beneath his leafy shelter, until the hunters, failing to find their prey, quietly departed, and were seen no more.

Mr. Garretson was not at home on this occasion and Mrs. Garretson was left to her own resources. She was a woman of unflinching courage, however, and entirely devoid of fear. As soon as the slave hunters were gone and the children asleep, she went to the home of Joseph D. Hoag on the opposite side of the road and about an eighth of a mile to the east. Mr. Hoag secured some provisions and together they sought the famished negro and gave him food and drink.

Near the center of the farm then occupied by Mr. Hoag there is a high ridge from which the ground slopes in every direction except to the southwest which is toward the open prairie. On this ridge was a cluster of hazel brush and

small jack oak trees. When Mr. Garretson returned, he piloted the fugitive to this thicket and concealed him where he could have a fair view in every direction. Here the fugitive was fed for some time by Garretson and Hoag until his wife and child, who had been hiding elsewhere, were brought to him. They were then taken in charge by Nathan Kellum of New Garden who conveyed them along by-ways toward Denmark.

When the rescue party met the men from Denmark who were to pilot them on it was so near morning that the fugitives were concealed in a ravine and the conducting parties returned to their respective homes. On the following night the negro family was conveyed to Denmark where they were cared for by unfaltering friends.

Joel C. Garretson, who was associated with many of the events which happened on the Underground Railroad at Salem, was not a Quaker. He had been reared, however, under the tenets of that Society and adhered to many of its precepts. He believed in the absolute equality of every man before his Maker and the law. While a youth, yet in his teens, he was traveling over Price's Mountain in the State of Virginia, where he met a coffle of slaves, consisting of twenty negroes, marching in double file. Between the files was a heavy chain to which the handcuffed slaves were chained. Behind them rode the slave driver on horseback, whip in hand, while in the holster of his saddle were his pistols, ready for action. This sight so impressed the youthful mind of Joel Garretson that he vowed then and there that if ever he had an opportunity to strike this hated institution a blow, he would do it with all his energy.

In 1837, after he had reached his majority, Mr. Garretson emigrated to Iowa. Here he became a public speaker of no mean ability and freely and fearlessly used his powers to create a sentiment against the institution he so much ab-

horred. He helped to organize the Free Soil party of Henry County, and he and Samuel L. Howe became the candidates of that party for the legislature. In the campaign he vigorously stumped the county in the interests of his party, although he had no more hope of being elected than of being translated.

Joel Garretson was also one of the little group, including Dr. Curtis Shed and Eli Jessup, which met at Iowa City to organize the Free Soil party in Iowa. An opponent of the movement ridiculed the meeting, declaring that the whole State convention of the new party was organized and engineered by a dozen men. "Oh", said Dr. Shed, "that is a lie, there were only half a dozen of us."

One of the escaped slaves who came to Salem was concealed in the hotel, kept by D. W. Henderson. Some clothing of Rachel Hobson was secretly taken to the hotel and the negro was carefully dressed in these garments, which were of plain Quaker design, including shaker bonnet and veil. Peter Hobson then drove his buggy up in front of the hotel and said to the landlord, "I wish thee would tell Rachel to make haste or we will be too late for the meeting." The supposed Rachel soon appeared and stepping into the buggy was driven to safety while his pursuer stood in front of the hotel quietly watching the departure of the Quaker and his pseudo-wife.

This negro was taken to the woods on Fish Creek, four miles northeast of town, where he was concealed and cared for until he could be transported in safety to another station on the road.

The fleeing slaves that came to Iowa were seldom armed, but in a few instances they possessed some crude implement of defense. Two fugitives, a man and wife, were concealed in a corn shock on the southeast quarter of section thirty-three, in Jackson Township, Henry County. They

remained there for several days, being cared for by sympathizing friends until they could be taken elsewhere. After their departure, a dagger was found beneath the shock. This dagger was about ten inches long with a blade six inches in length, two-edged, and running to a sharp point. This knife is the property of the writer and is one of the few relics that remain to tell the story of those days.

Many strange and pathetic scenes were witnessed by the workers on this unseen railroad. It was not uncommon for families to become separated in their hasty flight. On one occasion, a man and his wife, who had reached the vicinity of Salem, were forced by hot pursuit to flee in different directions, and thus became lost to each other. The man was concealed in the famous hiding place on the farm of Joseph Hoag and cared for while search was made for the lost wife. She was finally located and the news was carried to the husband by Joel Garretson. On hearing the report, he sprang to his feet and waving his arms violently shouted, "Glory to God, Glory to God, I have been praying all night that she might be found."

The actors in this secret work met with various types of fugitives who were guiding their footsteps by the light of the polar star. Not all of these fleeing bondmen would confide in the friendship of those who offered them assistance. They knew that they were in the country of their friends, but some of them realized that there might be those who would betray them to their masters.

At one time a stalwart and athletic negro was found in hiding on the farm of Joel Garretson. He was armed with a heavy club and a dangerous looking knife, and permitted no one to approach within reaching distance of him. He would accept food offered him if placed where he could reach it without coming in contact with the donor, but he always kept a safe distance between himself and would-be

friends. In vain did Garretson and Hoag try to convince him that they would give him aid if he would trust in them: he departed as he came, unseen by friend or foe, determined to fight his own way to his intended refuge.

