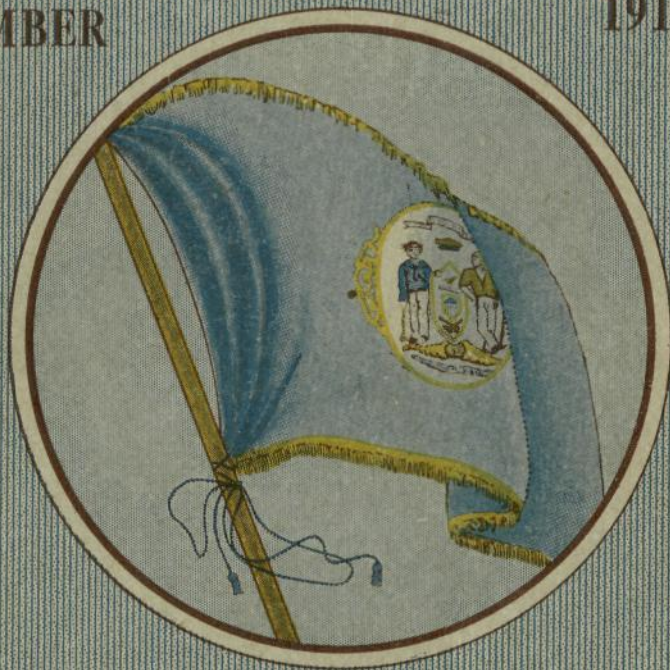


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OF  
HISTORY

SEPTEMBER

1918



VOLUME II

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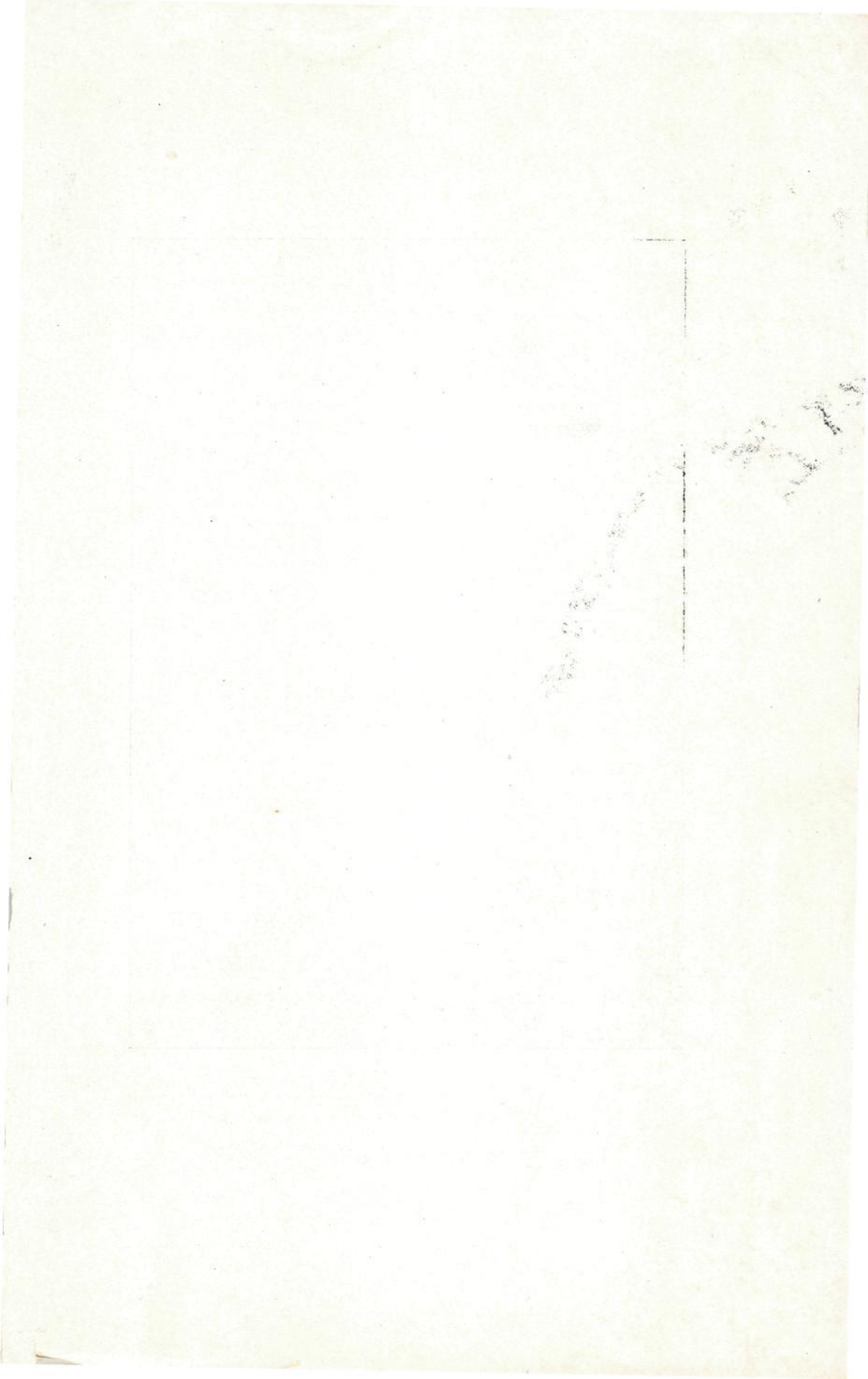
## THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

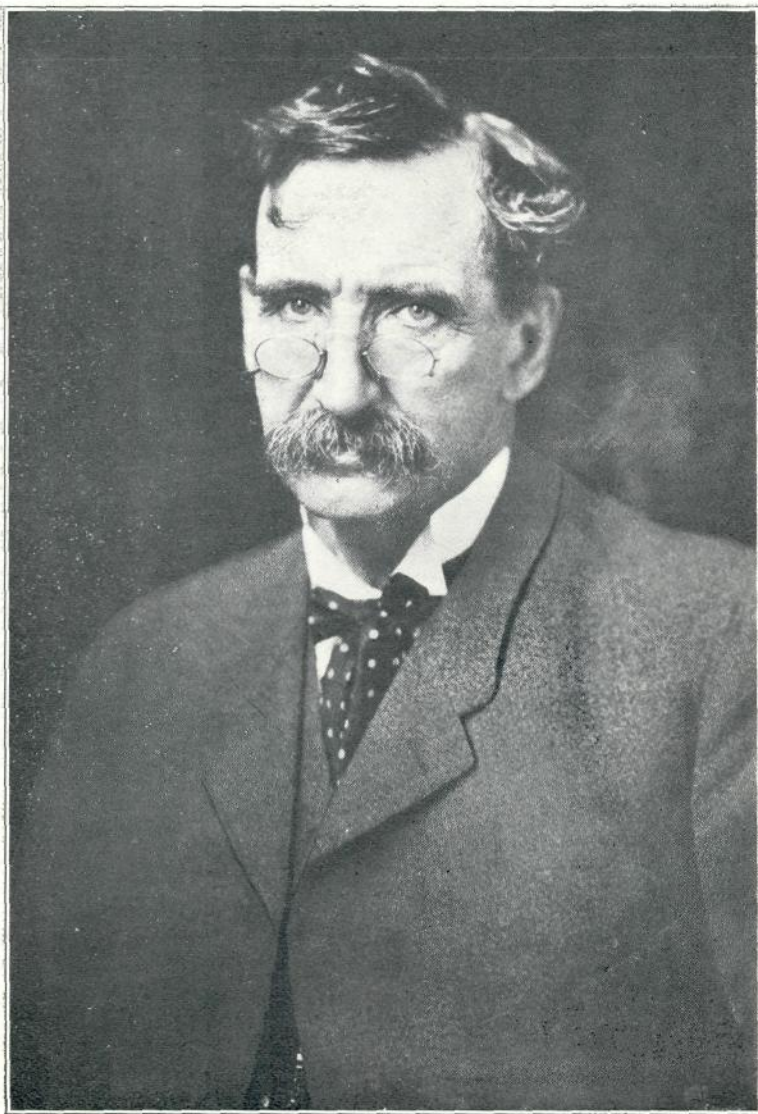
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WILLIAM DEMPSTER HOARD, GOVERNOR OF WISCONSIN,  
1888-90

From a photograph in the Wisconsin Historical Library

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THE  
WISCONSIN MAGAZINE  
OF HISTORY



PUBLICATIONS OF THE  
STATE HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY OF WISCON-  
SIN. Edited by MILO M.  
QUAIFE, Superintendent

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## THE BENNETT LAW IN WISCONSIN

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

The political significance of the Bennett Law agitation has long been a matter of record. German-American opposition to the law's provisions completely overturned the government of Wisconsin in the year 1890, elected a Democratic governor and legislature, sent in the succeeding years two Democratic senators and several Democratic representatives to Congress, and gave Wisconsin's vote to Grover Cleveland at his second election in 1892. The social significance of the agitation is realized only in connection with the present world crisis, and with Wisconsin's share in the nation's war upon Germany. The conditions of Wisconsin's German settlements, as revealed by the Bennett Law discussion, have an important bearing upon our present problems.

The Bennett Law was simply a compulsory educational law designed to prevent nonattendance and truancy in the schools, and child labor in the factories. In 1879 a compulsory school law had been placed upon the statute books. Its inefficacy was revealed by the biennial report for 1887-88 of Superintendent of Public Instruction Jesse B. Thayer. He called attention to the proportional decrease in public school attendance as compared with the state's increase of population.<sup>1</sup> The numbers of children in the private and parochial schools he had not succeeded in obtaining. Statistics were produced during the Bennett Law campaign to show that from 40,000 to 50,000 children of the state, between the ages of seven and fourteen, attended no school. The extent of the state's illiteracy was thus called to the attention of the officials, whereupon Governor William D. Hoard in his first annual message of 1889 to the state legislature used these

<sup>1</sup> *Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of the State of Wisconsin for the years 1887-88* (Madison, 1888), 17-20.

words, which have become historic: "The child that is, the citizen that is to be, has a right to demand of the State that it be provided as against all contingencies, with a reasonable amount of instruction in common English branches. Especially has it a right to demand that it be provided with the ability to read and write the language of this country. In this connection I would recommend such legislation as would make it the duty of county and city superintendents to inspect all schools for the purpose and with the authority to require that reading and writing in English be daily taught therein." <sup>2</sup>

In response to the governor's recommendation a bill was introduced into the Assembly whose provisions were less drastic than the measures proposed by the message. The bill did not provide for inspection of private and parochial schools; in fact it made no reference of any kind to these institutions. It merely required the attendance of every child between the ages of seven and fourteen upon some school, in the district where he resided, for not less than twelve weeks, subject to a fine or penalty imposed upon the parents for noncompliance. The enforcement of this provision was placed in the hands of the local school boards, who were given discretionary powers where physical or mental conditions rendered noncompliance inexpedient or impracticable. In section five it was declared that "no school shall be regarded as a school unless there shall be taught therein, as part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing, arithmetic and United States history, in the English language." Other sections provided against truancy and the employment of child labor. No person, apparently, saw anything about the bill obnoxious to any class of the population. It went through the usual routine of the legislative factory and was introduced into the Assembly by Michael John Bennett, of Iowa County, chairman of the house committee on education. Several hundred copies of the bill had been sent beforehand to prominent

<sup>2</sup> *Message of Governor William D. Hoard, Jan. 10, 1889, p. 17.*



educators of the state, none of whom perceived in the proposed measure anything in the least detrimental to our educational systems.<sup>3</sup> There was no division on the question in the Assembly, and the bill passed without a dissenting vote.

The Senate committee on education was presided over by Christian Widule, a Milwaukee German-American, member of the Lutheran church, and a legislator of experience. He saw nothing objectionable to his constituents in the bill, and its passage in the Senate was like that in the Assembly, unopposed. Governor Hoard affixed his signature April 18, 1889, and the bill passed apparently into the limbo of routine laws, unnoted by the community at large.

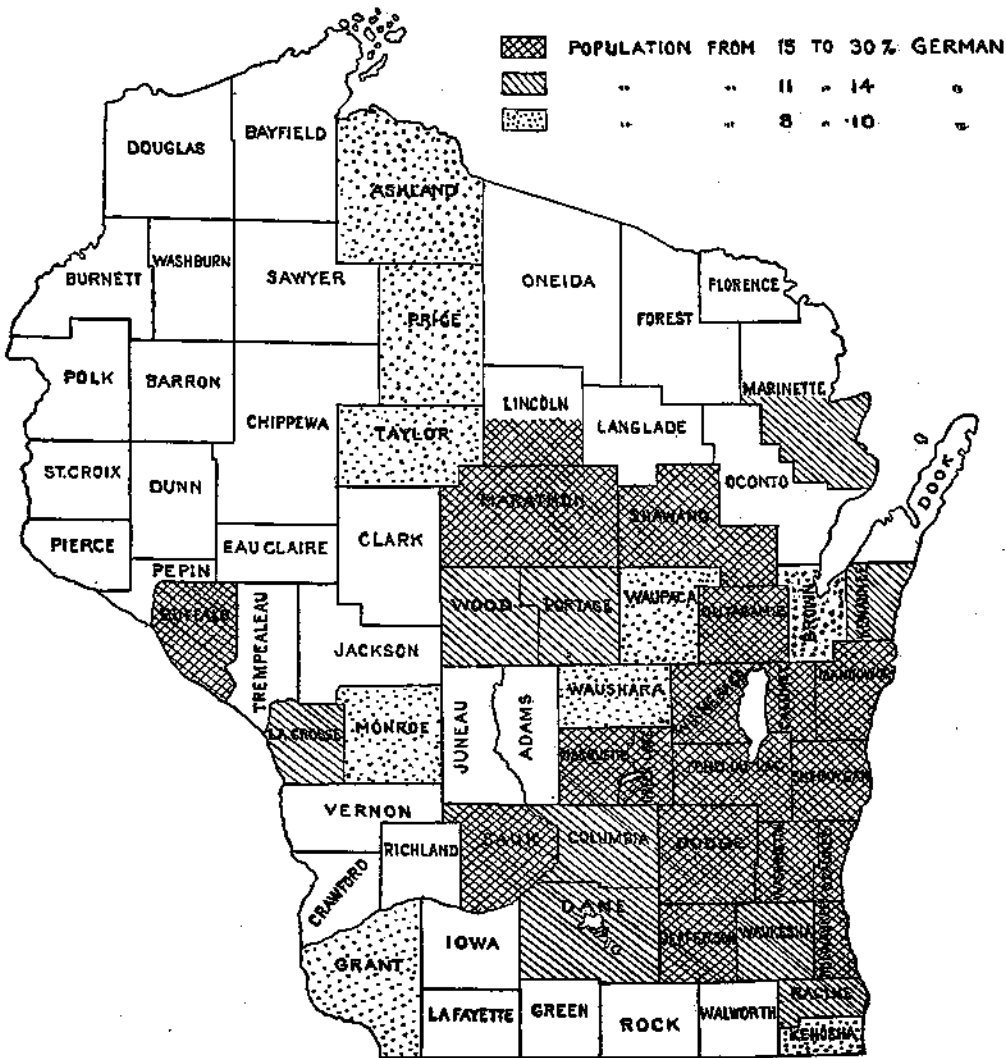
After the law became an issue between the two political parties of the time, attempts were made to ascertain its parentage. Its opponents claimed that they were fighting "outside interference" with Wisconsin affairs, that the bill was framed by parties from the East, who were trying to foist "nativism" or "know-nothingism" upon the Middle West. In corroboration of their contention they pointed to the Illinois law passed in the same year, with almost the identical provisions of the Bennett Law.

Its supporters, on the other hand, insisted that the bill originated among Milwaukee Germans, and was introduced chiefly to prevent child labor, that its compulsory features were adapted from the legislation of other states by Robert Luscombe, a Milwaukee attorney, and that the measure was submitted to many representative Milwaukee Germans, before being sent to the legislature at Madison.<sup>4</sup>

Whatever is the truth about the authorship of the law, it is plain that its obnoxious character was not discovered until some time after its passage, and that this character was first revealed to the community by the protests of German reli-

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Assemblyman M. J. Bennett printed in *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Oct. 28, 1889, to reply to the charge that the bill was "railroaded" through the legislature by unfair tactics.

<sup>4</sup> *Chicago Herald*, March 9, 1890, copied in *Madison Democrat*, March 11. See also *Milwaukee Sentinel*, March 13, 1890.



MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN WISCONSIN,  
 BASED ON THE CENSUS OF 1880

gious bodies, interested in the maintenance of parochial schools. In order to understand the extent and importance of the opposition evoked, it will be necessary to analyze briefly the factors in the German settlement of Wisconsin.

There is a general impression that the earliest and most influential, if not the largest body of German immigrants to Wisconsin, belonged to the class now known as "intelligentsia," the liberal and educated men who escaped from Germany because of political persecution after the unsuccessful Revolution of 1848. This class, known as "Forty-eighters," and represented to the Nation at large by Carl Schurz and his compeers, comprised but a small section of Wisconsin Germans, and although much before the public, was less influential with contemporary German-Americans than has been commonly supposed.

The earliest groups of Wisconsin Germans left the fatherland to escape religious rather than political persecution, and that not because they were more progressive, but because they were more conservative than their contemporaries in the prevailing state churches of their several localities.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the emigration was arranged and conducted by the pastors of congregations, which settled as colonies upon large areas of Wisconsin's public land.<sup>6</sup> Even after persecution had ceased in Germany, congregational groups, closely knit by religious and social similarity, usually headed by their pastors, continued to emigrate and to build on Wisconsin soil a village for each group with a church and school similar to those in the home land.<sup>7</sup> Thus in the New World German communities were reproduced with the institutions and atmosphere of the German home, where their former language, customs, and modes of thought were perpetuated.

<sup>5</sup> William H. Whyte, "The Settlement of Lebanon, Dodge County" in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1915, 99-110.

<sup>6</sup> Mrs. Kate Everest Levi, "Geographical Origins of Wisconsin Germans," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 342-51.

<sup>7</sup> Kate A. Everest, "How Wisconsin Came by Its Large German Element," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 333.

This method of settlement with its close community life should be studied in relation to the geographical distribution of the German population of the state.<sup>8</sup> The most of the German-Americans were in 1880 grouped in the lake-shore counties, and those directly back of them, Jefferson, Dodge, Fond du Lac, Marquette, Green Lake, Winnebago, and Outagamie, with a contiguous northern spur in Shawano and Marathon counties. The German settlers of the state thus formed a fairly solid block of population, extending from Milwaukee northward along the lake shore to Green Bay, westward to Rock River, and northward along the upper Wisconsin, in a remarkably compact geographical unit.

The solidarity of Wisconsin German settlement is still better understood when the origin of the groups in the homeland is studied. Some years ago a very careful survey was made of the regions from which the German immigrants to Wisconsin came.<sup>9</sup> In this study it is disclosed that by far the larger portion of them, especially those forming the compact eastern geographical unit, emigrated from North Germany and from those provinces that are a part of the kingdom of Prussia. Moreover they were from the part of Prussia—Pomerania, Posen, West Prussia—that constitutes the very heart and center of junkerdom, where are located the vast feudal estates of the Prussian nobility, the laborers and villagers of which are still held in a kind of serfdom under the domination of church and state. Thus a large number of Wisconsin immigrants had long been under the dominion of a feudal caste, and had been rendered docile and subservient to superiors, whether of church or state, by long centuries of subordination.<sup>10</sup> Having by immigration freed themselves from the overlordship of the nobles, they turned to the advice and assistance of their pastors, and docilely yielded to the leadership of the Church. Thus was

<sup>8</sup> See map on page 6, reproduced and adapted from that in *ibid.*, 304.

<sup>9</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 341-93.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 348, 351-52.

developed a clannish spirit and a strong desire to perpetuate Old World surroundings, customs, and habits in the New. These immigrants came to America for economic, not for social freedom. They desired Americanization, only in so far as it was necessary to make a living.<sup>11</sup> Settled in German communities, they came in slight contact with Americans. They clung with much tenacity to the habits, customs, and language of the fatherland, and their purpose was to keep their children in the same social structure and under the same régime of isolation and tutelage in which they were themselves. Thus grew up a "Germandom"<sup>12</sup> in the heart of Wisconsin—a body of people speaking only the German language, maintaining the customs and culture of their first home, and supporting at least a sentimental and spiritual connection with European Germany.