In *The Quakers of Iowa,* by Louis T. Jones, the statement is made that no fugitive who reached Salem was ever returned to bondage. This may be true of the town of Salem, but it is not correct in regard to the communities around Salem. A negro fugitive from Missouri who was being assisted by Friends in the New Garden community, the half way station between Salem and Denmark, was concealed in the barn of Nathan Bond, awaiting an opportunity to proceed to Denmark. Here he was discovered and apprehended by two brothers by the name of Berry who returned him to his master. For this the Berry brothers received a reward of two hundred dollars but their act aroused the indignation of almost the entire community. Many citizens remonstrated against their actions, and some of the more zealous warned them that the judgment of the Lord would surely be visited upon them for their perfidy. According to the reports of many pioneers, this prophecy became an actual fact: while the farms around them were yielding abundant harvests, the crops on the Berry farm dwindled and failed. This condition continued as long as the property was owned by the Berry brothers. After the farm had passed to other hands it produced abundantly.

Joseph D. Hoag was a pioneer minister of the Society of Friends, who settled on the northeast one-fourth of section thirty-three, township seventy, range six, in Henry County, five miles southeast of Salem. Here he built his home and lived for many years. In 1847 Mr. Hoag was appointed one of the commissioners to relocate the capital of the State of Iowa, Monroe City being the choice of the commissioners.

Mr. Hoag was an ardent worker in the cause of liberty

and when he built his house, he constructed a secret closet beneath the stairway that led to the upper rooms of the dwelling. This house faces to the south and in front of it passed the historic Burlington and Agency road, constructed by General A. C. Dodge for military purposes. The stairway began about the middle of the north wall of the front room and went west, rising to about two-thirds of the height of the room where there was a landing. It then turned to the south at right angles. Beneath the landing of the stairway was constructed a cupboard facing the south, but the back wall of the cupboard was only about one-half of the distance to the north wall of the room, thus leaving a considerable space back of the cupboard into which there was no apparent opening. Anyone looking into the cupboard would never suspect that back of this was another space. On the landing of the stairway was a neatly fitted trap door which opened into this unseen closet. Tradition has it, and many pioneers repeated the story, that in this secret hiding place Joseph D. Hoag concealed many fugitive slaves. The house is still standing and is the property of the writer. The secret closet may yet be seen and it is still called "the nigger hole", as it was for three generations past.

A large faction of the Society of Friends became so exercised over the subject of slavery that it became restless because of the tolerant attitude of the church at large, and a separation of the two factions was the result. A meeting of the anti-slavery branch was established at Salem under the leadership of Thomas Frazier, Eli Jessup, and others. The original body of the church held that their duty as Christian citizens would be fulfilled by entering a solemn protest against this detested institution and by using every reasonable means to create a sentiment against it. The radical element, while holding kindred ideas, also held that

it was their duty to assist in liberating the bondmen wherever found. Clinging firmly to these views they became aggressive in their actions and doubtless sent emissaries to Missouri to inform the slaves of their readiness to assist them in gaining their liberty.

Such a menace had this propaganda of the Quakers become to the slaveholders of Missouri that they adopted the expedient of patrolling the Des Moines River to prevent the crossing of fugitives to Iowa, and to keep a check on all strangers who crossed from the northern shore, but this plan availed them little and they became greatly incensed at the Quakers.

It is said that Elihu Frazier of Salem, when in Missouri supposedly on a mission in the interests of the slaves, was captured by some of these patrolmen and hanged to make him confess the nature of his mission. However, they secured no information of value, and Frazier was finally released and returned home but little the worse for his rough experience.

One of the episodes of interest in this period was the escape and attempted capture of several slaves belonging to Ruel Daggs. In 1835, Daggs, who was a man of character and influence and possessed of ample means, moved from the State of Virginia and settled in Clark County, Missouri, locating a few miles west of where the town of Kahoka now stands. He brought with him sixteen slaves and engaged extensively in farming. It is not alleged that Ruel Daggs was cruel to his slaves: on the contrary there is every reason to believe that he was a humane man. A number of his descendants still live in Missouri, and are ranked among the leading citizens of that Commonwealth.

Slaves brought in contact with the free atmosphere of the undeveloped West, however, could not long remain docile and contented even under humane treatment for the spirit

of liberty is implanted in every human soul and can not be eradicated. Ruel Daggs finally realized the difficulty of holding slaves so near the free State of Iowa and contemplated selling his slaves south so that he would be free from the necessity of keeping a constant guard on valuable property. Nothing was more repugnant to the negroes of the border States than the thought of being "sold south" and as soon as the slaves of Mr. Daggs learned that their master was planning to dispose of them in this manner, nine of them — three men, four women, and two children — determined to make an attempt to escape to Iowa before it was too late.

The story of the escape and attempted capture of these nine slaves has been told by an educated and intelligent negro named Sam Webster. Webster was born of free parents but was bound to a man by the name of Dick Leggens, whose father had been an extensive slaveholder but had sold his slaves and quit the business. This Dick Leggens was an eccentric character who resided in a dense woods a great distance from any other habitation. With him was the free negro boy, Sam Webster. To this lonely dwelling on Thursday night or Friday morning early in June, 1848, came the nine negroes from the plantation of Ruel Daggs. Without doubt they had been informed that if they could reach Salem, twenty-five miles north of the Missouri border, they would receive assistance. No sooner had they arrived at this home, than a terrific rain set in and they were compelled to stay all the next day and part of the following night. The negro's heart is naturally gay and he seeks amusement. The negro boy, Sam Webster, played the violin, while the fugitives danced to while away the time.

Sometime Friday night, the rains having ceased, the negroes started for the north accompanied by their host. On reaching the Des Moines River, however, the stream was

found to be so swollen that its passage was difficult and a long delay ensued. Finally, by the assistance of Mr. Leggens, they procured or constructed a raft and successfully passed to the northern shore, not far from the town of Farmington. How the fugitives reached Salem from Farmington is not known, but in all probability they were in touch with sympathizing friends who aided in their transportation.

On Monday, following the escape of the negroes, two men, Samuel Slaughter and a Mr. McClure, who were searching for the negroes and heading their course toward Salem, saw a covered wagon being driven rapidly several miles ahead of them. They increased their speed and on arriving at the woods, about a mile south of Salem, they found the wagon in the bushes near the roadside, while scattered through the near-by woods were the supposed slaves of Ruel Daggs. The horses hitched to this wagon were the property of John Pickering, an active worker in the anti-slavery cause, and the team was driven by Jonathan Frazier, a son of Thomas Frazier, the noted pioneer preacher and leader of the anti-slavery Friends of Iowa.

The fugitives were immediately seized by the slave catchers who immediately prepared to return with them to Missouri. Almost at once, however, they were confronted by three solid citizens of the community, Elihu Frazier, Thomas Clarkson Frazier, and Henry Johnson, who demanded that the negroes be taken before an officer and the rights of property proven before they were taken away. So insistent were the three Quakers in their demands, that Slaughter and McClure were compelled to yield.

The fugitives were taken before Nelson Gibbs, justice of the peace, whose office was in the great stone house of Henderson Lewelling. The unusual sight of slave and slave master appearing for trial before a legal tribunal created

much excitement. The news spread rapidly and in a short time such a crowd had assembled that the justice's office could not accommodate the people. By common consent the proceedings were transferred to the anti-slavery meeting house of the Society of Friends. Although Salem was considered a Quaker village, there were many citizens of other denominations, or no denomination at all, whose sympathies were as strong for the bondmen as those of the Quakers themselves.

In their feverish excitement, men were swearing and women praying, while others were denouncing the slave catchers or uttering threats of violence. So great was the tumult that Henry Darland, the village school master, who was held in high regard, attempted to pour oil on the troubled waters by haranguing the people and urging them to be quiet and orderly, and do nothing to compromise themselves in the eyes of the law. Quiet was finally restored and the trial duly held.

It soon appeared that the two slave catchers were not personally acquainted with the fugitives and claimed them only by the description which had been sent out. Justice Gibbs decided that the claimants had proven neither their ownership or their authority to detain the defendants, and that he, as justice of the peace, had no jurisdiction to hold the negroes. So far as he knew they were as free as any other citizens.

Meanwhile, the members of the Underground Railroad, who had doubtless anticipated the decision of the court, had not been idle. A number of horses had been tied to the hitching racks and other convenient points near the meeting house. As soon as Justice Gibbs rendered his decision, Paul Way, a determined citizen, mounted one of the horses near by and started out of town. Doubtless by prearranged plan one of the released bondmen mounted one of the other

horses and taking up a child started after him. All the while Paul Way was shouting to the crowd in a stentorian voice, "Stop them niggers, don't let them niggers follow me." He rode out of town at a rapid pace with the "niggers" in hot pursuit. The negroes soon eluded the sight of their pursuers and were safely concealed by trusted friends.

Joseph Hobson, an eye witness to this stirring scene, thus describes the appearance of Paul Way. He was an old man clothed in the working garb of the pioneer, with long chin whiskers and wore a pointed topped, lopped down felt hat. He came into town riding an old sorrel mare with a sheep skin for a saddle, and led another horse. When the negro and child were brought from the trial, Paul Way was in front of the building. He mounted the sorrel mare, and the negro sprang upon the other horse. A man by the name of Gilcherson handed him up the child. When Way started out of town, some one kicked the horse on which the negro man and child were seated and it started in hot pursuit of the old sorrel mare. Way went northwest, across the public square, which at that time was unenclosed, then north toward his home on what is now known as the Harvey Derbyshire farm. When he reached the bushes on the head of the waters of Fish Creek, he turned east into the woods, and the fugitives were forever lost to their pursuers. The remaining negroes were later assisted on their way to freedom.

Baffled in their attempt to secure their prey, and enraged by the attitude of the people, Slaughter and McClure left for their homes, swearing vengeance upon the Quaker city. A few days later, a large company of mounted men from Missouri, heavily armed, and variously estimated at from one to two hundred in number, appeared at Salem and surrounded the town. They placed a guard on every street leading out of the village and refused to allow anyone to leave or enter the place. They offered a reward of five hun-

dred dollars each for the heads of Joel Garretson and Eli Jessup, who had publicly advocated the emancipation of the slaves and were thought by the Missourians to be the instigators of the plot to free their slaves. They proceeded to send squads of men to search the houses both in town and country. In most cases they were quietly allowed to search the premises, but in others, they met with firm resistance.

Dr. Theodore Shriner lived on the west side of the square and kept the post office in his home. When the searchers appeared at his domicile, he refused them entrance. They persisted in their demands, but the doctor told them in vigorous terms that if they entered his home they would have first to pass over his dead body. They desisted from entering.