The bulk of the North Germans were of the Lutheran faith; their churches and the schools attached to them were the center of their system of "Germandom." The tendency of the younger generation was to break away from the home customs, to learn the English language, to mingle and assimilate with the youth of the land wherein they were born. The Lutheran Church and the parochial school system were the bulwarks on which the older people relied to maintain their racial exclusiveness. It frequently happened that in the smaller communities the parents were more Americanized than the children. Instances were cited during the Bennett Law discussion, of English-speaking fathers, natives of Germany, whose children, born in Wisconsin, knew only Ger-

<sup>11</sup> *Sentinel*, Aug. 8, 1899; an opponent of the Bennett Law wrote, "The average German did not come to the United States to be Americanized."

<sup>12</sup> The word "Germandom," constantly employed by the American press during the Bennett Law discussion, is a translation of the German word "Deutschthum." An adherent of this doctrine was called a "Germanist." The *Reformer*, German labor organ (cited in the *Sentinel* Oct. 25, 1889), said, "The Germanists or German Know-nothings must not be permitted to form a state within a state. \* \* \* A man may be both a German and a good American citizen, but can he be a good American citizen and a Germanist?"

man.<sup>13</sup> This was the condition of affairs that the Bennett Law was designed to modify.

With the emigrants from South Germany, conditions were somewhat different. Their settlements were more scattered, and more in contact with Americans. The outlying German groups, for instance those in Sauk and Buffalo counties, were South Germans. But they were nearly all Catholics, and the priests in charge of their congregations were, as a rule, German born. In 1889 the archbishop of Milwaukee, and the bishops of the two dioceses of Green Bay and La Crosse were natives of Germany. Most of the Catholic parochial schools were taught in German, and the anti-Bennett Law agitation brought about the phenomenal union of Lutherans and Catholics upon a single platform. The Catholic opposition to the law was in its inception less pronounced, and on the whole was less aggressive than the Lutheran. This was doubtless due to non-German elements in the Catholic Church, especially to the English-speaking Irish. It was not until March 12, 1890, that the three prelates of the state issued a formal manifesto against the Bennett Law, and that the whole force of the Catholic hierarchy was employed to obtain its repeal.

Quite different was the attitude of the liberal-thinkers in religious matters, who deplored the limited vision of both Catholics and Lutherans. Most of these, "free-thinkers" were members of the Turnvereins, which as a rule were pronouncedly in favor of the Bennett Law. A considerable number of the "intelligentia" were, however, owners or editors of the German press. As such they were interested in maintaining not only a sentimental attachment for things German, but also the habitual use of the German language. The too rapid growth of the knowledge of English

<sup>13</sup> Letter from Stevens Point, dated Feb. 5, 1890, printed in *Sentinel*, Feb. 7. In issue of *ibid*, Feb. 12, a German-American argued that there was no necessity of learning English, since in many communities of the state only German was used, and it was almost universally understood.

meant a decrease in subscriptions and a consequent loss of income. Thus prudential motives led German editors, with a few notable exceptions, to regard the Bennett Law with suspicion, and to consider it a curtailment of personal liberty.<sup>14</sup> The same kind of motives explains in part the attitude of the educated clergy. These churchmen recognized in the English requirements of the Bennett Law the beginning of the end of German language schools and churches. They considered the law the "entering wedge," in a process that would end in the disuse of the German language, and the termination of their own usefulness. Thus, for the most part they were unable to reason calmly about the provisions of the Law.

A study of the Bennett Law agitation throws into relief the social and historical conditions of the larger number of German communities in Wisconsin. These communities, both urban and rural, were settled around a church and a parochial school, conducted largely in German. That language was the habitual one. German books alone were read, German songs were constantly sung, and the newspapers read by the people were printed in German.<sup>15</sup> As distance lent enchantment to the scenes of early life, Wisconsin Germans dwelt with ever-increasing fondness upon the ways of the fatherland; their dearest hopes were to rear their children with a similar attachment, and to impress them with the superiority of things German over things American.

After the founding of the empire in 1871, to the idyllic memories of early life was added a pride in the recent achievements of Germany. Thereafter in some quarters, a touch of the arrogance that has in recent years irritated the world against the Teuton appeared in the utterances of Wisconsin Germans. Occasionally one boldly stated that it was hoped

<sup>14</sup> See an interesting discussion on the difficulty of Americanizing well-educated German immigrants in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1897, 105-106.

<sup>15</sup> The value of the German press as a stage in the process of Americanization should be recognized. These papers brought much information about American life and customs to the attention of those who could not read English. See *ibid.*, 112.

that the Germans would remain a distinct class in the United States, that they and their posterity would constitute a separate and perhaps a superior element in the great current of American life.<sup>16</sup> As the national pride grew the determination to maintain a "Germandom" in America grew likewise. This determination was stimulated by recalling the services to America of historic German-Americans. The exploits of De Kalb, Herkimer, and Muhlenberg in the Revolution were dwelt upon; the heroism of the Civil War veterans of German birth was constantly recalled. Wherever a man of German ancestry (and they are many) had rendered distinguished services to America, his name became a household word.<sup>17</sup>

Along with this pride of race grew the pride of language. "Hold fast to the German customs and manners and the dear mother tongue," was the adjuration oftenest addressed to the German voters of Wisconsin.<sup>18</sup> Dwelling upon this subject brought out the declaration that German was not a "foreign" language in America. "Having been spoken for centuries by a not inconsiderable number of the population of the Old Colonies and of the revolutionary heroes, and at present by millions of the inhabitants of the States and Territories—it is no more a *foreign* language than the English language, which like the German was not spoken by the natives of this Country, but was imported from foreign lands."<sup>19</sup> When the term "German-American" was used, the hyphenated word "English-American" was applied to the other members of the community. Attempts to introduce the English language

<sup>16</sup> Summary of an article from the *Germania*, published in the *Sentinel*, Dec. 27, 1889.

<sup>17</sup> October 6, 1890, during the heat of the gubernatorial campaign, a German-American day was celebrated in many districts of the state. In Milwaukee huge floats pictured the first settlement at Germantown, Pennsylvania, the deeds of Herkimer, Muhlenburg, and other Revolutionary heroes. Both Candidates Hoard and Peck spoke to the assembled concourse.

<sup>18</sup> *Germania*, March 28, 1890.

<sup>19</sup> Christ. Koerner, *The Bennett Law and the German Parochial Schools* (Milwaukee, 1890), 10. This was a campaign pamphlet now preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Library.



were labeled as efforts of "nativism," a revival of the "Know-nothing" enmity to recent comers from Europe. It was into communities imbued with such ideas of German life in America that the Bennett Law came with an awakening shock of danger. They met it by direct action with such unanimity that the entire body politic was aroused, and a political campaign unlike any other in the history of the state ensued.

The German voters had for years constituted the great bulwark of the Republican party in Wisconsin. The earliest German immigrants were Democrats, but during the agitation of the slavery issue they rapidly became Free Soilers, and about 1856 they nearly all united with the Republican party.<sup>20</sup> They supported the party of freedom and union throughout the Civil War, and Governor Edward Salomon, of German birth, carried the state safely through the darkest and stormiest period of that conflict. Thenceforward the Republican leaders counted upon an almost solid German vote. During the reforms of the first Cleveland administration some of the German intellectuals became Democrats because of their civil service and tariff reform principles; but the great mass of the German-Americans in Wisconsin, through their very conservatism, clung tenaciously to the party to which they had for a generation belonged. Nothing but what they considered an attack upon their churches, schools, and language could have carried them en masse from one party into that of the opposition. Before outlining the steps by which this result was achieved, it will be necessary to define the position of the German press of Milwaukee, which was chiefly instrumental in conducting the anti-Bennett Law campaign.

There were in 1889 four daily papers published in the German language—the *Arbeiterszeitung* (after December, 1889, the *Volkszeitung*, when it had absorbed the *Tägliche Reformer*), the organ of the labor and Socialist element; the

<sup>20</sup> Ernest Bruncken, "Political Activity of Wisconsin Germans, 1854-60" in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1901, 190-211.

*Freie Presse* (which in January, 1890, became the *Abend Post*); the *Herold*; and the *Seebote*. Of these the first two supported the Bennett Law, the last two opposed it. The *Seebote* was an independent Democratic sheet owned and edited by ex-Congressman P. V. Deuster. It came into the contest as a Democratic organ, and strongly upheld parental rights and personal liberty. The *Herold* was a strong Republican paper, the founder of which, W. W. Coleman, had died in 1888. His son, Edgar W. Coleman, hesitated long between the traditions of the party and those of the language. October 14, 1889, the *Sentinel* in an editorial stated, "After sitting on the fence for several months and watching the controversy concerning the Bennett law, our neighbor, *The Herold*, softly gets down on the side of its opponents." The three most influential German weeklies were the *Germania*, the *Columbia* and the *Excelsior*. The latter two were Catholic organs; the *Germania* was the official Lutheran paper. The editor of the latter was George Koeppen, a highly-educated man and an able penman. Its legal editor, Christ. Koerner, was the leader of the anti-Bennett Law forces. It was in the pages of the *Germania* that the contest was begun, and it was in great part due to its influence that the opponents of the law were successful.

The first mutterings of the storm were heard in June, 1889. Two German synods in session respectively at Portage and Sheboygan passed resolutions denouncing the educational law passed at the late session of the legislature as an attack upon German churches, schools, language, and press.<sup>21</sup> June 20-25 the Evangelical Lutheran synod of Wisconsin met at St. Peter's Church, Milwaukee. On the latter date resolutions were passed declaring that the new school law was oppressive and tyrannical, that its enforcement threatened the existence of the synod's schools and churches, and that it

<sup>21</sup> Milwaukee Journal, June 15-18, 1889.

ought to be repealed.<sup>22</sup> A committee of six prominent pastors, editors, and professors was appointed to take steps to carry these resolutions into effect; this committee first suggested that the Germans of the state should "emphasize their declaration at the ballot-box."<sup>23</sup> July 27, a German pastor wrote of "crushing the Republican party" if it did not yield to the demand for repeal.<sup>24</sup> These threats of political action, however, were in the early stages of the discussion merely sporadic; the committees first proposed that the law be ignored, and if prosecution ensued, its constitutionality be tested in the state supreme court.<sup>25</sup>

The Milwaukee *Sentinel* was the first newspaper to take up the challenge thrown down by the champions of the Lutheran Church. It sent Henry E. Legler, then a member of its staff, to visit the parochial schools of Milwaukee; his report proved that the Lutheran schools of the metropolis were well within the law, which had no application to institutions wherein English was taught for twelve weeks of the year.<sup>26</sup> It was this report and the subsequent editorial comment that forced the issue into the light of day. It was the language requirement to which the church authorities objected. The Milwaukee schools were by no means typical of parochial schools throughout the state. Case after case came to light in the subsequent discussion of children born and reared in Wisconsin who were unable to speak a word of English.<sup>27</sup> From Manitowoc came the statement that not one in ten of the parochial schools in that county taught a word of English.<sup>28</sup> It was asserted that even public schools in the thickly settled German districts were conducted wholly in German.<sup>29</sup> In fact, said the Manitowoc County *Chronicle*,

<sup>22</sup> *Sentinel*, June 25, 1889.

<sup>23</sup> *Journal*, June 24 and 25, 1889.

<sup>24</sup> *Sentinel*, July 27, 1889.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, July 15; *Journal*, July 9, 1889.

<sup>26</sup> *Sentinel*, July 1, 2, 3, 7, and 8, 1889.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 21; *Oshkosh Times*, Nov. 8, 1889.

<sup>28</sup> *Manitowoc Pilot*, reprinted in *Sentinel*, July 5, 1889.

<sup>29</sup> *Sentinel*, Nov. 27, 1889.

“strike the two words *in English* from the law and not a churchman in the State could be found to raise his voice against it.”<sup>30</sup>

During the heat of the contest each political party accused the other of having brought on the conflict. In truth neither Republicans nor Democrats were eager to bring the Bennett Law into the political arena; it was the situation itself that forced the issue. The methods of the two parties were necessarily different: the Republicans sought to soothe, convince, and persuade; the Democrats sought to avoid the issue. Thus the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, leading organ of the party in power and chief supporter of Governor Hoard, filled its columns with simple, reasonable, well-written editorials urging the need of the law, the harmlessness of its provisions, the ease with which its requirements might be met, and the advantages that would ensue to the Germans themselves and their children from its enforcement. The *Madison Democrat*, on the other hand, throughout the critical summer and autumn of 1889 carefully avoided all mention of a subject that was agitating the minds of nine-tenths of the people of Wisconsin. The Democratic *Milwaukee Journal*, edited by Lucius W. Nieman, raised other issues, largely ignored the Bennett Law, and as late as December 26, 1889, wrote “It is amusing to read the efforts [of the Republican papers] to convince the public that the Democrats are making the Bennett Law a political issue.” None the less the Democratic leaders had by this time begun with a quiet astuteness to make approaches to the German voters. Not to appear too anxious was for a time their best policy. They were not ready, as a German Democrat of Oshkosh stated, “to barter off the common school system to carry a caucus.”<sup>31</sup> They preferred to throw the onus of the law’s passage upon the Republican legislature, and to await the turn of events for the moment to declare against the law.

<sup>30</sup> Reprinted in *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1889.

<sup>31</sup> Article by Charles W. Felker, of Oshkosh, printed in the *Sentinel*, March 6, 1890.

Governor Hoard, on the other hand, less astute and more outspoken, attempted to defend the law in several speeches made during the autumn of 1889 at farmers' institutes and county fairs. It was asserted by some that the country Germans were favorable to the law, and that the opposition existed only in the religious press at Milwaukee.<sup>32</sup> It was known that Hoard had not been in 1888 the chosen candidate of the Republican State Central Committee, and politicians saw in his championship of the Bennett Law an attempt to secure his renomination in 1890. He spoke enthusiastically about the "little schoolhouse" as a watchword to rally the people to his standard. No one who reads the speeches of the campaign can doubt the governor's sincerity, or his enthusiasm for the cause of popular education. The Republican managers, less courageous and more weatherwise, attempted to restrain his ardor in the interests of prudence. November 11, 1889, Governor Hoard wrote a letter to Hon. John Luchsinger, of Monroe, stating his position on the Bennett Law. The latter retained the letter for several days fearing its contents were calculated to arouse a storm of criticism. November 28, Mr. Luchsinger received from Henry C. Payne, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, a request to have the communication printed.<sup>33</sup> November 30, it appeared simultaneously in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, the *Madison State Journal*, and other prominent Republican papers. In it Governor Hoard gave at some length his en-

32. *Milwaukee Journal*, Oct. 21, 1889.

33. The letter of Payne has never before been made public. It was recently presented to the Society by Mr. Luchsinger. It reads:

Milwaukee, Nov. 28th, 1889.

Friend Luchsinger

I understand Gov. Hoard has written a letter to you giving his views of the "Bennett Law" at length.

I write this to request that you will publish the letter in your local paper [it first appeared in the *Monroe Sentinel*] and send a marked copy to Horace Rublee of *Sentinel*—

Gov. Hoard assents to this, and I hope you will do it—you can publish it without making your name public if you prefer.

Yours truly  
H C Payne

dorsement of the Bennett Law, enlarged upon its benevolent character in the interests of immigrant children, and closed by asserting that the law would not be made an issue in the next election unless it was forced into the campaign by its opponents.

The effect of this communication was not at all what had been hoped by the Republican leaders. Instead of allaying it increased the storm of opposition. Sarcastic references appeared in the German and the Democratic papers to the governor's solicitude for the "poor little German boy," which was so much greater than that of the child's parents. The term "parental rights" became a watchword of the campaign. It was soon evident that the German Republicans would demand the repeal of the law as the price of their adherence to the party.

The champions of Anti-Bennettism had already begun to threaten a measure of "frightfulness," to apply the term to a political method. The *Columbia* on November 17, 1889, said, "Perhaps it would be well for German blows to be felt in Wisconsin." At a meeting held December 27, 1889, at the home of Pastor Bading of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Milwaukee, Colonel Conrad Krez, a recently deposed Democratic official, was reported to have said, "The law is tyrannical \* \* \* We want to be understood that we are the state! We pay the officials, the governor, the legislature.

\* \* \* The Germans only want their rights as they have had them heretofore; if they suffer them to be taken away from them, then they are not worthy to speak the language of Luther. \* \* \* But they will only be heeded if they are feared."<sup>34</sup>

The meeting above alluded to had important consequences. It was attended by a number of laymen, Catholic

<sup>34</sup> *Der Herold*, Dec. 29, 1889, translated in the *Sentinel*, Dec. 30. It is due to Colonel Krez to state that he protested the *Herold's* report of his speech, but in his protest he emphasized the statement "that it was necessary to strike their opponents with fear and for that purpose to organize their voting powers." See the *Sentinel*, Jan. 1, 1890.

as well as Lutheran. They passed resolutions asserting that *without distinction of party* they would give their support at the next election only to candidates opposed to the law, who would vote for its repeal. Thus was cemented the union between all opponents of the law, and notice was served that German-Americans would make it an issue at the ballot box. Colonel Krez picturesquely summed up the German understanding of the situation: "Why all at once this war on the Germans here in Wisconsin as well as in Illinois? For the Bennett Law indeed means war."<sup>35</sup>

Under the guidance of such leaders, the German voters were promptly convinced that the Bennett Law was a covert attack upon their mother tongue, their parochial schools, and their religion, upon personal liberty and freedom of conscience. They were convinced that it arose from hatred to foreigners, that it was sinister in its purposes, in short, that it was intended as a blow against all they held most dear. They, on their part, protested that they had no hostility to the public schools nor to the English language, that they wished merely to be let alone, to be permitted to live their own lives, and to bring up their children according to parental rights. On both sides there was more or less misrepresentation and misunderstanding. The ignorant Germans understood that by the Bennett Law their language was prohibited in their schools and churches, that if the law was enforced they could be fined and imprisoned for sending their children to parochial schools, and that the law was aimed at the destruction of all religion.<sup>36</sup> A panic fear seized upon the minds of the lovers of the German language and customs, and the reasonable appeals of the English-speaking Republicans were of no avail. In vain it was represented that German was taught in the public schools, that a knowledge of both English and German was desirable, that the law was not hostile to

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Wausau Torch*, cited in *Sentinel*, Jan. 20, 1890.

parochial schools. The larger number of Wisconsin Germans had become convinced that the Bennett Law was sinister in its designs, and had determined to express their disapproval of it at the polls.

Singularly enough, and as a matter of mere coincidence, the state supreme court handed down a decision March 19, 1890, upon a case involving the reading of the King James version of the Bible in the public schools. The Catholics had entered a plea that such reading was sectarian instruction, forbidden by the state constitution, and the court upheld this contention. The effect of this decision was to render the supporters of the public schools determined not to yield to any demands of the Catholics, who were supposed to be planning for a division of the school funds. The Lutherans distinctly denied any such design upon the school funds, asserting their willingness to pay taxes for the public schools, and at the same time to support their own parochial schools, provided they were permitted to manage them without interference. None the less the supreme court decision accentuated the distrust of parochial schools in the minds of the English-speaking Protestants of the state, and widened the breach between the several religious elements.