When they arrived at the home of Paul Way, they found a ladder reaching from the ground to the attic. Way appeared armed with two heavy pistols, and told the searchers that there were fugitive slaves in that attic, and if they wanted them they could get them, but he warned the pursuers that the first man that set a foot on that ladder would be shot. They wisely decided to make no further search. It was well for them that they made this decision, for Paul Way was a cool, determined man who had engaged in many a gun play on the western frontier, and would have fearlessly carried his threat into execution.

Squads of men were sent to the country to capture Joel Garretson who lived five miles southeast in the East Grove community. Garretson was a man of great physical courage, an athlete by nature, and would have been a match for any man in personal combat. He was the owner of a horse of great speed and endurance that had proven his powers by being used to run down wolves on the open prairies. On this horse Mr. Garretson relied for safety. Southwest of his home was a broad and open prairie known as the Grand

Valley, where one's vision would extend for many miles. Taking his trusted horse, he went to the middle of this prairie and quietly awaited results. He knew that should the mob appear from any direction, this horse would easily carry him to safety. The Missourians promptly appeared at his home and carefully searched the premises, but he himself was not molested.

Eli Jessup, for whose head a reward was also offered, was a Quaker preacher. He concealed himself in a private cave and was not found.

Meanwhile, the citizens of Denmark had been apprized of what was being done at Salem and the ire of these Puritans was at once aroused. A large company of mounted men, hastily assembled and armed with rifles, marched rapidly to Salem determined to raise the siege. The Missourians offered no resistance to their entering the town and the newcomers placed themselves in strategic positions to assist the citizens should any violence be attempted. The attitude of the besiegers immediately changed: they quickly realized that discretion was the better part of valor and hastily departed for their native State. Cowed by the determined attitude of the Denmark riflemen, the slave masters from Missouri never again attempted an armed invasion of the free soil of Iowa.

The slaves of Ruel Daggs were never captured, but the people of Salem who had laid themselves open to the charge that they had assisted the slaves to escape were not yet done with Daggs. Mr. Daggs took advantage of this situation and brought suit for damages. This suit was entered in the Federal court at Burlington in 1850 and is entitled Ruel Daggs *v.* Elihu Frazier and others, the following persons being named as parties to the suit: Elihu Frazier, Thomas Clarkson Frazier, John Pickering, William Johnson, John Comer, Paul Way, and others. The slaves al-

leged to have escaped were Sam, forty to forty-five years old (black); Walker, twenty-two to twenty-three (yellow); Dorcas, Sam's wife; Mary, Walker's wife; Julia, eighteen years old; Martha, ten years; William, a small boy, and two young children name unknown. The value placed on these slaves was as follows: the men, nine hundred to a thousand dollars; the women, six hundred to seven hundred dollars; Martha, two hundred and fifty to three hundred dollars; and William, two hundred dollars. The small children were not valued.

Ruel Daggs never appeared in person either at Salem or at the trial in Burlington, but was represented in the Federal courts by his son, George Daggs. Two of the most distinguished lawyers of the pioneer days of Iowa opposed each other in this case. Judge David Rorer represented the prosecution and Judge J. C. Hall appeared for the defense. The suit created intense interest and many people of Salem attended the trial. The evidence produced in this case was strictly circumstantial and rested largely on suspicion. When Slaughter and McClure found the fugitives in the bushes, they were alone. Elihu Frazier, Clarkson Frazier, and William Johnson soon appeared upon the scene and opposed the plaintiffs in their decision to return the negroes. The wagon, which the pursuers had seen driven rapidly across the prairies, was found standing by the side of the road. The team hitched to the wagon was the property of John Pickering. The driver of the team was Jonathan Frazier. The Fraziers were the sons of Thomas Frazier, the leader of the anti-slavery Friends of Iowa. John Pickering was a noted sympathizer with the negro bondmen. Eli Jessup had borrowed the horses from Pickering to take a Methodist preacher to Farmington. Jessup openly advocated the emancipation of the slaves. At the hearing before Justice Gibbs, numerous persons expressed

sympathy for the fugitives and the whole population of Salem was a hotbed of abolitionism. John Pickering was seen to hold a conversation with one of the fugitives. Paul Way rode out of town followed by a negro and child. Such was the nature of the testimony against the defendants. Nothing material was proven, but many circumstances were set forth which gave room for strong suspicion.

Judge Rorer in his plea to the jury enlarged upon the importance of the case, not only to Iowa, but to the United States in general. Iowa had recently become a member of the sisterhood of States and had obligated herself to uphold the Constitution. The Constitution and the statute laws of Congress sanctioned and upheld slavery, and it was the duty of the people of Iowa to sustain the laws. To hold slaves was the privilege of every citizen of Missouri. Negro slaves were absolute property, the same as a horse or an ox, and the owner had a right to claim his property wherever found. Any person who prevented him from exercising this right was held liable to the owner for the damage done. Judge Rorer told the jury that the evidence in the case was so clear that there could be no reasonable doubt of the guilt of the defendants. He was a shrewd and eloquent barrister and had the power in an eminent degree to make suspicion appear to be actual fact. Rorer based his plea to the jury on the ground that Salem was an abolition town. Ruel Daggs had lost negroes, men, women, and children. Men, women, and children were found near Salem. The people of Salem largely sympathized with the fugitives; therefore, the Fraziers, John Pickering, and others must pay the damages.

J. C. Hall appeared for the defendants. He also pointed out the importance of the procedure. It was the first case of its kind to be tried in the new State of Iowa. The whole country was interested in the outcome. The case was pecu-

liar inasmuch as it was not being tried under the laws of Iowa, but under the Federal statutes. Hall attacked the position of Rorer on the rights of property. He pointed out that the Federal authorities could exercise only such rights as had been delegated to Congress by the several States. Any right not delegated to Congress was reserved to the States or the people, and that the rights of property were reserved to the States. What was property depended on the laws of the several States. What was property in one State might not be property in another State. Negro slaves were recognized as property under the laws of Missouri but in Iowa no such recognition was ever given. Under the laws of Missouri, every negro was presumed to be a slave, while under the laws of Iowa every human being was presumed to be free until he was shown to be a bondman. Therefore, the citizens of Salem had a right to express sympathy and give aid and comfort to any needy human being found within the borders of Iowa, unless it was made known to them that they were assisting a fugitive slave.

As Slaughter and McClure could not show that these negroes were slaves, or show any authority to detain them, the people of Salem had a right to assume that they were free people. Neither Slaughter nor McClure knew the negroes, or knew them to be the property of Ruel Daggs. The testimony showed that Daggs lost nine slaves — men, women, and children. Hall suggested that this description would cover almost any group of people. Men, women, and children could be found in almost any hamlet or household. Because men, women, and children were missing from a plantation in Missouri, and men, women, and children were found in Iowa did not prove that they were the same people. Neither Daggs nor his sons nor any other person had identified the negroes as the property of Ruel Daggs.

Rarely, if ever, was a defendant found guilty on such

purely circumstantial evidence. No overt act was proven against the defendants. It was alleged that William Johnson told Walker, the yellow man, to knock Slaughter down if he touched him again. It was proven that it was Henry Johnson and not William Johnson who gave this advice. Henry Johnson was not prosecuted. After the hearing at the anti-slavery meeting house, a man by the name of Gilcherson untied a horse that stood near by and threw the reins over its head. The negro Sam mounted the horse and Gilcherson handed up the negro child. Gilcherson was not named as one of the defendants. It was not shown that any one of the defendants committed any act or gave any advice that would assist the fugitives to make their escape.

In those days, however, the pro-slavery sentiment was very strong and the minds of many people were deeply prejudiced against the abolitionist. As the people of Salem were outspoken in their views, it was not difficult for the silver tongued Rorer to convince the jury that any suspicious circumstances that occurred among them were proof of their guilt. The jury found the defendants guilty and judgment was rendered according to the prayer of the plaintiff.

The mulcting of these good citizens in heavy damages did not cool the ardor of the people of Salem in this work: they continued and increased their efforts until the Civil War put an end to this irrepressible conflict.

Walter Shriner, a son of the Dr. Theodore Shriner before mentioned in these pages, a boy about town in these stirring days, relates the following incident which probably occurred about the beginning of the Civil War, when fugitives were not closely followed by their masters.

On the south side of the square in an open lot in the rear of the John Garretson home and of the Congregationalist church, he at different times saw several companies of

negro fugitives being fed. A large pot or kettle would be hung over a fire and in this would be cooked corn mush or pudding. Each person was supplied with a small crock of milk and a spoon and served from the great pot of pudding. Mr. Shriner also relates that John Garretson was the owner of a carriage or hack which had an oil cloth covering, and was entirely closed except in front where the driver sat. On several occasions he saw negroes discharged from this hack and fed in the manner and place before mentioned. After this repast, they would be reloaded and taken away to parts unknown.

Nathan Kellum of the New Garden meeting, whose work has heretofore been mentioned, was one of the shrewdest men that ever operated a train on the Underground Railroad. So cunning was he and so full of resources, that he operated quietly and efficiently without arousing the suspicion or resentment of the pro-slavery element of the community. He successfully carried out some of the boldest enterprises ever attempted in southern Iowa. It is alleged that he transported a surrey, filled with negro fugitives, in open daylight from Salem to Denmark along the public highway, past friend and foe, unsuspected by all. He is said to have adopted the following method.

Many of the Quakers of his day had carriages not unlike the farmer's surrey of recent days, in which they were accustomed to drive from meeting to meeting. At Salem, he caused the fugitives to be dressed in the accustomed garb of the Quaker women with shaker bonnet and black veils. The supposed Quaker women were then openly seated in his carriage and boldly driven to safety without arousing suspicion.

Not only were there attempts to return the slaves to their masters: even legally free negroes were in danger. One of these lived near Salem on a little wooded stream south of

the town. What his true name was is not now known. He was always spoken of as "Old Hawk". His little cabin was located in a grove close beside the running brook. Old Hawk was regarded with awe and wonder by the small boys of the community and by some of the older people with superstitious fear, for he was supposed to possess the power of burning water. On quiet summer evenings, the boys would gather at his cabin and ask him to set the water of the creek on fire. On numerous occasions, he complied with their request, touching a fagot to the water, which would then burn with a steady flame until he saw fit to extinguish the blaze.

About 1857, some strangers appeared in the vicinity of Salem, and by various schemes became very intimate with Old Hawk and gained his confidence. They offered him large rewards if he would go with them to Missouri, but cautioned him to keep this offer a secret and let no one know of his intended departure. Fortunately for the negro he had a friend in Salem in whom he had implicit confidence — Rev. Hemmenway, the Congregationalist minister. He was a friend of the oppressed and an ardent advocate of liberty. To this man Old Hawk told in confidence the story of his intended departure. The spirit of Rev. Hemmenway rose in fiery indignation. He told the negro it was a hellish plot to kidnap him and sell him into slavery, and for him to have nothing more to do with his new found friends. Old Hawk saw no more of his pretended benefactors.