The Bennett Law agitation made its *début* as a political issue in the spring of 1890 at the Milwaukee municipal election. The municipal election of Oshkosh was likewise influenced by the same issue. February 27 a joint declaration was issued by the German Protestants of Milwaukee that they would vote for no aldermen who were not pledged to the repeal of the Bennett Law. Anti-Bennett Law Clubs were formed throughout the city, most of them in connection with the Lutheran Church societies. The *Herold*, encouraged by an attack upon "nativism" in the New York *Staatszeitung*, supported the Anti-Bennett Law agitation. As an incident in the struggle, Editor George Koeppen of the *Germania* declined the appointment offered him by Governor Hoard,



as regent of the state university, "in order to emphasize his disapproval of the Bennett Law."<sup>37</sup>

March 13, the manifesto of the Catholic prelates appeared placing the Church squarely on an Anti-Bennett Law platform.<sup>38</sup> In response the Turners of Milwaukee passed resolutions supporting the law and denouncing the attempt of the Church to meddle in political affairs. March 22, the Republicans held a convention and renominated the mayor of Milwaukee, Thomas H. Brown. Henry C. Payne on this occasion made a conciliatory speech, advocating the amendment of the Bennett Law, while maintaining the necessity of public education, and the natural right of all American children to learn the language of the country. Three days later the Democrats held their convention; their platform met the issue squarely, declared for the repeal of the law since it was uncalled for, harsh, unjust, and infringed the rights of conscience and of parents. Their candidate for mayor was George W. Peck, a journalist humorist, best known as the author of *Peck's Bad Boy*.

The campaign that ensued was short and stirring. The church authorities bent all their resources to its winning; every Lutheran and Catholic voter was visited by his priest or pastor, and his aid solicited. Peck in an astonishing speech described the Bennett Law as the forerunner of a prohibitory one, both encroachments by the puritan element upon personal liberty. When, on April 2, the votes were counted, Peck was found to be elected by a plurality of about 4,000. The Republicans and the law's supporters had met their first defeat.<sup>39</sup> The day after the victory the *Seebote* said, "We will not be robbed of the dear speech in which our mothers

<sup>37</sup> *Sentinel*, March 8, 1890.

<sup>38</sup> The bishops argued that the law was unnecessary, offensive, and unjust, because (1) it interferes with parental rights; (2) it threatens unjust penalties; and (3) it opens the avenues to partiality and injustice. March 19, Governor Hoard replied to the bishops' letter. See *Chicago Times* of that date.

<sup>39</sup> All the Milwaukee papers are filled with details of this brief campaign. The *Sentinel's* editorial pages from March 22 to April 2, 1890 contain almost no other matter than that bearing on the Bennett Law.

taught us our first songs. The German language shall be maintained in America." The *Germania* exulted over "the wonderful victory for Germandom over narrow-hearted nativism." The Chicago *Times*, however, chief Democratic organ of the Middle West, declared, "If the State follows Milwaukee, the Democrats will meet a deserved defeat. The State of Wisconsin has the right to Americanize its foreign population."

By the middle of April both Catholic and Lutheran papers had served notice on the Democrats that the Bennett Law would be an issue in the fall elections. If the party refused to obey the Germans' behests, they would call an Anti-Bennett Law party into life.<sup>40</sup> May 10 an official call was issued for an Anti-Bennett Law convention to meet in Milwaukee on June 4. May 26-28 a convention of Catholic benevolent societies held in Milwaukee was made the occasion for a fierce attack upon the law. As the Chicago *Herald* stated, "The opposition is directed against what the law is believed to be, not against what it is."<sup>41</sup> Catholic opposition was at this period combined with anti-Masonry, Bishop Katzer attacking the Masonic order as the secret author of the law.<sup>42</sup>

Before the meeting of the Anti-Bennett Law Convention, one last effort was made by the Lutherans to compromise with the Republicans. The *Germania* offered a substitute for the Bennett Law, which required all children to attend school sixty days in the year, but *omitted the English requirement*.<sup>43</sup> The primary objection to the law was once more made clear.

The drama now moved swiftly to its denouement. No attempt was made by the Republicans to accept the Lutheran olive-branch. The nominations of Hoard and Peck for governor were foreordained; the platforms of the contending

<sup>40</sup> *Columbia*, April 15, 1890; *Ssebote*, April 16; *Catholic Citizen*, April 26.

<sup>41</sup> *Chicago Herald*, May 26, 1890.

<sup>42</sup> *Sentinel*, May 28, 1890.

<sup>43</sup> *Germania*, May 31, 1890. The italics are ours.

parties met the issue squarely. The Republicans supported the principles of the law, while offering to amend certain objectionable phrases. The Democrats denounced the law as unnecessary, unwise, unconstitutional, un-American, and un-Democratic, and demanded its repeal.

The other foreign elements of the state were as much affected by the Bennett Law as were the Germans. The Bohemians and Poles, however, were both Democratic and Catholic, so little hope was offered of swaying their vote.<sup>44</sup> The great majority of the Scandinavians, on the other hand, were Republican, and eager for the Americanization of their children. An effort to unite them with the opponents of the law was quite successful by utilizing the "district" clause of the bill. The Scandinavians had parochial schools, but not in large numbers; it was represented to them that the law forbade them to patronize any schools but those of their own district, and thus many who favored teaching English in all schools, were induced to vote for the repeal of the Bennett Law.<sup>45</sup>

The campaign was unexampled for earnestness and intensity. The "Little Schoolhouse" was the symbol of the Republicans, "Stand by it," their rallying cry. October 9, 1890, Hoard wrote from the executive chamber, "The *duty* of the State to require, and the *right* of the children of the State to receive instruction in the language of the country shall be insisted on."<sup>46</sup> Senator Spooner stumped the state making speeches of great effectiveness and persuasiveness. The Republicans were confident of a successful result.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The Bennett Law supporters printed appeals in German, Polish, French, Norwegian, and probably in other languages, headed by a cut marked in the several languages "The Little Schoolhouse" (surmounted by an American flag); "Stand by it."

<sup>45</sup> *The Life Story of Rasmus B. Anderson as told by himself, with the assistance of Albert O. Barton.* (Madison, 1915), 594-600.

<sup>46</sup> Broadside in possession of Wis. Hist. Society.

<sup>47</sup> A Republican journalist who campaigned with Hoard through the lake-shore counties recalls that the party expected a plurality of 100,000 for Hoard.

The Germans on their part were not less active. The Anti-Bennett Law Clubs, used with such effect in the Milwaukee municipal campaign, spread over the state. Thousands of German leaflets were printed; songs were prepared whose refrain was "Unser Sprache und Sitten, die geben wir nicht hin."<sup>48</sup> Individual voters were solicited by pastors and priests. The result is well known; the forces of "Germanism" united with the Democratic machine made a clean sweep of the state. Peck was triumphantly elected, and at the legislative session of 1891 the Bennett Law was repealed.

But in its defeat, the principle of the law triumphed. In their very eagerness to prove that it was unnecessary, its opponents began to obey its behests. In its weakness appeared its strength. April 22 it was announced that the Lutherans had revised their school curriculum and introduced therein more English.<sup>49</sup> By August, the parochial schools of Manitowoc County had so improved in the teaching of English, that scarce one was to be found that would be disqualified under the Bennett Law.<sup>50</sup> The discussion had accomplished what the law could not do: the stronghold of "Germanism" was demolished. "It never shall happen again" became the motto of wise Germans; and as the heat of the conflict died away, and the animosities it awakened softened, the beneficent purpose of the law stood revealed. Gradually the teaching of English became the rule, not the exception, in all the schools of the state. Slowly Wisconsin Germans came to accept the plea of their noblest leader: "Let us never forget that we as Germans are not called upon here to form a separate nationality, but rather to contribute to the American nationality the strongest there is in us, and in place of our weakness to substitute the strength wherein our fellow-Americans excel us, and blend it with our wisdom. We should never forget that in the political life of this republic,

<sup>48</sup> Pamphlet in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

<sup>49</sup> *Sentinel*, April 22, 1890.

<sup>50</sup> *Manitowoc Pilot*, Aug. 16, 1890.

we as Germans have no peculiar interests, but that the universal well-being is ours also."<sup>51</sup> In the fires of the present world crisis and the testing of America, may we all learn that "it is by unity of speech and harmony of thought that the ultimate American is to be the light of civilization."

51. Speech of Carl Schurz, cited in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 310.

## MY RECOLLECTIONS OF CIVIL WAR DAYS

MRS. LATHROP E. SMITH

I have been requested to relate my recollections of some of the events of the days of the Civil War and am glad to comply with this request. My story is not like the one you will find in the histories of the war written by real historians but is a record of events, trivial perhaps to others, but of great interest to a schoolgirl of those days and written from a schoolgirl's point of view.

The first presidential campaign in which I had any interest, really the first one I remember, was that of 1856 when the new Republican party nominated John C. Frémont as their candidate. There was great enthusiasm all through the North and Republican clubs were organized in every city, village, and hamlet. In our neighborhood of Windsor, twelve miles north of Madison, such a club was organized in which my brother, Clement E. Warner and his friend, Herbert A. Lewis (who afterward became my husband) took great interest. Herbert was secretary of the club, and although the boys were not yet twenty-one, they attended every meeting of the club and were quite as much concerned about its success as if they had been old enough to vote. I heard many of their discussions in our home and was very anxious to have Frémont elected president. A great many political meetings were held and we all sang songs and hurraed for Frémont. One song began:

"A mighty army march we forth  
With Frémont in the van,"

and the chorus ended with:

"Our watchword Jessie and the right  
There's no such thing as fail."

Jessie was the daughter of Senator Benton of Missouri and had eloped with Frémont and become his wife. A large

Frémont ratification meeting was held in Madison at which Carl Schurz and William H. Seward were the orators. Of course such a meeting was attended by all the country round about. A procession of wagons over three miles long was formed decorated with national flags and banners of every description. The plaudits of the people were given to the delegation from the northeastern section of the country, comprising the towns of Sun Prairie, Bristol, and Windsor. Our wagon on this occasion, like many of the others, was a lumber wagon drawn by a four-horse team and equipped with a hay-rack on which were arranged two rows of seats all around so as to accommodate thirty or forty men, women, and children. The flag which we carried was the first flag I can remember. No flags were to be bought in those days, and this one was made for the occasion by hand, with painstaking care, by Aunt Sarah Haswell, from cloth purchased at the store in Madison.

Those who lived in our neighborhood will always remember with great interest the winter of 1858-59. A teachers' institute was held in the red schoolhouse every two weeks throughout the winter and was attended by the older scholars and the teachers in the near-by schools. Otis Remick taught in our district, E. G. Miller at Token Creek, Herbert Lewis in the Clements neighborhood, Samuel Powell in Sun Prairie, Willard Chandler in the Carpenter neighborhood, and Clement Warner in the Hundred Mile Grove. Mr. Remick invited many of the Madison educators to come out and address the meetings and during the winter we listened to Superintendent Craig, Professor Jewell, Chancellor Barnard, Professor Pickard, and others and had a very interesting time. Most of these teachers were University students and afterward served in the Civil War—Remick, Miller, and Powell from the beginning to the end.

Another flag I well remember was made for Rockford Seminary soon after Fort Sumter was fired upon and used during the war and for many years afterward. The reason

I remember this flag was that Marie Miner and I were appointed by Miss Anna P. Sill, the principal, a committee to purchase the cloth of red, white, and blue of which the flag was made. Marie Miner was afterward Mrs. C. H. Richards, our pastor's wife in Madison for over twenty years. I was rooming with Sophie Smith (now Mrs. Willet Main) in the Seminary at that time and soon after the first call for troops we received letters, she from her brother Henry and I from Otis Remick, a friend, who were students in the University of Wisconsin, telling us that they and several others whom we knew had enlisted in Company K of Madison—Captain Lucius Fairchild, the First Wisconsin Infantry commanded by Colonel Starkweather—and would go into camp at Milwaukee. We replied, expressing our approval of their course and wishing them success in crushing the rebellion and a safe return home.

In Civil War days, the Y. M. C. A. did not furnish, as it does today, comfort, entertainment, reading material, and other necessities and the soldiers were sometimes very lonely and resorted to many methods of entertainment, one of which interested the girls at home. One day several of the boys were together and one suggested that each should put into a hat the name of a girl he knew and that then each soldier should draw a name and write a letter to the bearer of it. My name was drawn and shortly afterward I received a very fine letter from a soldier of whom I had never heard, telling of the arrangement and asking a reply to the letter. I did not reply and when the war was over I asked my friend why he put my name in that hat and he said: "We were so lonesome we wanted to do something and when that suggestion was made, we at once adopted it. Why didn't you answer the letter?"

"Did the other girls answer?" I asked.

"None of them" he replied. "Theirs was not a wise selection of names."



Thus began our writing to the soldier boys, which continued for the next four years, and many events of interest we learned about in the letters which came to us from our soldier friends. The girls in those days were patriots and anxious to do all they could for the boys in the Army who were their friends and many of them wrote to a number and had to be very careful to put the letters in the right envelopes, for there were some instances of misplaced letters which caused sad terminations of former pleasant relationships. So the girls learned to be very careful.

Those boys were members of the Athenæon Literary Society in the University and when they went to war their society regarded them as heroes and wanted their pictures to hang on their walls. Since they had no uniforms at that time, they borrowed some in which to have their pictures taken; later they learned to their chagrin that the uniforms they had borrowed were officers' uniforms whereas they were privates. However, time soon corrected the error, for after their original three months' enlistment had expired they went back into the Army as officers in other regiments, after which their pictures in officers' uniforms were no longer out of place.

Here I must tell of an incident which happened twenty-five years after the war. E. G. Miller, one of the First Regiment boys and afterward until the end of the war captain in the Twentieth Regiment, lived in Waterloo, Iowa, and his son, Ned Miller, came to the University and lived in my home while there. One day he came home very much excited, saying that he had been to the rooms of the Athenæon Society, of which his father was a member in 1861, and tried to find the portraits of those boys about which his father had told him. After a vain search, the janitor showed him where those pictures had been placed by the later Athenæons—out on the rubbish pile. This revelation made him exceedingly angry.

In the early days of the war, many patriotic meetings were held and every effort was made to induce young men to enlist. They were urged and coaxed and persuaded and driven and ridiculed if they wouldn't go. Bounties were offered, cows and many other things besides, as well as good money, if the boys would only go—go and enlist, go at once. The "Star Spangled Banner" and "America" became as familiar to the young people of the Nation as their A, B, C's and we sang many songs from our patriotic songbook, *The Bugle Call*.

The women, too, were doing their part. Societies were organized for preparing articles for the Sanitary Commission and in every place the women met to scrape lint, roll bandages, make needlebooks, and knit socks and all the other necessary things for the soldiers. Marie Miner wrote me from Rockford Seminary that every Seminary girl spent all her spare time knitting. Nowhere could a girl be found who was not knitting away furiously on a blue sock for some soldier. I remember well one ride Mrs. W. H. Chandler and I took canvassing the town of Windsor for old linen and cotton and other supplies. We gathered the goods, but when we had almost finished, our horses ran away, and although we reached home in safety with the supplies, the fright which we had that day unfitted us for years for driving horses with any degree of pleasure.

All over the country, the work of enlistment went on and in the University the classes steadily decreased in numbers. By 1863, the regents began to fear that the University would soon be left with only the buildings and the faculty. So they decided if the young men were all going to war, they would admit the young women of the state to a Normal Department. It might help the girls and at the same time keep the faculty busy. Both objects were accomplished when the girls came in the spring of 1863. The newcomers were quite surprised, when they entered the University, to find that the men students who still remained felt humiliated over

the presence of girls in the University and that some of the professors, even, did not entirely approve of the new plan. Most of the faculty, however, and especially Professor Sterling, the acting president, Professor Allen, and Miss Moody of our Normal Department did everything in their power to make it pleasant for the girls, of whom I was one. The boys roomed in North Hall, the girls in South Hall. Although our paths crossed as we went to our chapel exercises and recitations in the north end of the main building and the boys went to theirs in the south end of the same building, they did not recognize our presence and we were just as oblivious of theirs. Not until February, 1864, after our first Castalian exhibition, did the young men and young women ever meet socially.

That evening we acted "The Great Rebellion" and invited the faculty and students to attend. They came. We had a Goddess of Liberty and each state was represented by one of our number. South Carolina seceded and other southern states followed. New York and Massachusetts and other northern states remonstrated and after much consultation, argument, and compulsion the seceding states all came back, the Union was preserved, and the Star Spangled Banner waved in triumph over a united nation. The Castalians thus accomplished in one evening what took the United States four years of time and a vast sacrifice of money and human life to do. That night Mrs. Sterling invited the girls of the Castalian Society and the senior and junior classes of young men in the University to come to her parlors for a social time. We went and had a pleasant time.

When, a few months later, the senior class (all but one) enlisted in the Fortieth Regiment, the principal of our Normal Department went as the captain of their company. The boys came up from Camp Randall and spent their last evening with the girls, and we gave them the needlebooks we had made and told them how glad we were they were

going, and hoped they would all return, none the worse for their hundred days' service to their country. I understand the boys and girls of Wisconsin have been on friendly terms from that day to this.

We had exciting times in the University that spring of 1864—so many of the boys beside the senior class enlisted and so many outside the University. One night at the supper-table Professor Allen said to me: "We have some new recruits from your town today."

When I asked, "Who?" he replied, "S. H. Sabin, Sylvester Raymond, James Swain, and Herbert Lewis."

"Oh," I said, "you've spoiled our choir. They all, except Sylvester Raymond, have been singing in our choir ever since the church was built."

Mr. Sabin was chosen first lieutenant of the company and was a very efficient and popular officer.

There were no commencement exercises at the University that year, as the senior class was in the Army. They, however, received their diplomas just the same.

It was that same year, 1864, that my brother's regiment, the Thirty-sixth, under command of Colonel Frank Haskell, was in Camp Randall for a short time and then went to the front. My brother was captain of Company B. I remember when we were watching the regiment file out of Camp Randall to take the cars how a man looking on said: "Pretty green troops, pretty green troops to send to the front." I can still recollect my feeling of indignation that he who was staying at home should criticize those going to fight for him.

Colonel Haskell had proved himself a brave officer before he became colonel of the Thirty-sixth and he was very ambitious for his regiment. They were quickly put into active service and the following letter, written by my brother, describes his first experience as a fighter.

Sunday, June 5-64

Gaines Farm. 8 miles from Richmond

FRIEND HERBERT,

Sabbath afternoon, and as I have some leisure, I will improve it by writing to you. I don't remember whether I have written before or not, but I wish to say you must write to me often, whether you hear from me or not. I am sitting on a haversack behind a breastwork writing on a crackerbox with the bullets whistling over my head containing the compliments of the Rebs who are lying about thirty rods in front of us. We came here day before yesterday. We were pressing up to the enemy's works, Colonel McRean commanding the brigade. He got detached from the command with a few men and was killed. The command then devolved upon Col. Haskell. He had just ordered the men to lie down, and was standing himself when he was shot through the head by a rebel sharpshooter. He fell unconscious and was carried to the rear, lived about an hour. Lieut. Atwell was wounded about the same time. A few minutes after Lieut. Lamberton, who was in command of Co. B, was placing some rails for a breastwork when he was shot dead. Col. Porter of the 8th New York was killed about the same time eighty rods on our left. I lost four men slightly wounded the same day but taken together the day was a play day to me compared with the 1st of June. On that day, we were at a place called Turner's Farm. About five O'clock four companies on the right of our regiment were detached and taken forward to charge the rebel works. We were deployed in single line. Were supported on the right by the 7th Michigan, an excellent regiment, and on the left by the 42nd. of New York. Maj. Hooper was in command of the line and I of our four companies, Captains Weeks, Lindly, Newton and Burwell of the companies respectively. At a certain signal we were to charge across an open field about fifty rods through soft sand and carry if possible the rebel works.

At the signal, our men and the 7th Mich. started. We were met with a perfect storm of balls. The New York regiment did not start at all, the Michigan retreated in a few minutes. Our men charged right across the field up to and some of them over the works. They were met by shot cannister and musketry and four rebs to our one. We gave the order to retreat, but the men moved on into the very

jaws of death—when they broke and every man took charge of himself. After I saw that it was hopeless, I made my way to the right where the woods were nearest. I would drop every time I thought they were going to fire the cannon and then rise and run a few rods. The first man I saw in the woods was Capt. Lindly, wounded; the next was Lieut. Weeks. Capt. Burwell was shot and I am afraid is lost. Lieut. Newton was lost. I went into the charge with sixty men and came out with twenty. It is needless to say every man and officer did his duty.

CLEMENT.