DENMARK

Associated with the Quakers of Salem in this work of humanity was a very different type of people. Twenty miles to the southeast, in Lee County, is situated the town of Denmark. This town was founded by people from New England, descendants of the Pilgrims or adherents to the

Pilgrim faith, and they inherited the virtues and the fortitude of the Puritans. Reared in the love of liberty and independence, and being the champions of personal freedom, the Puritans were the militant enemies of oppression. Unlike the peaceful and non-resistant Quaker, these Congregationalists were ready to defend their principles with sword and gun as well as through cunning and strategy. The fugitive slave, who had been rescued from his master by the strategy of the Salem Quaker, was delivered to the Puritans of Denmark who often guided him by armed force to Burlington, and on to eventual freedom.

Here is one of the strangest anomalies in history. It should be remembered that the ancestors of these Denmark Puritans were, in New England, the bitter enemies of the Quakers. They persecuted them in various ways, subjected them to severe whippings, tried them for witchcraft, threw them into prison, bored their ears, banished them from the colonies, and even resorted to hanging. The Quaker patiently endured these persecutions and persisted in the exercise of his religious rites until he gained a home and resting place in the destined land of freedom.

Here on the prairies of Iowa were the descendants of these Puritan persecutors and the descendants of the persecuted Quakers working in friendly coöperation to liberate the bondmen of an alien race. The people of Denmark were a superior class of citizens, educated and cultured, versed in the principles of civil government as taught by their New England ancestors, and law-abiding and just in their dealings with men; but they had no respect for the supreme law of the land which proclaimed the right of one individual to hold another in bondage, and made it a criminal offense to assist a fugitive slave to gain his liberty, and they violated these laws without compunction. Moreover, they were ready to defend their principles by force of arms.

To understand fully the attitude of the Denmark Congregationalists, we will have to take a review of the distinctive doctrines of the Puritan faith. The following precepts will enable us to understand their attitude on this question of law and order. We quote "Every individual has immediate access to God, and in all the offices of the spirit is responsible to Him alone. As men are responsible to God alone, all are under a sacred obligation to insist on the right and duty of absolute mental freedom, unhindered by dictation from any human power. Above all other truths, Puritanism places God the Sovereign and then declares that before that Sovereign all men have equal rights. It never asks where he was from, what is his name or from what race he sprang." From these precepts, it can be seen that individual liberty, both mental and material, was a sacred principle that applies to all men, and must be defended at any cost. The reader can now understand why the Quaker and Puritan could work together in harmony: both believed in the "higher law" of conscience.

Any history of the Underground Railroad in Denmark would be incomplete without mention of Rev. Asa Turner. Born in New England of Puritan ancestry, he was imbued with the spirit of individual liberty to such a degree that any domination of one individual over the rights of another caused his soul to burn with righteous indignation. He was entirely and openly opposed to the national policy on the question of slavery, and he left no stone unturned to spread the doctrine he so ardently espoused. He not only advocated the cause of the bondmen in private and public gatherings, but he carried his doctrines to the pulpit and often preached against the slave system.

As a general rule his parishioners agreed with him; but it could not be expected that in the age where pro-slavery sentiment was dominant that some discordant note would

not be sounded, or some spirit of discontent aroused among his congregation. One aged member of his church wrote him an earnest letter advising him not to desecrate his pulpit by preaching the cause of abolitionism, to adhere strictly to the teachings of Christ as set forth in the Bible, and not to meddle with national political policies. But from a higher source of authority also came a note of protest. Bernhart Henn, a member of Congress from Iowa, wrote him an exhaustive letter protesting against his agitation of the slavery question. Congressman Henn expressed his belief that slavery was an injury to those who practiced it, but he had never considered it a moral wrong. He held with A. H. Stevens that the African was an inferior race and that slavery was his natural state; that to grant equal political privileges to the negro was warring against both God and nature. God had made one race to differ from another, even as he had made one star to differ from another in glory. It was futile to try to place on an equality races of men that had been created different.

Under all these weighty protests, Asa Turner never wavered from the course he had taken. He believed that he was right and, having faith in the right, he sought no further justification for his conduct. He further held that the fugitive slave law of his day was contrary to all the principles of right and justice; that it was contrary to the teachings of Christ, and the Holy Scriptures; and that the enactment of an unjust law by the national Congress was no reason he should abandon his ideals of justice.

With Asa Turner to believe was to act. Following the dictates of his conscience he never turned the needy from his door or hesitated to assist the fugitive who was fleeing from bondage. Many former slaves owed their freedom to the timely action of Asa Turner. Although a great many fugitives were aided in gaining their liberty by the people

of Denmark it is only possible at this late date to give a few instances of the manner in which these unfortunate people were assisted to freedom.

On one occasion, two negroes were attempting to escape by crossing the river to Illinois. They were placed in the bottom of a wagon box and covered with farm produce, and in this way crossed the river on the same boat that carried their pursuers who were seeking them as their lawful property.

Theron Trowbridge was also a devout man and faithful in his attendance at the church where Asa Turner preached the gospel of Christ and liberty. He was bold and active in assisting slaves to elude their pursuers and so prominent had he become in this work that the Missourians offered a reward for his capture.

One Sunday morning, he had a number of negroes harboring in his home. He knew that their masters were in the vicinity searching for them with bloodhounds and he anticipated that the pursuers would be at his home that day. Faithful to his custom, however, Mr. Trowbridge repaired to his church to do homage to his Maker, but before going to church he prepared some biscuit to tempt a hungry hound. His son, J. B. Trowbridge, was left at home, with instructions to feed any of these dogs which came about the house. True to his expectations the dogs came, and as they appeared at the rear of the dwelling trailing the fugitives, the son fed the dogs the biscuit the elder Trowbridge had prepared. It is said that these bloodhounds gave up their lives at no great distance from the Trowbridge home.

Asa Turner often related with unrestrained glee the story of a little Quaker woman of Salem at whose home a negro fugitive was harboring. When the hunters came in search of their property, she pushed the husband, who was ill, aside and answered the door herself. When the search-

ers asked her if she knew where the "nigger" was, she promptly answered, "Yes, I do. He is not two hundred yards from this door, and if you had not been a set of fools, you would have found him long ago." They looked elsewhere for their man.

EXTENDING THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

At the time of the Kansas border war, John Brown crossed Iowa several times on his way to Kansas or to the East. His object in going to Kansas was to assist the anti-slavery forces, not to establish a home, and as he passed through Iowa he established a line of travel for his fugitive slaves. Beginning in the west at Tabor, the line ran north and east to Madison and Dallas counties. This line passed through Earlham — a Quaker settlement — Des Moines, Grinnell, Washington, Crawfordsville, and Muscatine. Near Earlham, to which Quakers from Salem had carried the spirit of Thomas Frazier, Brown established one of his most trusted stations.

A narrative written by Herman Cook, who was a conductor on the road, tells some of the incidents of travel along this section of the Underground Railroad.

"After John Brown came through Iowa, stations were known and accounted for. The train started from Tabor, Fremont County, and crossed diagonally Adair County, striking Summit Grove, where Stewart is now located. From here, one line went east down Quaker Divide (Quaker Divide was a Quaker settlement and meeting known as Bear Creek, five miles northwest of Earlham) and the other crossed the Coon River near Redfield, then through Adel, both coming together in Des Moines.

"Many times colored men and women would be seen crossing the prairies from Middle River to Summit Grove — slaves running away to freedom. In the winter of 1859-60,

Cook was going to Bear Creek driving a carriage, and in it were two young colored women. They were sisters and from the west border of Missouri. Their master was their father and they had both been reared in the family. War was apparent and their master decided to sell them 'down south'. They heard the plotting and found out that they were to go on the auction block, and made a run for the North Star. They had been on the road seven weeks when they arrived at A. W. L's at Summit Grove. (A. W. L's was Alysters W. Lewis.)

"Before daylight, they were housed at Uncle Martin's. Two days later, one of the sisters, who had been out in the yard, came running in and told grandmother, 'Master is coming up the road.' Grandfather went out in front and sat down in his chair against the side of the door. By this time, a number of men had ridden up, and asked him if he had seen any slaves around. He told them that slaves were not known in Iowa. Then one of them said, 'I am told that you are an old Quaker, and have been suspected of harbouring black folks as they ran away to Canada. I have traced two girls across the country, and have reasons to believe that they have been here.' Grandfather said, 'I never turn anyone away who wants lodging, but I keep no slaves.' 'Then, I will come in and see,' said the man, and jumped off his horse and started for the house. Grandfather stood up with his cane in his hand, and stepped into the door when the man attempted to enter and said, 'Has thee a warrant to search my house?' 'No, I have not.' 'Then thee cannot do so.' 'But, I will show you', said the man. 'I will search for my girls.'

"While this parley was going on, and loud words were coming thick and fast, Grandmother came up and said, 'Father, if the man wants to look through the house let him do so. Thee ought to know he won't find any slaves here.'

Grandfather turned and stared at her a minute, and then said, 'I ask thy forgiveness for speaking so harshly. Thee can go through the house if mother says so.'

"Grandfather showed him through all the rooms, but stayed close to him all the time. After satisfying himself that they were not there, he begged the old man's forgiveness, mounted his horse and rode away. When the coast was clear, it was found that when Maggie had rushed in and said 'Master is coming' grandmother hastily snatched off the large feather bed, spread it all over them, put on the covers and pillows, patted out the wrinkles, and so no slaves were seen."

The party referred to in the foregoing narrative as Uncle Martin was Martin Cook, and grandfather and grandmother referred to were John and Anna Cook, uncle and grandparents respectively of Herman Cook.

"One time a load was being taken down the south side of Coon River, and had reached the timber on the bluffs near Des Moines. About three o'clock in the morning, as the carriage was leisurely going along, the sound of distant hoofbeats were heard, coming behind. At first it was thought the carriage could out run the pursuers, but prudence forbade. A narrow road at one side was hastily followed a few rods, and the carriage stopped. The horseman passed on, swearing eternal vengeance on the whole 'caboodle' if captured. When sounds were lost in the distance, a dash was made for the depot in Des Moines, and all safely landed before daylight."

Mr. Cook relates that some months after this wild midnight ride, he was coming from Adel on horseback, opposite Mr. Murry's, east of Redfield. Here he saw old man Murry and a stranger back of the barn. He was beckoned over. The stranger proved to be Old John Brown of Osawatomie. Murry told Brown that this was the young man that came

so near being caught on a trip to Des Moines. Brown said, "Young man, when you are on the Lord's business, you must be more discreet. You must always listen backwards as you are always followed." He told young Cook that he was responsible for that line of road, and he wanted his conductors to be more careful in the future. "Things are coming to a head," he said, "and somebody is going to get hurt."