When the result of this charge was reported to Colonel Haskell, he said: "I was ashamed of those veteran regiments. It is a soldier's duty to obey orders. It isn't possible for them to understand the reason why. Your company did right in crossing that open field and should have been supported by the Michigan and New York regiments."

After Colonel Haskell's death and the wounding of Lieutenant Colonel Savage and Major Brown, my brother was in charge of the regiment, until in August he was wounded, losing his left arm. Major Hamilton also was wounded at the same time, a ball passing through his nose and lodging under his cheek-bone. They were wounded at Deep Bottom and were soon after sent to Armory Square Hospital in Washington, D. C.

Soon after this, I received the following letter:

Armory Square Hospital,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sister Sabra,

I came to the hospital on Monday and as I am in need of some nice little girl to wait on me I have concluded to send for you. I am very comfortably situated here and have every care that a wounded soldier needs. Gov. Randall, Adj. Gen. Gaylord, Mrs. Scidmore and quite a number of Wisconsin friends whom I was glad to see have called on me. I expect Major Grant, the paymaster here this afternoon to pay me. If he comes I will send you money to come with. If

not father will furnish you the money, and I will repay him. You may have noticed that I have employed an amanuensis as I am rather too weak to write myself, but the Doctors say my wound is doing well.

When you get to the depot take the horse cars to Seventh street, then to Armory Square Hospital where in Ward K you will find your brother. You will board with Mrs. Scidmore who keeps a boarding house for Wisconsin people on Massachusetts Ave. and 7th Street.

Yours,

CLEMENT.

The letter came just before noon and in the afternoon father brought me to Madison and I left for Washington that night. Before taking the train, I called on Mrs. David Atwood, who was a sister of Mrs. Scidmore with whom I was to board while in Washington, and she gave me a letter to Mrs. Scidmore. Soon after, I met Professor Read of the University, to whom I had recited Mental Philosophy and Political Economy the winter before, and he inquired about my brother. When I told him he had sent for me to come to him in Washington and I would go that night, he said: "But, Miss Warner, who goes with you?"

When I told him I was going alone, he seemed shocked. "Oh" he said, "I don't like to have you take this journey alone in these war times. There is no telling what may befall you." After thinking a moment, he added: "Now I want you to let me go and see the Governor and get a letter from him for you. It may be just what you will need in some emergency and I shall feel safer about you if I do it."

He soon returned with the letter, and armed with this and the one given me by Mrs. Atwood, I began my journey, which proved to be a very pleasant one. I reached Washington safe and sound and Mrs. Scidmore received me with open arms saying: "I know all about you. I have been to see your brother and am ready to receive you into my home and heart and be your mother while you are here."

Her kindness and that of her sister, Miss Sweeney, who was a clerk in the Treasury Department, I remember with gratitude.

After eating supper, two of the Wisconsin gentlemen at Mrs. Scidmore's went to the hospital with me and we found my brother very impatiently wondering why his sister didn't come. He said he had been looking for me for two hours. He knew just how long it would take to come from Madison to Washington and thought I was two hours late, which was in fact the case, an accident on the way having delayed the train just two hours.

I spent the morning with him every day and a part of the afternoon. Mrs. Scidmore frequently sent nice things for him and Major Hamilton to eat and I did many errands for them besides bringing them reading matter and reading to them. In the afternoons, after I came home from the hospital and Miss Sweeney was through with her day's work, we went to many places of interest in and around Washington. We went to Georgetown and Alexandria, where we went into the church which President Washington used to attend, and sat in his square box pew. In the cemetery by the church I saw for the first time the slabs of marble placed flat on the graves and almost large enough to cover them to mark the resting place of those lying beneath. One peculiar inscription told of the "beloved 9th wife who died in the arms of her disconsolate husband." Some miscreant had evidently changed a figure four to a figure nine, thinking, no doubt, if the loss of the fourth wife would make the husband disconsolate, the loss of five more would make him more so.

In the officers' ward where my brother was, the ward mistress was a Miss Lowell (a relative of James Russell Lowell) of Boston. All the ward mistresses seemed to be very efficient and very interesting women and some of them were very fine looking. There was one who passed through our ward every day when she went to dinner, who received



the undivided attention of every officer in the ward as she passed through. They began to examine their watches long before dinner time to see if it was time to get into position for they evidently meant to see her as long as possible.

Many friends of the officers came to sit with them during the day and others came to call and to visit. One day a very nice, motherly-looking woman came in and said she wanted to see all the officers who came from Wisconsin, and as she was introduced to each one she took his hand and said, "I am from Wisconsin and glad to meet you because you are a Wisconsin soldier." Then with tear-filled eyes she bade him "goodbye" and "kissed him for his mother." They received the attention in the spirit in which it was given and were very quiet as she passed along.

One day a wounded officer was brought into the ward who seemed to be enduring great suffering. He found a great deal of fault with the nurse and with his father and groaned continually. This continued for some time until it was noticed by everyone. At length he groaned a little worse than he had before, when the man on the next cot groaned just as he did, and the next and the next, until every one on that side of the ward had groaned. Then they commenced on the other side and my brother and Major Hamilton, when it came their turn, groaned just as the rest had done. "Why," I said to my brother, "What did you do that for? How could you be so cruel?"

He replied, "That, my little sister, is army discipline. Of course that man is in pain, but so is everyone in this ward. You don't suppose we could stand it if they all groaned like that, do you? No, a soldier must learn to endure without groaning. You will see that he can learn his lesson."

And so it turned out, for the sufferer groaned no more.

Many ladies used to visit the hospital and bring flowers and oranges and other things to the soldiers. Of course they were always grateful for these attentions, although they

didn't much need the oranges for almost everyone had a box under the head of his cot. One day a young lady came in and evidently thinking the captain who used to groan looked as if he needed sympathy more than any of the others, gave her offering to him. In a few days she came again and brought him something more and then again. When she went away this time, she forgot something and came back just in time to hear the officers bantering him about the attentions he was receiving, asking if it wouldn't be fair to divide, etc. She came directly to me and said: "I want to see you." When we were outside, she asked: "Do these officers make fun of me when I come in here?"

"O," I said, "they make fun of everything they can, of the nurses, the ward-mistresses, the doctors, each other, yes, and the visitors—you and me. But they mean no disrespect to any of us. They simply must do something to drive away the sadness and gloom of sickness and pain. They don't mean anything and we mustn't mind it."

But she didn't come any more, and so the men lost this source of amusement.

After three weeks in the hospital my brother and I came home, visiting in New York and Michigan on our way, and at Thanksgiving we had a house party for our soldier boys. Major Hamilton came out from Madison and Herbert Lewis, who had returned from the hundred days' service in the Fortieth and been elected clerk of the court, and his sister and her friend Eliza Noble (later my brother's wife) were also with us. One evening the boys gave a talk in the church about their experiences in the Army. We had a gay time over Thanksgiving and then Clement and Major Hamilton returned to their regiment and remained with it until the close of the war.

The war finally ended and when General Grant and General Lee were having their consultation over terms of surrender, my brother's regiment, as he told us, with many

others, was drawn up in line of battle facing Lee's army near the house where the conference was being held. When it was concluded, a sergeant came from the conference and brought word to our soldiers, which the Thirty-sixth Regiment was one of the first to receive: "Lee has surrendered. Pass the word down the line."

The word was passed down the line and instantly there was no longer a line of battle. The men threw down their guns, hugged each other, rolled on the ground, threw their caps in the air, shouted and sang, and made every demonstration possible to show their joy at the prospect of going home.

The job of conquering the South had taken much money and many lives, but the country believed it was a job worth doing and that it was well done—a good fight for a just cause.

## DOCUMENTS

### A PICTURE OF THE FIRST UNITED STATES ARMY: THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN SAMUEL NEWMAN

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY MILO M. QUAIFFÉ

During the early summer of 1789 the new national government of the United States fluttered feebly into being. Among the numerous problems which it inherited from its predecessor none was more pressing than the protection of its citizens on the Ohio frontier, and the ending of the Indian outrages in that region. Thus, coincident with its birth, the new government confronted a warlike situation. For the waging of war we were as little prepared as we were in 1898 or in 1917. As in 1917, too, the American government and people were extremely reluctant to engage in war at all. Not unlike the conduct of Imperial Germany in recent years was that of the northwestern Indian tribes toward us a century and a quarter ago. And with like results was it attended, for, after repeated efforts to avert the necessity therefor, the government in 1790 took measures for the creation of an army for the chastisement of the tribes who were slaughtering its citizens on the frontier.

When this decision was reached the military force of the United States consisted of one regiment of three hundred or four hundred men, garrisoning the several posts on the Ohio River. Its ranks were to be filled by recruits drawn "from Maryland to New York"; while a second regiment was authorized, all but two companies of which were to be recruited in New England. For the rest, enough militiamen and six-months' levies were to be enrolled to bring the total to three thousand men. Governor Arthur St. Clair, a veteran of the Revolution, was appointed major general in charge of the entire military force, and to him instructions were given out-

lining a plan of campaign which, it was expected, would bring peace to the troubled frontier. Briefly stated, he was to proceed from Cincinnati to the site of modern Fort Wayne, in the heart of the hostile country, and there establish a permanent garrison of size sufficient not merely to ensure its own safety but to provide also an expeditionary force of several hundred men available for use as the occasion should arise.

The motives of the American government were liberal and humane, and the plan of campaign laid down left nothing to be desired. Its execution, however, was conducted with as much folly and inefficiency as could well have been displayed in connection with a single military campaign. History does not repeat itself in the sense that precise situations and movements are ever reproduced; but broadly considered, in perusing the history of our first national war, the citizen of the United States acquainted with the events of the last four years encounters much that is strangely familiar. The pacifists who oppose all military measures, those who would subdue mad beasts or raging men by the sweet arts of moral suasion, did not originate in 1914. Woodrow Wilson's administration was not the first to manifest toward a hostile and belligerent people an attitude of patient forbearance and lofty idealism; nor the first to make the painful discovery that in the end the policy of moral suasion must be backed by bayonets. Nor, finally, is the present war the first into which the American nation has entered unprepared, entailing thereby a far greater expenditure of blood and treasure than would otherwise have been required.

In the end we won our first war, of course, as, please God, we shall win in our present struggle. Despite early unreadiness and inefficiency, a nation of three million prosperous Americans finally worsted a few thousand half naked savages. But to accomplish the task involved five years of time, the dispatch of three successive armies and many minor expeditions, the destruction of hundreds of American citizens,

soldiers and civilians alike. The greatest disaster to the whites and triumph of the Indians occurred in the overthrow of St. Clair's army in 1791. Probably there is no more depressing chapter in American military history than the story of this campaign. To tell it here is not our purpose, but merely to introduce the story of one who took part in it. Captain Newman's journal affords but a partial view of the campaign,<sup>1</sup> but it presents a rare, if humiliating, picture of life in the first United States Army. Much water has passed under the bridge since 1791 and the American Army today is vastly better as well as larger than that which St. Clair led to destruction in the time of our national infancy. We are entitled to take such pride in this improvement as the facts may justify, yet in the opinion of the Nation's greatest living military leader, at the outbreak of war a year ago, our Army was as little fitted to meet its great adversary as was the army of St. Clair to meet the northwestern tribesmen.

The plan of the government contemplated that St. Clair should have three thousand effective troops assembled at Cincinnati by July 10, 1791. Delays of all kinds ensued, however, so that not until October could he count two thousand men. Thus the possibility of carrying out the campaign this year as planned was effectually obviated, even had St. Clair's force constituted a real army. From the General down, however, the whole force was so ill-equipped for the work in hand that it was a ghastly blunder even to essay an advance into the Indian country. Competent judges, such as General Harmer, fully aware of this, foretold with confidence the consequences of such an advance. Notwithstanding, St. Clair's instructions were explicit, and early in the autumn he led his army out from the vicinity of Fort Washington on the painful march which terminated in its destruction. The journal we print is drawn from the rich stores of the Draper Col-

<sup>1</sup>The comprehensive story of St. Clair's campaign may be read in Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, vol. IV, or in Archer B. Hulbert's *Military Roads of the Mississippi Basin*. A briefer narrative of it may be found in the present editor's *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, chap. V.

lection in the Wisconsin Historical Library. The author, Captain Newman of Boston, had served as ensign and lieutenant in the Revolutionary War. Apparently he gave ear to the call of his country when in 1790 New England was asked to supply the bulk of the newly-authorized Second United States Regiment. He became a captain and in this capacity led his company from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh and thence down the Ohio to the general rendezvous at Cincinnati. The journal covers this journey and the further northward advance of St. Clair's army until the termination of the record on October 23. Twelve days later the diarist was slain, as were most of his companions, in the defeat of November fourth.

The fact that the journal was discontinued on October 23, and the further one that unlike its author it escaped destruction in the wilderness are probably due to the situation explained in the entry for October 22. Preparatory to continuing the advance from Fort Jefferson Captain Newman packed and left behind his personal baggage except such as he could carry in a knapsack. Under such circumstances it seems likely he concluded to dispense with the further keeping of a journal.

In closing one final fact may be noted. St. Clair's little force comprised two regiments of regulars, two of six-months' levies, and a body of Kentucky militia. About the only semblance of soldierly discipline in the entire army was that maintained by the regulars. The picture which Newman presents, therefore, describes not the worst elements of the army but its choicest troops. It confirms with painful completeness the judgment of a contemporary observer that "men who are to be purchased from prisons, wheelbarrows, and brothels at two dollars a month" would not answer for fighting Indians.

CAPTAIN NEWMAN'S ORIGINAL JOURNAL OF  
ST. CLAIR'S CAMPAIGN

Journal from July 30<sup>th</sup>. 1791

Was Muster'd, Inspected, & March'd at ½ past 6 O Clock P.M. with Eighty One Men and four Women for Fort-Pitt<sup>2</sup> The weather dry & dusty. Cross'd y<sup>e</sup> Schuylkill & Encamp'd at Follarny Hill 3 Miles from Philadelphia. at Ten P. M. Isaac Garrison & William Hickman supposed Deserted, came in & were pardon'd.—NB. March'd with 5 Prisoners Confin'd for Desertion, 1 upon suspicion of having previously Inlisted & 4 others for Crimes of diff<sup>t</sup>. Denominations

Sunday July 31<sup>st</sup>.

Countersign Philadelphia

Took up our March at 5 AM, a heavy Shower coming on, with y<sup>e</sup>. appearance of steady rain, Encamp'd at Blockley Township 3 Miles from our last Encampment where, agreeable to the spirit of y<sup>e</sup>. Instructions receiv'd from y<sup>e</sup>. Sec<sup>y</sup>. of War the following Order was Given—

“Camp at Blockley July 31<sup>st</sup>. 1791. It is at all times necessary to the Honour, Comfort & happiness of a Soldier, to Conduct himself with decency & good Order, more particularly on a March. The Commanding officer therefore enjoins the utmost regularity & propriety of behavior The Non Commission'd officers will see that their respective squads keep themselves & their Arms & Accoutrements Clean & fit for service, they will also pay attention that their Men while on the March do not quit their Sections or Straggle from the detachment, for this purpose a Guard consisting of 1 Serg<sup>t</sup>. 1 Corp<sup>l</sup>. & 15 privates will be Mounted to form a rear & Camp Guard to secure the Deserters & other Prisoners to pick up Stragglers, & to take care of the Baggage—

Any Soldier who may so far forget he is at all times amenable to the Civil Authority, as to wantonly abuse or ill treat any of the Inhabitants of the United-States, or is so lost to the Character of a Soldier as to disgrace this detach-

<sup>2</sup>The route followed by Newman's company between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh was the Old Glade Road, later known as the Pennsylvania Road. It was the shortest highway across the mountains from the seacoast to the Mississippi Valley system and is roughly paralleled today by the Pennsylvania Railroad. The history of this famous highway has been told by Archer B. Hulbert in his *The Old Glade (Forbes's) Road* (Cleveland, 1903).



ment by plundering, or Stealing even the smallest article from the Good People of the Country, may depend on being immediately punish'd on the Spot & that too in a severe & exemplary Manner—

Samuel Newman Cap<sup>t</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. U S Reg<sup>t</sup>.  
& Commanding Officer

The Weather Clearing about Ten O'Clock AM. Intensely hot, induced me to defer Marching until  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 PM, when it was again resumed & we Encamped at the White horse, Radner Township, & 7 Miles from Blockley.—Countersign—Knox—Order'd y<sup>e</sup>. General to Beat at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 A M

Monday August 1<sup>st</sup>. 1791

March'd at 4 A M. But observing the Men fatigued, & unused to Travelling, was unwilling to lead them farther than the White-Horse in East-Whiteland, fourteen Miles from Radnor where we Encamped for y<sup>e</sup>. day & night, at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 P M received an Order from the Sec<sup>y</sup>. of War to permit Mary Hastings to join my Company! this Casualty encreased my Provision Return to Eighty Eight, she's a d—d Bitch & and I intend to Drum her out the first time she gets drunk<sup>s</sup>—Order'd the General at Three—Countersign—Jackson—Weather warm & rainy y<sup>e</sup>. March very dusty, in y<sup>e</sup>. afternoon a small shower

Tuesday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>.

Struck our Tents, & march'd at 4 O'Clock A M nothing remarkable occurred on our March to East Kallan [Caln] Township 15 Miles from Whiteland. At this Place the Men getting drunk, & becoming refractory, severity again became necessary, & four of the most impudent were very severely flogg'd by the tune of *Laragrogan*, notwithstanding which a likely Young Irishman by y<sup>e</sup>. name of William Carson who had been a spectator of y<sup>e</sup>. whole, Inlisted on condition of receiv<sup>g</sup>. his Bounty at Fort-Pitt—This of consequence encreased my provision return to Eighty Nine—The foll<sup>g</sup>. Order was given [in] Camp at East Kellan [Caln] Town-

<sup>s</sup>The attendance of large numbers of women upon so arduous and dangerous an Indian campaign as St. Clair had in hand affords but one of numerous evidences of mismanagement of the enterprise. Upwards of two hundred women and children accompanied the army into the wilderness, practically all of whom were slain or captured in the defeat of November fourth.

ship Aug<sup>st</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup> 1791 The Commanding Officer reminds the Serjeants Commanding Squads, of his Orders at Blockley 31<sup>st</sup>. Ultim<sup>o</sup>. he repeats that Order & expects they will pay the strictest attention to the Cleanliness of their squads, & in particular to their arms & accoutrements, as many of the Men have been unpardonably negligent upon this point.

He laments the necessity of punishing those who have been refractory. he again assures the Soldierlike & obedient of his protection, & his readiness to make their situation Comfortable & happy—but while he gives them these assurances, they may rely on it, the impudent, the Willfull, the Drunkard, & the Disobedient, shall always meet his Censure, & immediate punishment—

The Orderly Serjeant will immedeatly make out a Mess Roll, taking care, to put the head of each Mess at the top of their respective mess Lists. The other Serjeants will make a return of the Men belonging to their respective Squads, & occasionally report the Casualties which may take place—

The Serjeants commanding Guards will make a Morning Report of their Guards, the number of Prisoners, for what Crimes they are Confined, by Whom, & such occurrences as may have come within their Notice—Countersign Boston—Weather warm & dry General to Beat at 3 AM. Tomorrow

Wednesday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>.

March'd at 4 OClock AM, no Occurrence worth notice, except the Orderly conduct of the Men, whose behavior has indeed exceeded my expectation! releas'd Three who were Confin'd yesterday, & hope the severity made use of, will have the effect expected from it—Encamp'd at—The Sign of the Duke of Cumberland, 16 Miles from East Kallam [ Caln ] & 9 Miles short of Lancaster, Order'd the Men to prepare Clean Shirts, Jackets & Overalls, & to Reserve some of their flour, that our entrance into the Town may be respectable as those who have gone before us. Still warm & dry. General to Beat at Three AM Tomorrow—Countersign Miffin—was Join'd by James Johnson a recruit Inlisted in Phil<sup>a</sup>. since my departure.

Thursday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>.

March'd at 1/2 past 4. halted at Conestogoe Creek, Two Miles from Lancaster, made the Men dress in their Blue Uni-

forms & powder—Encamp'd at Lancaster ab<sup>t</sup>. 12 at noon. Warm & exceedingly dusty. between 10 & 11 at night had a fine rain which lasted untill daylight.—Two Villians, Sam<sup>l</sup>. Reeves and John Cook deserted from their Post while on Centinel; between the hours of 11 & 12. Countersign Hancock.—Many of y<sup>e</sup>. men Lame & very much fatigued.

Fryday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 5<sup>th</sup>.

Sent Serj<sup>ts</sup>. Elderkin & Cummings with parties upon different roads. Inlisted James Stewart, nothing remarkable except heavy rain & Thunder in y<sup>e</sup>. night. Countersign Cushing

Saturday, Aug<sup>st</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup>.

The Serj<sup>ts</sup>. not return'd & the Men who were lame under Doct<sup>rs</sup>. care I determin'd not to March untill Monday.—Inlisted William Miller—Gave the Men the Months pay I rec<sup>d</sup>. for them in Phil<sup>a</sup>.—this of Consequence introduced rum & Laragrogan once more—Countersign Adams Weather very hot—

Sunday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 7<sup>th</sup>.

Serj<sup>ts</sup>. return'd without having heard of the Villians who deserted Inlisted Michael Forrest, took up my provision Returns, settled with the Contractor, & Order'd the General at Three A M Tomorrow. Countersign Sinclair—

Monday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>.

March'd at 4 AM. weather hot & the Men fatigued, Encamped at Elizabeth Town 18 Miles from Lancaster.—dismiss'd M<sup>rs</sup>. Graham on the road, for impudently bringing, at three different times this Morning, Canteens of rum to the Men, Notwithstanding *her* promises, & my *positive* Orders to y<sup>e</sup>. Contrary, & in defiance of my repeated threats to Drum her out of my Camp if she presum'd it. hope this example will deter y<sup>e</sup>. rest of y<sup>e</sup>. fair sex who accompany my detachment, from committing errors which may deprive them of the *honour* of following of it.—nothing material except rain ab<sup>t</sup>. 11 P. M. General to beat at Three tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. Countersign Scott

Tuesday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>.

rain Weather until 1/2 past 11 A M. when it clear'd excessively hot and sultry March'd at 5 P M, forded the Swetara river knee deep & encamped at E Middletown 8

Miles from Eliz<sup>a</sup>. Town. roads bad, weather warm—Countersign Lancaster. General to beat at Three.—

Wednesday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 10<sup>th</sup>.

Took up our March at 4 AM. Cloudy & drizzly, cleared ab<sup>t</sup>, 9 A M. Crossed the Susquehannah at Chamber's ferry & Encamped at the Silver Springs (a Name which I presume arises from the great number of fine Springs to be found there) 16 Miles from Middletown & ten from Carlisle, at 1/2 past 3 P M had a Violent Thunder-Storm accompanied with heavy rain which lasted during y<sup>e</sup>. night.—Order'd y<sup>e</sup>. General at four—Countersign—Lincoln.

Thursday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup>.

Cloudy—Tents, Mens Clothes & Baggage so wet & soak'd with rain as to induce me to defer Marching untill Two O'Clock P M, when we struck our Tents & proceeded to Carlisle, where we Encamped. C-sign Green roads heavy & excessively muddy

Fryday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 12<sup>th</sup>.

Fair, pleasant weather, made arrangements with y<sup>e</sup>. Commissary for Provisions to Dermot's in y<sup>e</sup>. Glades, 30 Miles t'other side Bedford—Drew 90 doz Cartridges—procur'd another Waggon—& prepar'd to march tomorrow Afternoon—Drummed M<sup>rs</sup>. Willaghan out of the Camp for bringing rum into it, and dissmis'd M<sup>rs</sup>. Brady for her Insolent language during y<sup>e</sup>. punishment of Robert Cook & John Peters, the former of whom rec<sup>d</sup>. 28 Lashes, & the latter—20 for geting Drunk, notwithstanding repeated Orders against it. Order'd the womens provisions to be given in future to Coltrmans and the Fifer's Wives, who have as yet behaved very well—thank God I have now no more than my Compliment of Women—Inlisted John Carnes Countersign Steuben—

Saturday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 13<sup>th</sup>.

Pleasant Morning—Found M<sup>rs</sup>. Brady had stole into the Camp after the hour of challenging was over, her Contrition & Intreaties, with the consideration of its being in a manner impossible for her to carry her Clothes & an Infant 120 Miles back again—induced me to take her promises of behaving better in future, & permitting her to follow y<sup>e</sup>. Camp during

decent conduct—The Waggoner which had been engaged not coming in, in season, protracted my March untill near 7 P.M. when having nearly as many Prisoners as Guard & some of them desperate, abandon'd Scoundrels, order'd them ty'd in Couples, & by that means conducted them safe thro<sup>h</sup>. y<sup>e</sup>. woods to Mount rock 7 Miles from Carlisle where we encamp'd. Countersign Moultrie weather still serene. General to beat at 4 tomorrow AM

Sunday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 14<sup>th</sup>.

March'd at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 A M. Fine agreeable Morning. Found my left Foot which had been hurt on y<sup>e</sup>. March from Middletown to Carlisle, very painfull & much inflamed, of consequence, the road to Shippinsburgh 14 Miles from M<sup>t</sup>. Rock tediously long & tiresome—Encamped by a fine run of water which reliev'd the Mind as well as Body, as we had not seen one during the March—having rec<sup>d</sup>. information of Two Deserters confin'd in the Jail of Chambersburg 11 Miles wide of this detach'd Serj<sup>t</sup>. Cummins & four good Men, with the underwritten Letter, with instructions to secure them in the best manner possible & to meet me tomorrow at Scinners in the Mountains 13 Miles from this Encampment—

“Camp at Shippensburgh Aug<sup>st</sup>. 14<sup>th</sup>. 1791

Sir

The bearer of this, Serjeant Cummins, has my Orders to receive Two Men, suppos'd to be Deserters from the Army, & who are now in your Custody.—I'll thank you to give him a receipt expressive of its being for Jail fees, or any Shackles for the prisoners which may be consider'd necessary to secure them while on their March to Fort-Pitt.—The importance of apprehending & securing those *daring* Villains, who rob our Country of their Bounty Money, Clothing & Subsistance, must be obvious to every Man who has his *own*, or his Country's Interest at heart.—it is also as true, that those Virtuous Men, who discover their abhorrance of this worst of all Crimes, by confining the perpetrators of them untill they can be conveyed to the Corps which they have abandon'd, should have a *pecuniary* reward for their patriotism.—This may be obtain'd by the Gen<sup>t</sup>. who took them up; after their *desertion* has been made *certain*—by an application to the Commanding Officer of the Company from which they deserted, or the Command-

ing Officer at the Post to which they may be carried.—There can be no doubt arise on this subject. Serjeant Cummin's receipt to you for the Men with the record of their conviction, will be sufficient Vouchers for Ten Dollars a piece for the Deserters To those who can make it appear that they deposited them with you.—

I am Your most obedient

Mr. Owen Austin under Sheriff  
County Franklin

humble servant  
Samuel Newman Cap<sup>t</sup>.  
2<sup>d</sup>. U S Reg<sup>t</sup>

Order'd the General at 1/2 past three—Countersign Warren.  
Pleasant weather during y<sup>e</sup>. night

Monday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 15<sup>th</sup>.

March'd at Four AM. fine Morning—found on calling y<sup>e</sup>. roll, that William Hickman, a sculking lazy rascal had deserted, must confess I would not send 1/2 Mile after him upon any other principle than seeing him severely punish'd. I however stimulated some of the Inhabitants to pursue him, by giving them a description, & a promise of Ten Dollars for apprehending him, & flatter myself he is taken 'ere now.—Encamped at Scinners in the Mountains, after crossing one of 4 miles over & in the afternoon was join'd by Serjeant Cummins with one of the Deserters I had sent for by the Name of Jn<sup>o</sup>. Hamilton of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Zeiglers Comp<sup>y</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>. reg<sup>t</sup>.—the other Scoundrel who had deserted 4 times, & had escaped from Cap<sup>t</sup> Phelon's Guard in the Mountains, was *conscientiously* detain'd, lest he should suffer Innocently! *Sensible, judicious* people! how happy for the *impudent, harden'd* Villain, to have fallen into the hands of Men of penetration! but alas what might be the fate of a Man of refinement, reduced by *missfortune* to *suspicion*, should it be *his* fate to show a misconstrued sensibility in his Countenance before Men of equal discernment!!!

Serjeant Williams, notwithstanding my advice to refrain from drinking, & repeated Lectures & admonitions on the subject, has been drunk all day while on Guard, and I have order'd him confined & carried on under Guard to Fort-Pitt.—to take his tryal.—released Rob<sup>t</sup>. Cook & John Peters who were punished at Carlisle—Countersign—Montgomery General to Beat at three—

Tuesday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 16<sup>th</sup>.

March'd at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past four AM—Cross'd Two Mountains one of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  the other 4 Miles over, forded Conocochegue Creek & encamped at Fort-Littleton 13 Miles from Scimmers.—during the March M<sup>r</sup>. Laury Quater 2<sup>nd</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Levies being with y<sup>e</sup>. rear Guard & Waggon in y<sup>e</sup>. Mountains, discover'd a Man making observations on the troops & sculking in y<sup>e</sup>. bushes, who on finding himself discover'd, escaped into y<sup>e</sup>. Woods two Miles further M<sup>r</sup>. Laury perceiv'd the same Man, on shewing an inclination to speak to him, he again disappear'd.—suspicion was excited, & M<sup>r</sup>. Laury kept a look out; when he a third time pass'd upon him, when he had no chance to escape & was made prisoner the Old Overalls he had on, & a pair Shoes, evidently Soldiers Shoes, induced me to order him link'd to Hamilton, and determin'd me to carry him on, not doubting I shall find an owner for him. he calls himself James McDougal, denies his having ever deserted, except from y<sup>e</sup>. British Army. in short his accounts of himself are so various & contradictory, that I think myself, upon every principle, justified in the step I have taken—Countersign—Mercer—Orderd General at 3 AM

Wednesday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>.

March at 4 AM. Foggy in y<sup>e</sup>. morning & Cloudy most of the Day. The roads being bad, & almost impassible for my baggage, & of consequence rear Guard to keep up. left them & push'd for Juniata, forded the river at the ferry or Crossings at six P.M. heard that the waggon with the Tents & my own Baggage, was broken down, the Waggon with my Provisions having arrived, & it beginning to rain I march'd the Men to a Horse shed, provided Straw for them, & made their situation comfortable as possible. at 7 PM. Serjeant Harmon to whom I had given permission to loiter in y<sup>e</sup>. rear, came in with part of the Guard, with an acc<sup>t</sup>. of Serjeant Peirce's being drunk, & having scatter'd his Guard in such a Manner as to give John Anderson a fellow who was confin'd for desertion, an opportunity of slipping his Irons & making his escape, a promise of Ten Dollars for his apprehension has induced some active Inhabitants to pursue him. Juniata is  $19\frac{1}{2}$  Miles from Littleton.—The Desertion of y<sup>e</sup>. above Villain, & some discovery's I made of the rest of

the Prisoners being privy to his escape, & having laid a plan to effect their own, forced me to a severity, distressing to my feelings, but which from the nature of the Men I am plagued with y<sup>e</sup>. command of, render'd absolutely necessary, to convince them, that tho! willing to give every proper indulgence, I could also punish with rigor. Every Prisoner therefore, was made to dance Laragrogan, & their hands chain'd behind them, except the one who was link'd to Anderson, & whom I order'd to be chain'd to y<sup>e</sup>. Waggon.—This part of my Journal should it ever fall in other hands than I now expect it will may strike y<sup>e</sup>. humane & susceptible heart with a contempt for me, & a degree of horror at y<sup>e</sup>. transaction! but let them be assur'd, that however refin'd their feelings may be on y<sup>e</sup>. subject! mine are no less so, Heaven knows, my heart, replete with sensibility, bled upon the occasion, while the Duty I owed myself & my Country, painfully convinced it of y<sup>e</sup>. impossibility of avoiding it. My waggon not coming up, did not order y<sup>e</sup>. General at any particular hour, sensible I could not take up my March without it—C-sign Smith.—

Thursday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>.

Abt. 3 AM it began to rain, it was nearly Nine this Morning when Serjt. Peirce arriv'd with the remains of his Guard & the Waggon! the ground wet & uncomfortable, prefer'd keeping y<sup>e</sup>. Men under the Horse-Shed, rather than Encamping—received information that Patrick Powers while on Sentry had endeavor'd to persuade some of the Prisoners to desert with him! — I order'd the Company & Prisoners Paraded, tied him up to a Waggon Wheel, & gave him 50 Lashes well laid on, & confin'd him to take his tryal when we join the army at headQua[r]ters.

The conduct of Serjt. Peirce had reduced me to the disagreeable alternative of ruining of him by making him a Subject for a Court Martial, or risking my own reputation by an ill-timed lenity! I have endeavoured to avoid both, by suspending his Command untill his Conduct shall merit its renewal: I confess I have my doubts on the Subject. tho! at y<sup>e</sup>. same time certain y<sup>e</sup>. error leans to humanity & cannot materially injure y<sup>e</sup>. service.—His situation with me deserved a better return. — destitute of Friends who would assist him



he apply'd to me to take him as a Cadet or Volunteer, neither of these were in my power — his professions of skill in Surgery & Medicine, with the Idea that an Army divided as ours must necessarily be on y<sup>e</sup>. Frontiers would require assistant Surgeons Mates, & a desire to extend y<sup>e</sup>. *consoling* arm of an *Active Commiseration* to y<sup>e</sup>. unhappy & friendless; induced me to give him y<sup>e</sup>. highest rank in my power, & to make a Serjt. of him. — Would to God I could say his conduct on y<sup>e</sup>. March justified my opinion of him, at the time of his appointment, but it has unhappily been otherwise; a too strong propensity to liquor, has repeatedly prevented my placing y<sup>e</sup>. confidence I ever wish to repose in my Non-Commission'd Officers, & unless speedily conquer'd, will undoubtedly deprive me of y<sup>e</sup>. gratification of recommending him, to an employment at once permanent & honorable. Nothing material excepting the q<sup>r</sup>. Mast<sup>r</sup>. Serjt. Lewis<sup>[?]</sup> being struck at by a rattle Snake; fortunately having very loos Overalls, he received no Injury — the Snake was instantly killd. — incessant rain during the day & Night. C-sign North—

Fryday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup>.

The rain ceas'd ab<sup>t</sup>. 4 AM—Weather still fluttering. concluded not to beat y<sup>e</sup>. General untill Six AM, took up our March at 7. Weather Cloudy & fluttering during the Day.— Encamped at Bedford 14 Miles from y<sup>e</sup>. Crossings of Juniata — rec<sup>d</sup>. information of Three Deserters being in y<sup>e</sup>. Jail; paid the fees; employed the Smith to make Irons for them & the Villains I have already under Guard. — C-sign Bradford Order'd y<sup>e</sup>. General at Three & the Waggons to be laden & to proceed immedately. — Wrote by post to Maj<sup>r</sup>. Stagge respect<sup>s</sup>. deserters.

Saturday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 20<sup>th</sup>.

Sent my Waggons on at Three & followed them with the Company & the Prisoners at 4 AM.— Forded the Juniata three times during y<sup>e</sup>. March & Encamp'd at a place call'd Hughes's Camp 17 Miles from Bedford, thro' a Hilly (in Mass<sup>a</sup>. I should have call'd it Mountainous) Country, badly supply'd with Water but *abundantly* furnish'd with Wood.— Gave the following Order

Camp at Hughes's Camp Aug<sup>st</sup>. 20<sup>th</sup>.

The Commanding Officer again calls upon the Serjeants Commanding Squads, to pay attention to the Order & Cleanliness, of their respective Squads, he assures them this will be the last time he will trouble himself to call on them in this way. Many of the Men are Scandalously negligent, & they may depend on being punish'd for any future inattention.—Each Man will receive Twelve rounds of amunition this Ev<sup>g</sup>.—Any Soldier who may be hardy eno! to draw his Charge after having been on Guard, except in the presence of the Serj<sup>t</sup>. who commanded it, will be instantly punish'd.—if he presumes to discharge his piece without first having obtain'd permission from a Commiss.<sup>d</sup> Officer, he will immedeatly receive 100 Lashes—They may also depend on immedeate punishment if they suffer their Cartridges to get wet by neglect, or their Arms to get rusty!! & unfit for Service. Serj<sup>t</sup>. Williams having been Inlisted by a Gen<sup>t</sup>. who possibly may have placed a Confidence in him, & who I am inform'd knows his family to be respectable; with his Solemn promises to reform, & conduct himself with propriety in future, has induced me to release him, unwilling to give pain to the Officer, although justly displeas'd with y<sup>e</sup>. conduct of the Serj<sup>t</sup>. — Mich<sup>l</sup>. M<sup>c</sup>Gill was also releas'd from the Guard, upon a Consideration of his having been *severely* punish'd, & an unwillingness to march more Prisoners through the Country than may be absolutely necessary for y<sup>e</sup>. good of the Service to retain; as even after their release I shall have 14!—Countersign Wells — Order'd y<sup>e</sup>. General at Three —

Sunday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 21<sup>st</sup>.

Cloudy, drizzly, threat'ning Morning. — March'd at five A M with small prospects of a decent one! was however very agreeably disappointed by its clearing ab<sup>t</sup>. 7. Crossed one of the Alleghany Mountains, which I found by no means so tremendously high & frightfull as I expected! and indeed no ways to be compared to the Mountain I pass'd previous to Encamping at Sciners, either for Length or roughness. Encamped & drew Two Days Provision of Beef & Bread at M<sup>c</sup>. Dermot's in the Glades—13 Miles from Hughes's Camp. Countersign — Reed — General to beat at 5. —

Monday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 22<sup>d</sup>.

Cloudy & Foggy. March'd at 6 AM. nothing uncommon during the March. Encamp'd at Beams's. 12 Miles from M<sup>c</sup>. Dermot's, Sent Jn<sup>o</sup>. Anderson & Dan<sup>l</sup>. Ryan forward to let Mr. Lovardlyyer know of my approach & that I should want three days Provision for 89 Men & 5 Women of Beef & Bread only, having drawn y<sup>e</sup>. small parts of rations from Carlisle to Pittsburgh. — General at 5. Countersign Cobb —

Tuesday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 23<sup>d</sup>.

Heavy Fogg. March'd at 6 AM—Clear'd ab<sup>t</sup>. 8. Cross'd a hill by the Name of Laurel Hill, 10 Miles over, the Stoniest & worst road I almost ever saw, but not very steep or Mountainous — Encamped in the Woods by a fine spring 14 Miles from Beams's. Countersign—Trescott Order'd the General at Three.—

Wednesday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 24<sup>th</sup>.

Thick Fogg. March'd at Four AM. several small Showers during the March of 10 Miles to Loveangeyr's where I drew three days provision, up to Fort-Pitt, with a determination to renew my March at 1/2 past three PM—for Perry's Mill, 7 Miles from Loveangeyr's, but at this moment 1/2 past One P—M— there has commenced a very heavy Shower of rain, accompanied with Thunder; shall proceed as soon as it clears. — Clear'd ab<sup>t</sup>. three P M— took up our March & Encamped at Perry's Mill — General to Beat at three Countersign Burnham Showers during y<sup>e</sup>. Night.—

Thursday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 25<sup>th</sup>.

Sent my waggons on at Two AM intending to measure 20 Miles. March'd with my Company at 1/2 past 4 AM Forded a Creek call'd the little Sweetly, halted at Squire Hillmans 17 Miles from y<sup>e</sup>. Mills, Order'd the Lads to wash their Shirts & Overalls, against the Waggons came up; & intended for the Widow Myer's, which would have completed y<sup>e</sup>. distance proposed; but y<sup>e</sup>. badness of y<sup>e</sup>. roads, made still worse by yesterdays rain, and a smart Shower ab<sup>t</sup>. 1/2 an hour after I halted this day, render'd it impossible for them to come up untill 8 P—M— of Course Encamped for y<sup>e</sup>. Night — Order'd the General at 1/2 past Three. Countersign—Heart

Fryday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 26<sup>th</sup>.