Cook became a soldier in the Civil War, and in 1864, while at Memphis, in Tennessee, he saw for the first time a regiment of colored soldiers. One of the lieutenants in this regiment was Henry, who was with him in that midnight run for the depot in Des Moines. The negro officer was also a trusted scout for the general of his division.

In addition to the route laid out by John Brown through Tabor, Des Moines, Grinnell, and Muscatine, there was another through Fairfield, Richland, Clay, and Washington, which joined the other road at Crawfordsville, a small town in the southeastern part of Washington County. The road through Fairfield and Richland was in reality an extension of the work of Salem and Denmark.

Salem was the gateway through which all emigrant Quakers passed. Stopping at Salem for a season, until they could get their bearing, they pressed forward to the interior, and soon settlements were made at Pleasant Plain, Richland, and a little later on in Warren, Madison, and Dallas counties, centering around the town of Earlham. For many years, these communities looked to Salem as the fountain head of Quakerism in Iowa.

As Salem was the gateway of Quakerism, so Denmark was the Mecca of Congregationalism. From Denmark, missionaries were sent out into the interior to gather into flocks the scattered sheep of the fold, and also provide an abiding place for those who had no religious home.

Churches were established at Fairfield and at a point called Clay near Pleasant Plain and Richland.

Here history repeated itself. The influence of Salem and Denmark abided with these communities, and Congregationalists and Quakers were found working in harmony in this humanitarian cause. Fugitives who reached Fairfield were taken in charge by friends who would conduct them to Richland or Pleasant Plain, and then to Clay; from whence, they would be moved to Washington and on to Crawfordsville and Muscatine.

We are fortunate in being able to preserve the names of a number of the conductors on this route. Allen Stalker was the manager from Fairfield to Richland or Pleasant Plain; then, Henry Morgan and Manning Mills would convey the fugitives to Clay and on to Washington. Here they would be taken care of by John and Martin C. Kilgore.

Some amusing stories are still preserved of the happenings along this line of the Underground Railroad. O. W. Basworth relates that when a small child, some slaves were concealed in the loft of his father's barn. He of course did not know the secret, but as he was playing about the barn, he saw one of the negroes looking down at him. He ran to the house and told his folks that the black colt was up in the barn loft.

At another time, when Henry Morgan was conveying a load of fugitives from Clay to Washington in a covered wagon, and was about to enter the ferry boat to cross the Skunk River, the slave masters rode up and prepared to look into the wagon. Morgan yelled, "We've got smallpox in there." The pursuers wheeled and taking the back track were seen no more.

On account of the convergence of these two roads, the traffic from Crawfordsville to Muscatine was very heavy. When John Kilgore and Martin C. Kilgore brought their

fugitives from Washington, Colonel Rankin would receive them and conceal them in the loft of the "House of all Nations". On the following night Colonel Rankin would take them out at the back door, to the barn, where he would place them in a covered wagon and drive them to Colonel Baily's house in Columbus City. On the following night Colonel Baily would go through a similar performance and land them safely at Muscatine. As many as thirteen fugitives were concealed in the "House of all Nations" at one time. Very few, if any, were ever captured.

The "House of all Nations" was a large, inartistic structure, built by Colonel Rankin for a hotel and living house. One large room was used at times for a store room. It received its cognomen from the numerous and different classes of people that had occupied it, and from the varied uses to which it was put.

Crawfordsville has a unique history, and it is fitting that it should be mentioned here. It was settled at an early date by the seceder branch of the Presbyterian Church whose influence dominated the community. These seceders would allow no musical instruments in their church, and sang nothing but psalms. In the strictest sense of the term, they "remembered the Sabbath Day to keep it holy." They assisted in the work of the Underground Railroad, but were not the leaders in the movement.

The high distinction that Crawfordsville enjoys arises from the fact that it has a claim to be considered the birthplace of the Republican party. In 1854, the Liberty party, Free Soil party, and similar organizations opposed to the extension of slavery began to unite. A State convention to which all these different organizations were invited was called at Crawfordsville, in February, 1854. The convention was held in the Seceders church on the exact location of the United Presbyterian Church of to-day. As this was

a mass convention, it is not possible to obtain the names of many of the delegates. From Mt. Pleasant went the noted educator, Samuel L. Howe, and his son Edward Howe; from Salem went Joel C. Garretson and Eli Jessup; and from Denmark, Dr. Curtis Shed.

Edward Howe was chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, which retired to the "House of all Nations" for their deliberations. This house stood on the spot now occupied by the Second National Bank. Miss Sarah Crawford, a daughter of Dr. Crawford, for whom the village was named, went with the committee to trim the lampwick and keep up the fire. Owing to the different organizations represented, and the divergence of views, the committee deliberated a number of hours before the members finally agreed and reported the platform to the convention. Here it was warmly discussed, amended, reamended, and adopted. It was well toward morning when the convention adjourned, and the child thus born was christened the "Republican party".

I am not unmindful of the fact that the usual claim is that the Republican party was born at Ripon, Wisconsin, on March 20, 1854. The convention at Crawfordsville antedated the Ripon meeting at least one month, and as the union here perfected was named the Republican party, Crawfordsville is fairly entitled to the distinction of being the birthplace of this organization.

O. A. Garretson