Sent on the Waggon's at Two A—M—between that hour & Marching at 4 AM. discover'd Patrick Dalton, & Michael Caton had made arrangements to desert, & would undoubtedly have succeedd but for the accidental jump of one of my Serjeants over a Fence, where he perceiv'd Dalton's Haversack & Musket; Caton had ever been honor'd with Confidence, & was at this time forward with the Waggon's, but some circumstances having created suspicion he was secur'd, & a number of Fowles found in his Haversack, more Cartridges ab<sup>t</sup>. him than had been deliver'd to him, and his Piece Charged — Dalton also had 49 rounds and his Musquet Charged with two Balls & his Haversack well stored with Stolen provisions. they both danced Laragrogan & were put in Irons to take their Trial at Fort-Pitt. Forded Turtle Creek & Halted at the Two Mile run ab<sup>t</sup>. Three hundred yards from the Monongohela river, & Two Miles from the Town. Order'd the Tents, Camp Kettles & Bowles Scrub'd, & the Men to prepare to make a handsome entrance into Pitts-  
burgh. Weather Cloudy & Foggy all the Morning but Cleard ab<sup>t</sup>. 1/2 past Eleven AM very hott. — Countersign. Craig.— the following is the Copy of a Letter to Major Craig —

Two Mile run Aug<sup>st</sup>. 26<sup>th</sup>. 1791

Sir

M<sup>r</sup>. Laury, Quater-Master 2<sup>d</sup>. regiment Levies, will inform you of my arrival at this Place. he will also receive such directions as you may have for me, & such information respecting the Ground I am to Encamp on in Pittsburgh, as you may chuse to communicate—

I am with respect —

Major-Craig Commanding  
Officer at Fort-Pitt

Your most obed<sup>t</sup>.  
hble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

Saturday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 27<sup>th</sup>.

March'd into Pittsburgh ab<sup>t</sup>. 11 OClock AM. & Encamped, made some few arrangements as to going down the river, & wrote an acc<sup>t</sup>. of my arrival to Gen<sup>l</sup>. Knox. Counter-sign Butler. —

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Sunday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 28<sup>th</sup>.

Nothing material except dining with Major Craig, pass'd an agreeable afternoon & Ev<sup>g</sup>. & return'd to Camp before Tatoo. Countersign— Sullivan — Inlisted, Henry Craige

Monday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 29<sup>th</sup>.

Sent such of my Arms as wanted repairing, to the Armourers draw'd all y<sup>e</sup>. Clothing for my recruits Inlisted on the March excepting Coats & Hatts—pass'd an Agreeable Ev<sup>g</sup>. with some of the Belles of Pittsburgh & retir'd to Camp at Eleven Countersign — Neville.—

Tuesday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 30<sup>th</sup>.

Receiv'd my Barrel of Spirits, & that with my Groceries which I had left in Phil<sup>a</sup>. —procur'd a Physician to take care of some of my Men who had got Lame on our March. — Ab<sup>t</sup>. half past Ten A M had a smart shower, with sharp lightning & heavy Thunder Struck Tents at 4 P M — march'd to a fresh piece of Ground & Encamped nigher the Monongehala on the Point between that & the Alleghany river. in the Ev<sup>g</sup>. one of my Men, James Haney fell down the Bank ab<sup>t</sup>. 40 feet, but happily rec<sup>d</sup>. but little other injury than that occasion'd by his fright. — Countersign Brooks.

Wednesday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 31<sup>st</sup>.

Cloudy & likely to rain, but this is the first Morn<sup>g</sup>. which has been Clear of very thick Fogg, since we Cross'd the first Mountains. rain at 4 P.M. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Ruycastle of 2<sup>d</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup>. Levies. Inlisted a Judge of the Court Bucks County as a Ser<sup>j</sup><sup>t</sup>. Countersign Hull —

Thursday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>.

Fine Day. draw'd from the Commissary Military Stores. Fusils for myself & Officers. Countersign Tyler

Fryday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>.

Draw'd 20 Days provision to carry me down to Fort Washington—& prepar'd to go off tomorrow Countersign Eustis

Saturday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>.

Cloudy Morning. Commenc'd raining ab<sup>t</sup>. 2 P M am advised by People who are better acquainted with y<sup>e</sup>. river than myself

to wait untill Monday. Countersign Crocker — Ja<sup>s</sup> Keary Desert.

Sunday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>

Am happy to find the river rises fast & am still advised by Gen<sup>l</sup>. Neville to wait untill tomorrow when there seems little doubt of its rising in such a manner as to enable me to pursue my Voyage to Fort Washington 600 Miles from this by Night as well as Day, which has been impossible for some Months past. steady rain. God grant it may continue, & my expectations fulfilled. Countersign Townshend—

Monday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 5<sup>th</sup>.

Cloudy Morning, found river rising & rapid, settled with the Contractor for Provisions, & the Commissary Military Stores got every thing on board & Embark'd at Eleven A.M. rain at Two P.M. which continued all Night & made our situation very uncomfortable. form'd the Men in my own Boat into 6 watches or reliefs which made their Duty light. Order'd M<sup>r</sup>. Greaton to do likewise, & always to keep his boat within hail.

Tuesday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup>.

Pass'd Buffaloe Creek at 6 A M 72 Miles from Pittsburgh pay'd a Musical compliment to a Militia Guard at that place, & sent a Canoe ashore for Milk. In y<sup>e</sup>. Afternoon pass'd 3 more Guards to all of whom we shew our Colours & paid the usual Compliments of beating a March, which appear'd to be understood but by one of them, who seem'd to return it with great satisfaction. in the night we pass'd the last Fort on y<sup>e</sup>. river untill we come to Muskingum.

Wednesday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 7<sup>th</sup>.

Abt. ten A M having an excellent Glass discover'd Men on Shore abt. 3 Miles a head filing off thro' the bushes as I supposed to attack us, prepar'd to receive them & kept my lads at their arms untill we arriv'd at Muskingum which was at 3 P M. pay'd the compliment of y<sup>e</sup>. Drum & receiv'd a Salute from the Blockhouse. found Col<sup>o</sup>. Sprout & many of my acquaintances who were happy to see me. was delighted with y<sup>e</sup>. situation of Marietta. but think y<sup>e</sup> "Campus Martius" derives its principal excellence from its strength against an

*Indian* rather than a Military Enemy,<sup>4</sup> took my leave at 6 P M accompanied by Maj<sup>r</sup>. Cushing & a number of Gen<sup>t</sup>. who were bound to Belle Pre & who were polite eno'. to go with us 25 Miles beyond it. after having made me a present of some Squashes Melons &c & enjoying themselves dancing until 1/2 past 3 A M. think they have "paid dear for their Whistle" as they have to row back against y<sup>e</sup>. Current which now runs ab<sup>t</sup>. 4 1/2 knots.

Thursday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>.

Sick all Day. at 8 P M came opposite the French Settlement of Gallipolis. sent a letter ashore to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Guion, was unhappy that my head ache & something of a fever prevented my Visiting of him. fine Ev<sup>g</sup>. 'till 1/2 past ten when it began to rain & continued all night.—

Fryday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>.

rainy Morning. the roof of my Boat leak'd all Night, had a wet uncomfortable time of it altho! I feel a little better ab<sup>t</sup>. 8 AM. pick'd up a large Canoe which I order'd cut to pieces & Scuttled lest the Indians should make use of her to capture y<sup>e</sup>. Merchant boats passing on the river. ab<sup>t</sup>. 11 A M saw a very large Bear swim across y<sup>e</sup>. river, M<sup>r</sup>. Craig jump'd into y<sup>e</sup>. Canoe, but bruin reach'd y<sup>e</sup> Shore before him & made off. this is y<sup>e</sup> first large species of Game I have seen during my March to Pittsburgh or sail this far down the river, except one Fawn. Shott 2 Turkeys. — Finding we had got into the most dangerous part of the river from Pittsburgh to Fort-Washington. Order'd a Serj<sup>t</sup>. & 12 mounted every night instead of the former watches. in both boats

Saturday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 10<sup>th</sup>.

Thick Fogg. oblig'd to beat the Taps most of y<sup>e</sup>. night and untill 1/2 past 8 this Morning, as my boat row'd faster than M<sup>r</sup>. Greaton's. was happy in finding (when it Clear'd) that we had not seperated — saw another Bear come down to y<sup>e</sup>. river, who also fil'd off on percieving us. Landed at the famous Settlement of Limestone ab<sup>t</sup>. 1/2 past 4 P M. to say

<sup>4</sup>Fort Harmar was established at the mouth of the Muskingum in 1785 by Major John Doughty. Next to Fort Washington (at Cincinnati) it was the principal military establishment on the Ohio frontier. In 1788 the famed Ohio Company founded Marietta, and among the numerous classical names which they sprinkled over the site of their wilderness metropolis that of Campus Martius was given to their central stockaded inclosure.

I was disappointed would give but a small Idea of the place or my feelings. 'Tis true the Land ab<sup>t</sup>. it is luxuriantly fertile, & the Town is happily situated. but the houses for so old a settlement, are contemptibly mean, and badly built, most of y<sup>e</sup>. People poor & lazy. & the streets abominably filthy & dirty, owing to their Hogsties being contiguous to them. & from laziness or some reason incomprehensible to me their suffering the filth & excrements to run into the Streets. Limestone is 60 miles from Fort Washington hope to get there tomorrow. had a most Violent squal of wind & rain ab<sup>t</sup>. 11 P M. which lasted upwards of an *hour* & in which we were in danger of foundering or being driven on Shore & in which myself & Bed got most thoroughly wet. the other boat was also in a disagreeable situation. —

Sunday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup>.

Foggy till 9 AM. when it Clear'd very Cool found ourselves within 14 Miles of Head-Quarters order'd the Men to prepare themselves for making a handsome appearance on Landing. — Landed at a Settlement call'd little Miami— it is indeed a beautiful situation & y<sup>e</sup>. people appear contented & industrious. ab<sup>t</sup>. 1/2 past 4 P M. landed at Fort-Washington. waited upon Gen<sup>l</sup>. St. Clair & encamp'd in front of y<sup>e</sup>. Battalion. C-sign France

Monday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 12<sup>th</sup>.

Made a report of my Comp<sup>y</sup>. & returns for Arms, Accoutrements & Clothing. Din'd with Gen<sup>l</sup>. Harmar. rec<sup>d</sup>. Orders to hold myself in readiness to march at y<sup>e</sup>. shortest notice with y<sup>e</sup>. army. C-sign—Vigo

Tuesday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 13<sup>th</sup>.

Went on Fatigue with 90 Men to haul the Boats up on y<sup>e</sup>. Bank—had complaint that 25<sup>lbs</sup>. Bacon had been stolen altho! a Corporal & 3 Men had y<sup>e</sup>. Care of it. instantly broke y<sup>e</sup>. Corp<sup>l</sup>. & made him & y<sup>e</sup>. whole Guard dance laragrogan. C-sign Detroit—

Wednesday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 14<sup>th</sup>.

Prepar'd to March. busy all day, wrote to Boston. din'd with Cap<sup>t</sup>. Bradford & a parcel of genteel Officers of the Garrison. C-sign Bell Pre<sup>r</sup>. 4 Indian Warriors came to see their families who had been captur'd.



Thursday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 15<sup>th</sup>.

March'd at 8 AM. for HeadQuaters 24 Miles from Fort-Washington Came on drizzling rain ab<sup>t</sup>. 11 AM. Forded two deep Creeks during y<sup>e</sup>. March. & halted at Mill Creek 10 Miles from Fort-W— the roads so very muddy our baggage could not keep up, of consequence was oblig'd to lay in y<sup>e</sup>. Woods on a wet piece of Ground, without a blanket or Great-Coat—their Nankeen Overalls & a linnen Jacket, must confess I was most uncomfortably Cold. altho I lay with my feet to a good fire. the fog was so heavy as to wet my Jacket & Overalls thro! ab<sup>t</sup>. 12 O Clock at night a very large Tree fell upon two of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Phelon's Men, one of whom died in ab<sup>t</sup>. three hours after, the other was badly wounded but not dangerous. — There was no Countersign given, it being consider'd unnecessary, as our Men or Officers could have no call out of y<sup>e</sup> line of Centinels. the mode of conduct order'd for y<sup>e</sup>. reliefs, was for y<sup>e</sup>. Sentry to order y<sup>e</sup>. Corporal of y<sup>e</sup> relief to ground his Arms, advance & make himself known after which he approach'd & reliev'd y<sup>e</sup> Sentry.

Fryday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 16<sup>th</sup>.

took up our March at 6 OClock A. M. forded several Creeks & small runs. & was oblig'd to halt & make booths & 2 OClock P M. as y<sup>e</sup>. Surveyor had not blaz'd y<sup>e</sup>. Trees or open'd y<sup>e</sup>. road further than 10 Miles! & had left us to find our way out of y<sup>e</sup>. Woods as we could. this of consequence brought on reconnoitering, & y<sup>e</sup>. rifle Men were sent forward to make a new road into y<sup>e</sup>. old one, which was discover'd ab<sup>t</sup>. 3 Miles from where we halted. at 4 P. M. our Baggage came up & we got something to Eat & drink, it being y<sup>e</sup>. first time since y<sup>e</sup> day before we march'd dinner time. "tight times in y<sup>e</sup>. Jerseys."

Saturday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>.

March'd at 6 A M. Enter'd y<sup>e</sup>. Grand Camp at the Great Miami ab<sup>t</sup>. noon.<sup>o</sup> after hav<sup>s</sup> March'd 10 Miles more! hav<sup>s</sup>. in y<sup>e</sup>. whole march'd upwards 30 Miles in y<sup>e</sup>. New road! instead of 24 in y<sup>e</sup>. Old one! with four Companies 2<sup>d</sup>. U S Reg<sup>t</sup>. 2 Battallions Levies & 5 pieces of Artillery. C-sign Tennessee.—

<sup>o</sup> This camp was on the site of the city of Hamilton, Ohio, which takes its name from Fort Hamilton, built by St. Clair's army between September 17 and October 4, 1791.

Sunday Sept<sup>r</sup>: 18<sup>th</sup>.

The whole Army Order'd under Arms at revellie beating every morning, & to continue under Arms untill the Fog Clears so that an Enemy may be discover'd at y<sup>e</sup>. distance of 200 yards. this Order kept us on y<sup>e</sup>. Parade two hours to Day, & in all probability will every day. as y<sup>e</sup>. Fogs are constant & heavy every Morning untill 7. or 8 OClock.—At 11 OClock A Man came in belonging to M<sup>r</sup>. Cobb's party who had been detach'd from Fort-Washington with 20 Men to flank & Cover provision boats down y<sup>e</sup>. river. with information that during their March they had been frequently fir'd on by y<sup>e</sup>. Indians but happily without Injury. they return'd y<sup>e</sup>. fire but with no other success than driving y<sup>e</sup>. Indians, rescuing a Horse which had been stolen from Judge Symmes, and taking a Tomahawk which they left in their hurry. Gen<sup>l</sup>. St Clair arriv'd from Fort-Washington ab<sup>t</sup>. 4 P M. C-sign Petersburgh.

Monday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup>.

Cap<sup>t</sup>. Faulkner with 20 rifle Men were sent out after 10 Indians who were discover'd a small distance from Camp upon our right flank.—several very large rattle-snakes have been kill'd by our Men, in our own Camp since we came here.—M<sup>r</sup>. Cobb came into Camp ab<sup>t</sup>. 12 at Noon with his detachment. the boats & provisions were left at Dunlap's Station 6 Miles from this—Commenc'd raining ab<sup>t</sup>. 6 P M. during y<sup>e</sup>. night we had y<sup>e</sup>. sharpest lightning & heaviest Thunder & rain, which I have as Yet seen, but having a tolerable Tent of y<sup>e</sup>. sort, & y<sup>e</sup>. coarse long Grass in this Country when Cut & dried, answering y<sup>e</sup>. purpose of Straw. I was pretty tolerably Comfortable. Counter-sign Miami

Tuesday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 20<sup>th</sup>.

Warn'd for Court-Martial but as some of y<sup>e</sup>. Prisoners were of my own Company, & I felt that I had prejudged, I made application to Gen<sup>l</sup>. St. Clair who order'd another Officer in my place.—At night went on Picket with 1 Serj<sup>t</sup>. 1 Corp<sup>l</sup>. & 15 privates! cannot acc<sup>t</sup>. for the mode in which Duty is generally done in this Camp. but concieve it absolutely unmilitary. but as older officers than myself have done y<sup>e</sup>. same Tour in y<sup>e</sup>. same I think ridiculous mode I acquiesce. but hope y<sup>e</sup>. still will be alter'd when we move towards y<sup>e</sup>.

Enemy, who I am inform'd are 1500 strong & are determin'd to give us Battle. So be it, altho! I am sorry to think our force not so respectable in point of strength as Numbers.—Countersign Kent.—

Wednesday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 21<sup>st</sup>.

Came off Picquet at Revéllié. was immedeatly order'd to make out a Muster Roll, & an Inspection return against tomorrow! Consideration is one of y<sup>e</sup>. first properties (in my estimation) of a good Gen<sup>l</sup>. but to put an Officer on Duty, & as soon as he comes off expect, a three days business with close application, to be perform'd in little better than 1|2 one! is a refinement beyond my Comprehension! however what can be, shall be done—Cap<sup>t</sup>. Faulkners after a circuitous March of 40 Miles thro! the woods, return'd with 6 Horses but without having seen any Indians.—Countersign—Cincinnati

Thursday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 22<sup>d</sup>.

rainy, drizzling Morning. On Calling in the Levie Centinels upon the Bullock Guard, found one of them Missing. the adjacent ground was search'd without success. it is presumed he fell asleep on his post, and was taken off by the Indians. Our Battalion was Muster'd by Col<sup>o</sup>. Minzies one of the Inspectors for the Troops of the U S. they made a decent appearance, tho! by no means what I presume they will at a future day.—

As for Inspection, it was found impossible for any Cap<sup>t</sup>. of our bat<sup>n</sup>. on y<sup>e</sup>. Ground to comply with y<sup>e</sup>. Order, as we were *hurried* (myself ever since I have been *appointed*, from *every* place!) from Fort-Washington & oblig'd to leave many of our most essential papers besides some of our most necessary baggage behind. The Inspector must do *his* duty & report us to y<sup>e</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. but I have no apprehensions, conscious of having discharged my duty in every point my abilities w<sup>d</sup>. admit of. rained all night. C-sign Onslow

Fryday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 23<sup>d</sup>.

Rainy, disagreeable Morning. Clear'd abt. 10 AM. Major Hart return'd from Fort-Washington, but with small encouragement as to our baggage being forwarded. This is against *me*, as *all* my Stores were left there, & the difficulty of getting them sent to me, naturally encreases with my dis-

tance from them: however it is nothing uncommon to Soldiers, & I must & will be contented.—In y<sup>e</sup>. Afternoon my boy return'd to me from y<sup>e</sup>. hospital at Fort-Washington, poor boy, y<sup>e</sup>. scenes are so Novel, & as he conceives hard, that it affects his Spirits & makes him unhappy. however, he little thinks that the fatigues & dangers are yet to come! Indeed the anticipation of a Winter's Campaign, in a Country inhabited only by wild beasts, or y<sup>e</sup>. still more ferocious *biped* of y<sup>e</sup>. forest, without baggage, & I very much fear in a manner without provisions! as it is clear to my understanding, that the frost will destroy y<sup>e</sup>. herbage of the Country, which is y<sup>e</sup>. sole dependance at present of our Batt-horses & Cattle! I say this anticipation, with y<sup>e</sup>. reflection of having no other covering in our *best* situation, but our Tents in y<sup>e</sup>. middle Winter, & that when on picquet we shall not be allowed fire, however stormy or cold it may be! I confess affords me but little satisfaction in y<sup>e</sup>. contemplation—rain'd from 6 P. M. all night. Countersign Batavia.

Saturday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 24<sup>th</sup>.

Rainy, stormy Morning. rain'd all Day, but absolutely pour'd in sheets & torrents all night! Tent, bed & Clothes Wet, d—d the Economy of the Contractor for y<sup>e</sup>. thinness of our Tents, particularly the backs & doors which are made of very coarse Oznabrigs! & thro! which the rain beat, as if thro! a Sieve! this is the Country cheated, and the Soldier imposed on<sup>o</sup>. Countersign—Africa

Sunday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 25<sup>th</sup>.

rain 'till 9 oclock AM when the sun bless'd our Eyes once more din'd upon Bear, Venison, & Wild Turkey. pass'd y<sup>e</sup>. Ev<sup>g</sup>. with some of y<sup>e</sup>. Bloods of y<sup>e</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>. U S Reg<sup>t</sup>. retir'd to my Tent at 11 P M C-sign Saxe

Monday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 26<sup>th</sup>.

Cloudy Morn<sup>g</sup>. Clear'd Warm ab<sup>t</sup>. 10 AM. struck my Tent, and *thoroughly* dried y<sup>e</sup>. Ground upon which it had been pitched. Finding that Henry Craig, John Kline, &

\*There is ample testimony from other sources corroborative of these observations concerning the quality of the tents. If one may attempt to distinguish amid a general riot of mismanagement it would perhaps be fair to say that the conduct of the quartermaster's department was particularly notable for its all-around inefficiency.

John Moss, three Soldiers of my Company, to whom I yesterday gave permission to go to y<sup>e</sup>. river to wash, had not return'd; & on examining their Clothing that they had left some of their dirty Clothes & old Shoes behind, & had taken the best of each with them, I was induced to believe they had deserted; altho! I confess my Common Sense much stagger'd at y<sup>e</sup>. belief of three Men without Arms, deserting from a Camp surrounded by an Enemy ever watching its motions, & ready to take off the Fore-tops of any who ventur'd out of it without a Guard! The Commanding Officer has however Order'd out some Rifle-Men & light Horse, if possible to apprehend them. may they succeed, indeed I hardly concieve their escape possible. Countersign

Tuesday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 27<sup>th</sup>

Thick Fogg in y<sup>e</sup>. Morning which in this Country generally indicates & produces a fine clear day! while a Clear Morn<sup>g</sup>. is as infallible a sign of rain in y<sup>e</sup>. course of it! Cleard ab<sup>t</sup>. 10 AM. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Phelon sent off with 50 Men to Fort-Washington to escort baggage to y<sup>e</sup>. Camp.—Hear y<sup>e</sup>. Indians took 56 Batt horses from Ludlow Station y<sup>e</sup>. night before last! Ludlow is 14 Miles from our Camp, 7 Miles from Fort Washington, & between both!—It seems to be their adopted policy to capture our horses, & is beyond a doubt y<sup>e</sup>. most effectual mode of preventing y<sup>e</sup>. expedition against y<sup>e</sup>. Mimi Towns as our Army cannot move without horses to transport y<sup>e</sup>. necessary provisions & Stores.—The Pack horse Masters of our own Camp on Counting their horses miss 100! which are also supposed to be taken by y<sup>e</sup>. Indians!

Wednesday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 28<sup>th</sup>.

Thick Fogg. Am inform'd by my Orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. that two of my lads, two brothers by y<sup>e</sup>. name of Depew, to whom I had yesterday given permission to go to y<sup>e</sup>. river to wash, have not ret<sup>d</sup>. or been heard of! I am very apprehensive that they have fallen into y<sup>e</sup>. hands of y<sup>e</sup>. Indians, as they have ever appear'd contented with their situation, & conducted themselves with decency and civility. Warn'd and sat as President of a Regimental Court-Martial.

Thursday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 29<sup>th</sup>.

Thick Fogg. Heard that the two lads mention'd above had got lost in y<sup>e</sup>. Woods & had straggled to Dunlap's Station down y<sup>e</sup>. river where they are now confin'd by y<sup>e</sup>. Command<sup>g</sup> Officer in suspicion of desertion.—

Fryday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 30<sup>th</sup>.

Went on Fatigue with 250 Men & three Subalterns to the Garrison, completed y<sup>e</sup>. Picketing, cut slabs to line it, & Logs for y<sup>e</sup>. foundation of y<sup>e</sup>. Banqueting round it. rec<sup>d</sup>. Orders respecting y<sup>e</sup>. line of March & Battle, & those appointing a Board of Officers to settle y<sup>e</sup>. rank of y<sup>e</sup>. Army.—

Saturday October 1<sup>st</sup>.

Clear Morn<sup>g</sup>. commenc'd raining with very heavy Showers ab<sup>t</sup>. 8 OClock AM. by y<sup>e</sup>. Order of Major Heart gave in the dates of my Commissions, to y<sup>e</sup>. Board of Officers. confess I have no great expectations upon any of them, except y<sup>e</sup>. rank of "86. & shall acquiesce in that *general principle* which shall pervade y<sup>e</sup>. *line* of y<sup>e</sup>. Army.—Cap<sup>t</sup>. Phelon return'd with his Command from Fort-Washington ab<sup>t</sup>. 10 OClock A M.—ab<sup>t</sup>. 3 hours after his return y<sup>e</sup>. Indians kill'd a Soldier of y<sup>e</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>. U S Reg<sup>t</sup>. took another, & six horses only 2 Miles from Camp. a Party of rifle-Men are order'd out to pursue them.—

Information has also arriv'd in Camp, of Major Davison of y<sup>e</sup>. Militia having been kill'd this day by y<sup>e</sup>. Indians, at y<sup>e</sup>. point of y<sup>e</sup>. Great-Miami a few Miles from Camp. rain'd all day & Night.

Sunday October 2<sup>d</sup>. 1791

Clear Morn<sup>g</sup>. 'till 11 OClock AM when it thicken'd up. these as usual were y<sup>e</sup>. never failing indications of foul weather ab<sup>t</sup>. 4 P M it commenc'd raining & continued all Night, & a cold, uncomfortable one it was. at roll Call rec<sup>d</sup>. orders to hold ourselves in readiness at y<sup>e</sup>. Shortest notice. we at y<sup>e</sup>. same time had y<sup>e</sup>. order of Encampment. March & Battle communicated to us—as far as I am capable of judging, think them excellent, & am much pleased with them

Monday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>

Cloudy & Chilly. Violent Cold in my head & limbs, however hope we shall not march to day, & that I shall feel more

equal to it. indeed at present, I am y<sup>e</sup>. only Cap<sup>t</sup>. in our reg<sup>t</sup>. who is well eno! to do duty. Kirkwood has been confin'd ever since we came here. Phelon has been unable for duty these 10 days, & Shaylor is taken very ill this Morning—heard that two of my Men who deserted from this place are taken & confin'd in Fort-Washington

Tuesday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>.

General beat inst<sup>d</sup>. of revellie, struck our Tents, and March'd abt. 11 AM. Forded y<sup>e</sup>. great Miami river, which was up to our middles & very rapid. this Country I concieve very unhealthy as we have continued Fogs, heavy dews, cloudy chilly weather, or rain. this day we are wet, cold, & uncomfortable. march'd as I suppose 2 Miles from y<sup>e</sup>. river it being impossible to march further as we had y<sup>e</sup>. roads to cut. halted in a wood in which was abundance of under brush & briars.—however, made good fires, dried ourselves & pitch'd our Tents. hear that a Serj<sup>t</sup>. and Corp<sup>l</sup>. of y<sup>e</sup>. Levies deserted last night. while on duty at y<sup>e</sup>. Bullock Guard.—The Army had march'd in two Columns single file at y<sup>e</sup>. distance of 2 or 3 hundred yards between y<sup>e</sup>. Columns, each of which was headed by two pieces of artillery, & bro<sup>t</sup>. up by two more in y<sup>e</sup>. rear, y<sup>e</sup>. Cattle & Batt horses moving in y<sup>e</sup>. Interval between y<sup>e</sup>. Columns. y<sup>e</sup>. order of Encampment y<sup>e</sup>. same as y<sup>e</sup>. order of March except y<sup>e</sup>. front & rear being turn'd to form an Oblong Square of which my Company form'd y<sup>e</sup>. right of y<sup>e</sup>. rear face & a Comp<sup>y</sup>. of y<sup>e</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>. U S Reg<sup>t</sup>. y<sup>e</sup>. left. both these regiments forming y<sup>e</sup>. first, y<sup>e</sup>. rear of y<sup>e</sup>. Column on y<sup>e</sup>. right, & ours the rear of y<sup>e</sup>. Column on y<sup>e</sup>. left.

Wednesday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 5<sup>th</sup>.

Cloudy Cloudy & chilly General inst<sup>d</sup>. revellie, March'd at Nine AM. & notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup>. line of March was alterd & y<sup>e</sup>. Columns on y<sup>e</sup>. flanks of y<sup>e</sup>. Stores provisions & Baggage had only a foot path to Cut! y<sup>e</sup>. road orderd to be cut for the Artillery &c &c &c in y<sup>e</sup>. Centre between the Columns employed y<sup>e</sup>. whole day 'till 5 OClock PM. to measure a distance of three Miles!! on y<sup>e</sup>. March y<sup>e</sup>. advanc'd picket discover'd an Indian on horse back upon full speed. during this small March forded a Creek over our knees. Encamp'd in y<sup>e</sup>. same manner only that y<sup>e</sup>. whole of 2<sup>d</sup>. U S reg<sup>t</sup>. 2 p<sup>s</sup>. [<sup>2</sup>] artill<sup>y</sup>.

& part of y<sup>e</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>. U S Reg<sup>t</sup>. form'd y<sup>e</sup>. rear face. this bro<sup>t</sup>. my Comp<sup>y</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. on y<sup>e</sup>. right NB This day was pleasant & y<sup>e</sup>. Sun Shin'd!!

Thursday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup>.

Cloudy Morn<sup>g</sup>. & Cold at revellie beating it being my Tour of duty, took command of y<sup>e</sup>. advanc'd Guard consist<sup>g</sup>. 1 Cap<sup>t</sup>. 1 Sub 3 Serj<sup>ts</sup>. 3 Corp<sup>ls</sup>. & 54 Privates. with every possible exertion y<sup>e</sup>. Army only made 5 Miles. at night Com-manded the Advanc'd Picket. Altho! it had cleard ab<sup>t</sup>. 11 OClock A M & the Day had been warm & pleasant; y<sup>e</sup>. night was uncomfortably Cold & Chilly. this we experienc'd in its full effect, not being all<sup>d</sup>. to make a fire or lay down with their blankets on, as that would have defeated y<sup>e</sup>. intention of Post-ing us, by discovering our position to the Enemy. during y<sup>e</sup>. March forded two Creeks, over our knees.—

Fryday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 7<sup>th</sup>.

Clear Morn<sup>g</sup>. & a pleasant day! Order'd with my Picket, to constitute y<sup>e</sup>. rear Guard of the Army. oblig'd to wait on y<sup>e</sup>. Ground more than hour after y<sup>e</sup>. whole Army had mov'd, to wait for an Ox Waggon that had broken down yesterday. overtook y<sup>e</sup>. Troops ab<sup>t</sup>. 3 P. M. & y<sup>e</sup>. Whole halted ab<sup>t</sup>. 5—having made 5 Miles more during y<sup>e</sup>. day! Was reliev'd from my Guard ab<sup>t</sup>. 6. & slept sweetly & soundly all Night. I was indeed fatigued.

Saturday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>.

Clear Morning and a fine day. March'd at 8 OClock AM. measurd 5½ Miles during which Faulknors rifle-Men discover'd some Indians who had unfortunately percieved their approach, & they could only get a Shot at one of them four of y<sup>e</sup>. party fir'd but miss'd him. Just before we Encamp'd Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sinclair join'd us from Fort-Washington Billy a Weeaw' Indian one of those who came in to Fort-Washing-ton on y<sup>e</sup>. 14<sup>th</sup>. Ult<sup>o</sup>. came with him, conjecture is alive & alive let it be I care little ab<sup>t</sup>. it.—

Sunday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>.

Fine Morning & pleasant day. March'd ab<sup>t</sup>. 8 AM. on the March an Elk got surprised between our Column & y<sup>e</sup>. Bag-gage & in ab<sup>t</sup>. an hour after a fine Doe. they both escap'd as we had positive orders not to fire. these are y<sup>e</sup>. first wild



quadrupeds of y<sup>e</sup>. Forest that I have seen frightned & upon y<sup>e</sup>. run. their appearance caus'd a variety of sensations. measur'd 4 Miles this day.

Monday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 10<sup>th</sup>.

Pleasant all Day. March'd at 7 AM. On the March at diff<sup>t</sup>. periods of it. 1 Buck and 2 fine Doe & a Faun run within fifteen yards of me between y<sup>e</sup>. Column 2 y<sup>e</sup>. baggage & finally broke their way out, thro' a part of our Men. made 7½ Miles.

Tuesday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup>.

General, as for y<sup>e</sup>. week past. inst<sup>d</sup>. of revellie. March'd at 7 AM pass'd several Indian Bowery's. & y<sup>e</sup>. advanc'd rifle Men saw some Indians on horse back. a detachment of the Cavalry were sent on their trail, on halting was order'd with a Subaltern, non Commiss<sup>d</sup>. in proportion & forty privates to forage for y<sup>e</sup>. Army. made 6 Miles halted early in consequence of an extensive prairie & Morass appearing in front.—found two horses on y<sup>e</sup>. Ground which were hopped with an Indian Cloth, suppose them to be two that have been stolen from us on our march.

Wednesday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 12<sup>th</sup>.

Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sinclair & Butler, with y<sup>e</sup>. Surveyor out reconnoitering & exploring our way round y<sup>e</sup>. Prairie General beat at 11 AM. struck Tents & March'd at ½ past 12 previous to which, some [one or two words torn off] Men [several words torn off] scout discover'd an Indian Cabin [word torn off] ¼ of a Mile from our Camp. on entering it they found a fine Bear recently slaughter'd, a whole deer cooking, & a number of skins! all which they made free with. a piece of y<sup>e</sup>. Bear I had for dinner, & partook of y<sup>e</sup>. Venison for Supper.—Another party [of] Rifle Men started 3 Indians whom they unsuccessfully pursued without being able to obtain firing distance but on their return fell in with a single Indian whom one of them wounded at 60 yards. a second rifle Man fir'd & as he suppos'd fetch'd him, but a third, at 30 yards bro<sup>t</sup>. him on all fours, made a prize of his rifle, but on his giving y<sup>e</sup>. war hoop, the orders of his Serj<sup>t</sup>. who commanded y<sup>e</sup>. party only 5 in number, & an apprehension that their might be a party secreted in y<sup>e</sup>. swamp to which he had crawled, induc'd him to quit him. y<sup>e</sup>. rifle he bro<sup>t</sup>. in to authenticate his Story.

Cap<sup>t</sup>. Butler took a fine horse, hopped with [one word and part of another torn off] hoppus, [?] a pair Indian Leggins and a p<sup>r</sup>. Mockasins on [word torn off].—during y<sup>e</sup>. March one of y<sup>e</sup>. horsemen observ'd [th]at there was 2 Artillery horses at a little distance. the Cavalry mov'd, but y<sup>e</sup>. horses were taken off before they arrived! & y<sup>e</sup>. pursuit unsuccessful. they however left a pair Mockasins in lieu thereof.—made ab<sup>t</sup>. 4 Miles this day.—this night Ice made y<sup>e</sup>. thickness of a pistareen!

Thursday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 13<sup>th</sup>.

At revellie beating, went on fatigue to cut y<sup>e</sup>. road. cut 6½ Miles & was Order'd back y<sup>e</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. having determin'd to erect a Blockhouse ½ mile from our last nights encampment return'd ab<sup>t</sup>. ½ past three. when a 1 Cap<sup>t</sup>. 1 Sub. & 60 Non-Commiss<sup>d</sup>. & privates being wanted to continue on fatigue, Cap<sup>t</sup>. Smith of y<sup>e</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>. U S reg<sup>t</sup>. & myself drew for y<sup>e</sup>. command. I was fortunate & got clear. Commenc'd raining at 11 P M. & continued very stormy all night. Tent leak'd as usual, & y<sup>e</sup>. Contractor got his Benediction. supp'd with Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Melcher 1<sup>st</sup>. U S Reg<sup>t</sup>. upon Bear, & Coffee with milk in it!!

Fryday [date torn off]

Clear'd ab<sup>t</sup>. 8 OClock. went on General Court-Martial [at] 9. The fatigue parties began to clear y<sup>e</sup>. ground for y<sup>e</sup>. Blockhouse.<sup>7</sup> am fearfull it may be my lot to remain here, as I understand a Cap<sup>t</sup>. from y<sup>e</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. U S reg<sup>t</sup>. will command.—Confess I think y<sup>e</sup>. ground too approachable as it is surrounded by a number of small Nolls, behind which an Enemy in a Country like this might lay conceal'd, & extremely distress if not cut off y<sup>e</sup>. supply of water from y<sup>e</sup>. Garrison. commenc'd rain ab<sup>t</sup>. 9 OClock P. M. & rained very hard all night.

Saturday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 15<sup>th</sup>.

rain'd all day. a Bear run into y<sup>e</sup>. Camp & was kill'd. a Militia Man being out hunting, discovered an Indian Camp. a party of Militia are sent on one route & a party rifle Men on y<sup>e</sup>. other. ab<sup>t</sup>. 4 P M they return'd without hav<sup>g</sup> made any discoveries. rain'd [ms. torn] Night.

<sup>7</sup>The fort built here was named in favor of Thomas Jefferson. It was near the site of modern Fort Jefferson, Ohio. The army was occupied here until October 24.

Sunday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 16<sup>th</sup>.

raind all y<sup>e</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup> 'till 11 AM. a fine Buck & Doe ran thro! y<sup>e</sup>. Camp & escap'd. y<sup>e</sup>. Buck ran between Cap<sup>t</sup> Phelons Tent & y<sup>e</sup>. one on his right, y<sup>e</sup>. Doe passd y<sup>e</sup>. Majors Tent & appear'd much fatigued. at 4 P. M it began again to rain & continued all night—during which two or three of y<sup>e</sup>. Centinels fired, undoubtedly thro! mistake as I have heard of nothing material taken place.

Monday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>.

Chilly, drizzling rain all day. two horses were bro<sup>t</sup>. in two rifle Men were kill'd while hunting ab<sup>t</sup>. 6 miles from Camp. rain'd & hail'd all night.—

Tuesday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 18<sup>th</sup>.

rain 'till 9 AM. y<sup>e</sup>. Sun popp'd upon us two or three times untill one OClock P M, when it again became Cloudy & Cold. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Shaylor arriv'd from Fort-Hamilton at which place we left him Sick.—His accounts [one or two words torn off] [di]scouraging as to our suddenly receiving proper, if [an]y supplies or provision, indeed we just begin to realize part of my anticipation of y<sup>e</sup>. 23<sup>d</sup>. Sept<sup>r</sup>. the Pea-Vine, our principal dependance for y<sup>e</sup>. subsistance of our horses &c. & all the herbage of y<sup>e</sup>. Country except long Sour Grass & decay'd leaves, are cut off, y<sup>e</sup>. horses are enfeebled & die daily, we had only a few bags flour on hand for y<sup>e</sup>. support of y<sup>e</sup>. whole Army, untill y<sup>e</sup>. arrival of the brigade of 60 horses with which Cap<sup>t</sup>. Shaylor came, & they have only brought three days; on y<sup>e</sup>. road they met a brigade of horses which left us two days ago, but y<sup>e</sup>. badness of y<sup>e</sup>. roads, render'd still worse by y<sup>e</sup>. heavy rains, had worn y<sup>e</sup>. horses down, discouraged y<sup>e</sup>. pack-horse Master, who Cap<sup>t</sup>. S. informs swear they will not return!! our situation in a few days will be [c]ritically distressing, if M<sup>r</sup>. Duer's agents have no other [d]ependance for y<sup>e</sup>. transportation of provision to us, than [the p]resent set of horses belonging to y<sup>e</sup>. Army. heaven knows [the] Creatures can bear but little if any burthen, & a few days [or w]eeks will finish y<sup>e</sup>. Campaign with most of them.

Wednesday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup>.

[S]till Cloudy & Chilly. three Officers Servants were bro<sup>t</sup>. in by the rifle men. they had stolen their Masters horses, had

pack'd up some of their Clothes & were going off to y<sup>e</sup>. Indians. they were Servants to the Cap<sup>ts</sup>. Armstrong & Ford & Major Furguson.—An order came from y<sup>e</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. “that untill further Orders no person in y<sup>e</sup>. army is to draw more than one ration P day. that ration to consist of 1 1/2 pounds Beef & 1/2 pound flour” y<sup>e</sup>. extra beef [be]ing substituted for y<sup>e</sup>. deficient flour.

Thursday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 20<sup>th</sup>.

Pleasant 'till 3 P M. when it again lowr'd & threaten'd. rec<sup>d</sup>. Letters from my good Mother, Peggy, & Betsey Major Stagg, & Cap<sup>t</sup>, Pratt. they afforded me most sensible pleasure. it call'd my imagination to my Native home & y<sup>e</sup>. peacefull scenes of domestic life. my fancy presented my friends in various points of vie[w] & led my mind to y<sup>e</sup>. variegated pursuit in which they engag'd; may they ever be promotive of their best interest. [&] happiness. this night was y<sup>e</sup>. coldest we have yet had.

Fryday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 21<sup>st</sup>.

Clear Cold Morning. the General Court-Martial on which I have sat every day since y<sup>e</sup>. 14<sup>th</sup>. Ins<sup>t</sup>. was dissolved having tried all y<sup>e</sup>. prisoners who were confind for Capital Crimes.—very Cold all day & night, in y<sup>e</sup>. Ev<sup>g</sup>. it spit Snow—

Saturday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 22<sup>d</sup>.

Clear & Cold, It having Yesterday been Order'd that y<sup>e</sup>. Army sh<sup>d</sup>. draw only 1/4<sup>th</sup>. Flour & no extra Beef, 'till a further supply arriv'd. Sixty of y<sup>e</sup>. Kentucky Militia left us,<sup>s</sup> & y<sup>e</sup>. remainder swear they will not stay if they are to reduc'd in their rations pack'd up all my baggage except two Shirts & a few necessaries which I can carry in a Knapsack, & intend leaving them at the Garrison, as we are not to have Batt—horses, an[d] am inform'd y<sup>e</sup>. General means to advance 20 M[iles] [one line too faint to read] as to have our necessaries scatterd throughout such wilderness as this.

<sup>s</sup> They left threatening to seize the supplies which were being forwarded for the further support of the already starving army. Whether to protect the supplies or to secure the deserters themselves St. Clair sent the First United States Infantry in pursuit of them. Due to this fact he went into the battle of November fourth deprived of half his force of regulars, which constituted the backbone of his army.

Sunday Oct<sup>r</sup>. 23<sup>d</sup>.

[C]lear & Cold in y<sup>e</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup>. but moderated as y<sup>e</sup>. Sun  
rose. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Shaylor & Lieut. Bradley of our reg<sup>t</sup>. are ap-  
pointed to this Garrison. thank God it was not Phelon or  
myself. the Army are order'd to hold themselves at y<sup>e</sup>.  
shortest notice. suppose we shall March tomorrow adieu  
Baggage for a small time at least.—At 3 P M y<sup>e</sup>. Army  
attended y<sup>e</sup>. Execution of two of y<sup>e</sup>. Officers Waiters who  
were desert[ing] to y<sup>e</sup>. Enemy, & a Levy Soldier who [had]  
Shot his [ms. illegible] threaten'd to Shoot his Officer

## HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

### SOME LIGHT ON TWO HISTORICAL HOAXES

We set our pen to this topic because of the evident need of informing our readers concerning a type of historical error that seems to be widely prevalent, and about which inquiries and requests are frequently sent to the Library. A few weeks since came a letter from distant Washington, asking how much would be paid for "what we consider a valuable paper"—the sheet in question being the issue of the *Vicksburg Daily Citizen* for July 2, 1863. With far greater frequency, however, do such letters come concerning the *Ulster County Gazette* of Kingston, New York, for January 4, 1800. This paper contained an account of the funeral of George Washington, printed in columns bordered with heavy black mourning lines. It is indeed a fact that there was a paper at Vicksburg known as the *Citizen* which in the scarcity of materials which prevailed during the famous siege of 1863 was published for a time by the resourceful editor on wall paper; and it is a further fact that at Kingston, New York, both before and after President Washington's death was published a paper known as the *Ulster County Gazette*. It is rarely, if ever, the fact, however, that the many people scattered over the country who think they possess veritable original issues of these two papers are correct in their supposition. So widely distributed are copies of the *Ulster County Gazette* of January 4, 1800, that had this obscure country weekly of six-score years ago enjoyed the circulation of a modern metropolitan daily there would still be cause for wonderment over the number of copies that have survived. The simple fact is, of course, that these copies are all spurious, none of them being over sixty or sixty-five years old, while many of them are less venerable by far than the first automobile or the crop of high-school graduates of this year, 1918.

The *Ulster County Gazette* was established in 1798 and continued publication until 1822. During this entire period its publisher was Samuel Freer and his son (the latter alone after the death of the father). The younger man died in 1840, and not until ten or

fifteen years later was the first reprint of the now famous paper made. Since then reprints have been numerous; over a score have been listed by the Library of Congress, but it is probable many more have been made.

The reader will doubtless be curious to know what motives inspire the reprinting of this and other old newspapers. Fundamentally the motive in all cases is a desire for profit from the transaction, although this is frequently obscured, doubtless, by another, the practically universal interest in old things possessed of familiar historical associations. Now it is a curious fact about newspapers that practically all of the enormous number currently produced are destroyed within a short time and but few people, relatively speaking, have ever seen a newspaper of any considerable age. Thus, only a few weeks ago the news item was carried all over Wisconsin that in tearing down a house at Appleton between the walls had been found an "ancient" paper, being an issue of the Lawrence College paper for the year 1879. Evidently the incident was regarded by those who are familiar with news values as worthy of widespread heralding, even in this time of climacteric stress over the mightiest warfare the world has ever witnessed. Because of this widespread interest in relics of the past, newspaper publishers and others from time to time reproduce an issue of some early paper—frequently one of their own, or it may be one dealing with some event of universal historical interest. Such an event would be preëminently the death and funeral of Washington. Particularly in 1876, when the celebration of the national centennial aroused widespread popular interest, would anything which seemed to pertain directly to the Father of his Country command a widespread appeal. This appeal was cleverly capitalized by one publisher of a spurious reprint of the *Ulster County Gazette* about the Centennial Year in a circular headed "The Oldest Paper! A relic of 1799. Death of Washington! Slavery in New York, etc." It offered, at the price of ten cents a copy, a reissue of Freer's paper concerning the death of Washington so like the original that were Freer himself still living he would be unable to detect the counterfeit. The reprint could "only be obtained from our authorized traveling agents," and would be placed on sale in all the cities of the country.

A tramp printer of Ethiopian persuasion turned the death of Washington to private account in slightly different fashion at

Decatur, Illinois, a dozen years ago. He canvassed the retail merchants of the town for quantity orders for the paper, which he proposed to reprint, holding out the inducement that they could win favor with their customers at slight expense to themselves by enclosing with each order of merchandise sold a copy of the *Ulster County Gazette* containing the account of the death of President Washington. The argument of the sable salesman was successful to such an extent, I have been informed, that several thousand copies of the paper were struck off in a back-room print shop in Decatur, Illinois, one hundred and seven years after Washington's death.

Both the paper and the printing of these modern reprints differ from the original, so that it is not difficult for an expert to detect the spurious issue. For the guidance of others who may be interested in this particular paper it will suffice to note that so far as known not a single original copy of the issue of January 4, 1800, is still in existence. A good illustration of the unreliability of family tradition and, consequently, of the care the scholar must employ in making use of information of this character is afforded by the fact that possessors of copies of the *Ulster County Gazette* commonly relate (and doubtless commonly believe) that their issue has been handed down in the family as a prized heirloom through a long period of time. A concrete illustration of this sort came to the writer's attention in Chicago some years ago. A negro offered to sell for twenty dollars a copy of the paper under discussion, accompanying the proffer with a moving tale of family illness which forced him thus to sacrifice an object which had been treasured in the family for generations.

Another well-known newspaper which seems to have undergone frequent reprinting is the *Vicksburg Daily Citizen* for July 2, 1863. Unlike the *Ulster County Gazette*, however, the counterfeiting of this paper seems wholly to have escaped the attention of librarians; at least to the extent that no comment concerning it has ever come to my attention. The story of the famous wall-paper edition of the *Citizen* is interesting enough to justify relating, entirely aside from our present interest in the reprint editions of it that have been put forth from time to time. At the time of the famous siege the *Citizen* was being published by J. M. Swords. In the extremity to which he was reduced through scarcity of supplies as the siege progressed



he had resort to a supply of wall paper for stock on which to print his daily sheet. Reasoning both from the probable circumstances of the case and from the copies of the paper in the Wisconsin Historical Library it seems improbable that Editor Swords' supply of wall paper was all of one pattern. Probably the sale of his paper affords the only instance in history where wall paper was purchased at high price without regard to its quality or pattern. I speak advisedly concerning the price, for in the issue of June 18 the editor explains that newsboys who sell his paper for fifty cents do so without authorization from him. "The price of our paper at the office is twenty-five cents," and those who object to the "extortion," of the newsboys are advised to purchase their papers from the editor direct. The copy before us of the sheet which thus commanded a price of fifty cents on the street consists of four columns seventeen inches in length, two of them being devoted to modern news and only two to local items. One of them relates that during the working off of the edition of two days before a thirteen-inch Yankee bombshell "made a dash" into the office. Passing through roof and floor it buried itself in the ground and there exploded, sending its fragments upward again, bulging up the floor, and filling the office with a suffocating stench of powder. The notice concludes with a sarcastic fling at the Yankees who have "no better sense than to throw bombshells at the printers while they are trying to circulate truth and intelligence among the people." That under such untoward conditions for the prosecution of intellectual endeavor the editor retained a sense of humor is indicated in another local item headed "Improvement." "At a great expense and with the most untiring labor," it relates, "we have succeeded in making our paper a pictorial sheet, to the great delight of our readers." Citizens are urged to save "these illustrated papers" until the close of the war when their beautiful designs can be used to ornament the walls of rooms.

The copy of Editor Swords' paper now before us was preserved in accordance with his advice but hardly in a way foreseen by him. It was sent to the State Historical Society from the "Yankee" camp in the rear of Vicksburg, June 26, 1863, by Lieutenant W. W. Day of the Eleventh Wisconsin Infantry. While on picket he had challenged a Texas soldier to meet him between the lines for a talk.

The Texan accepted the challenge and Rebel soldier and Yankee foe-man conversed for an hour in the no man's land before the grim fortress which Grant was so hotly besieging. The paper which Day procured from the Texan will long be treasured by our Society as an interesting memento of our great civil conflict.

Vicksburg surrendered July 4 and the incoming Yankees found the *Citizen* for July 2 still on the press. Stopping to add a valedictory footnote they ran it off, thus completing the production of a famous paper. The *Citizen* died as it had lived, in an atmosphere of banter. Commenting on the report that "the Yankee Generalissimo" had expressed an intention of celebrating the Fourth with a dinner in Vicksburg, the editor concluded: "Ulysses must get into the city before he dines in it. The way to cook a rabbit is 'first catch the rabbit,' &c." The Yankee valedictory, printed on the same page with the foregoing, began: "Two days bring about great changes. The banner of the Union flows [floats] over Vicksburg. Gen. Grant has 'caught the rabbit' \* \* \* The *Citizen* lives to see it. For the last time it appears on 'wall-paper.' No more will it eulogize the luxury of mule-meat and fricassed kitten—urge Southern warriors to such diet never more. This is the last wall-paper edition, and is, excepting this note, from the types as we found them. It will be valuable hereafter as a curiosity."

The Wisconsin Historical Library has five copies of this paper. Two of them are original copies, the other three are reprints. The original issues are printed on wall paper having a blue flower design on light tan background. Of the three reprints one was gotten out by a patent medicine firm in Chicago in the later eighties. It does not profess to be other than a reprint, and in place of the wall-paper background of the original the reverse side of this sheet is covered with testimonials from grateful patients. Parenthetically it may be added that one of these affords the most interesting item of the entire sheet, being given by one "William R. Harper, Professor of Hebrew, Yale College." The two remaining reprints are on wall paper, the figure differing in each case and also from that of the original issue. Obviously intended to pass muster for the original, any competent newspaper librarian would detect the fraud upon cursory inspection. How many reprint editions of this paper aside from the three before

us have been made, and whether the work will go on until issues of the *Vicksburg Citizen* become as widely diffused as those of the *Ulster County Gazette* are interesting questions. Enough has been said to enlighten the reader concerning the general situation with respect to these two papers, and to discourage the entertainment of undue expectations concerning the historical interest or financial value which attaches to any copy of them he may happen to possess.

M. M. QUAIFFE.

## TWO EARLY ELECTRIC PLANTS IN WISCONSIN

Because of its unique topography Wisconsin possesses an abundant supply of water power which makes it rank high among the states in the possession of that resource. A wide, flat highland, varying in height from 1,900 feet in the eastern part to 1,000 feet in the western, crosses the northern part of the state, and from it the rivers descend in every direction except eastward. Because Lakes Superior and Michigan bound the state on the north and east and the Mississippi River on the west and southwest, all rivers must find a low trough at a short distance from their source into which to discharge. A rapid fall and large water powers are the result.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of water power in a state with no coal supply is enormous. The need and opportunity for the development of this resource were early realized, and Wisconsin soon became the field for the operations of electrical engineers. J. N. Cadby, a consulting engineer, of Madison, has kindly furnished from his correspondence the data for the following descriptions of two of the earliest electric plants in the state, one in Appleton, the other in Burkhardt.

The first commercial electric lighting plant in the United States was, so far as is known, the Appleton Edison Light Company, which began operations August 20, 1882. It thus antedates by two weeks the New York Edison Electric Illuminating Company, started September 4 of the same year, which is generally regarded as the first of its kind. In the Appleton plant was installed a dynamo known as the K type, its capacity being 250 16-candlepower lamps, 120 volts D. C. As there were no meters with which to measure the current,

<sup>1</sup>Leonard S. Smith, *The Waterpowers of Wisconsin*, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Bulletin, XX, 9.

a charge to mill customers was made at the rate of \$2 a lamp a month when the lamps were burned fifteen hours each night. Residence lighting was charged at the rate of \$7 a lamp a year. The charge for a 16-candlepower lamp was \$1.40. Lamp renewals were furnished by the company.

The place furnished with electricity farthest from the station was the Waverly House, a little over a mile away, which was supplied with thirty lights. The amount of copper required at 110 volts was necessarily very large. Bare copper wires were used for this line, the sizes being Nos. 5, 6, and 7.

The first places supplied with lights by the company were: Appleton Paper and Pulp Company, Tiago Company (paper mill), Vulcan Paper Mill, Atlas Paper Mill, Appleton Waterworks, and the residences of H. J. Rogers, F. H. Blood, George Miller, Peter Thom, and Captain N. E. Morgan.

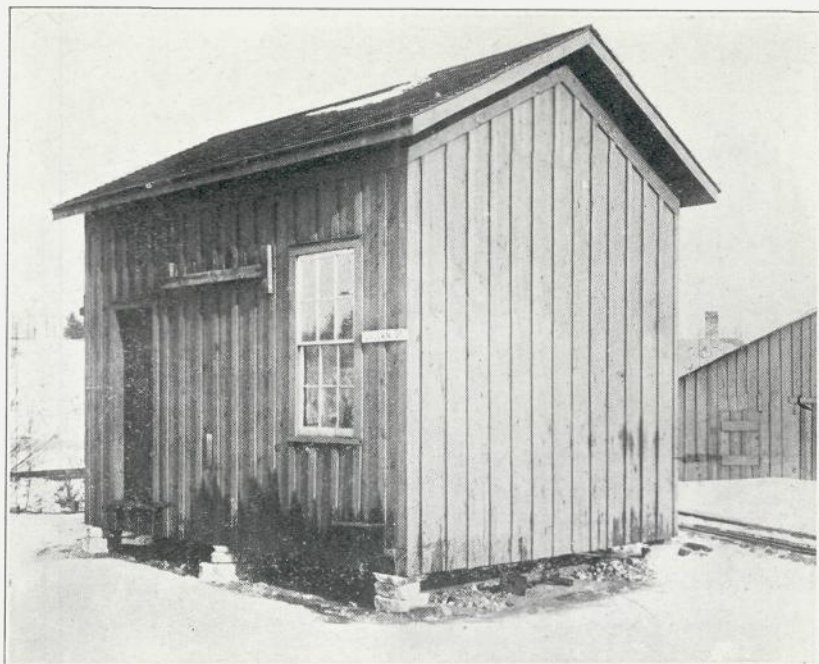
In 1883 another station of the same capacity was built a mile distant from the first station and from it mills and residences in another part of the city were supplied. Both stations were operated on the two-wire system.

A new central station was built in 1885 and into it were moved the two dynamos. Two new generators, operating at 160 volts, were added to the equipment and were operated on the three-wire system. Machines of this special higher voltage were used in order to save copper, for water power was a secondary consideration, and it was figured that fifty volts would be lost in the feeders supplying the uptown districts.

Electrical apparatus in those days was very crude. There were no voltmeters or amperemeters installed in these early plants; the candlepower of a lamp was judged by looking at the light. Fuse blocks, plugs, and lamp sockets were made of wood.

The first officers of the Appleton Edison Light Company were as follows: president, A. L. Smith; vice president, H. J. Rogers; secretary and treasurer, Charles Beverage; superintendent and electrician, W. D. Kurz. Of these men Mr. Kurz is the only one now living.

Concerning the company's claims to being the first commercial lighting company in the United States, Samuel Insull, head of several



FIRST CENTRAL ELECTRIC LIGHTING PLANT  
IN THE UNITED STATES



THE BURKHARDT MILLING AND ELECTRIC POWER PLANT



large electric systems in Chicago and vicinity, who was an assistant to Thomas A. Edison in his early work, writes:<sup>2</sup>

The first commercial central-station plant erected anywhere was that installed by the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of New York. It served a territory about a mile square, extending as far south as Wall Street. The station was located on Pearl Street one or two doors south of Fulton Street. The system employed was the Edison two-wire main-and-feeder system. It was put into operation September 4, 1882. Some time after the construction of the New York plant was begun, a small central-station plant, of only 250 16-candlepower incandescent lamps, driven by water power, was projected at Appleton, Wisconsin. The Appleton plant was started August 20, 1882, just two weeks before the New York station was put into operation; so that, judging by the date on which the first commercial plant was put into operation, while New York can lay claim to the credit of projecting the first central station system, Appleton, Wisconsin, in the heart of the Central West, seems entitled to the credit of putting into operation the first commercial central station and to have been a pioneer in a business which in less than three decades has grown from nothing to an investment in this country alone which can only be expressed in ten figures.

One of the first transmission lines in this section of the country was built by Christian Burkhardt in St. Croix County in the fall of 1891. During the summer of that year Mr. Burkhardt had attended the Electrical Exposition at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, and had visited a power plant then furnishing 1,000 horsepower for a transmission line of 115 miles with 30,000 voltage, between Laufen on the Neckar River and Frankfurt. On his return he began the construction of a wooden dam with a sixteen-foot head on Willow River, one mile north of Burkhardt.

The power house was a frame structure; American turbines made in Ohio, capacity seventy-five horsepower under an eighteen-foot head, were used. A direct-current, forty-horsepower motor and a fifty-horsepower generator built by the Rockford Electric Company were installed. The length of the transmission line was about a mile, voltage 500. The plant was completed in 1892 and furnished the additional power for operating the Burkhardt flour mill until 1914 when the plant now in use was built on Willow River.

MARGUERITE JENISON.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Insull, *Central Station Electric Service* (Chicago, 1915), 146-47.

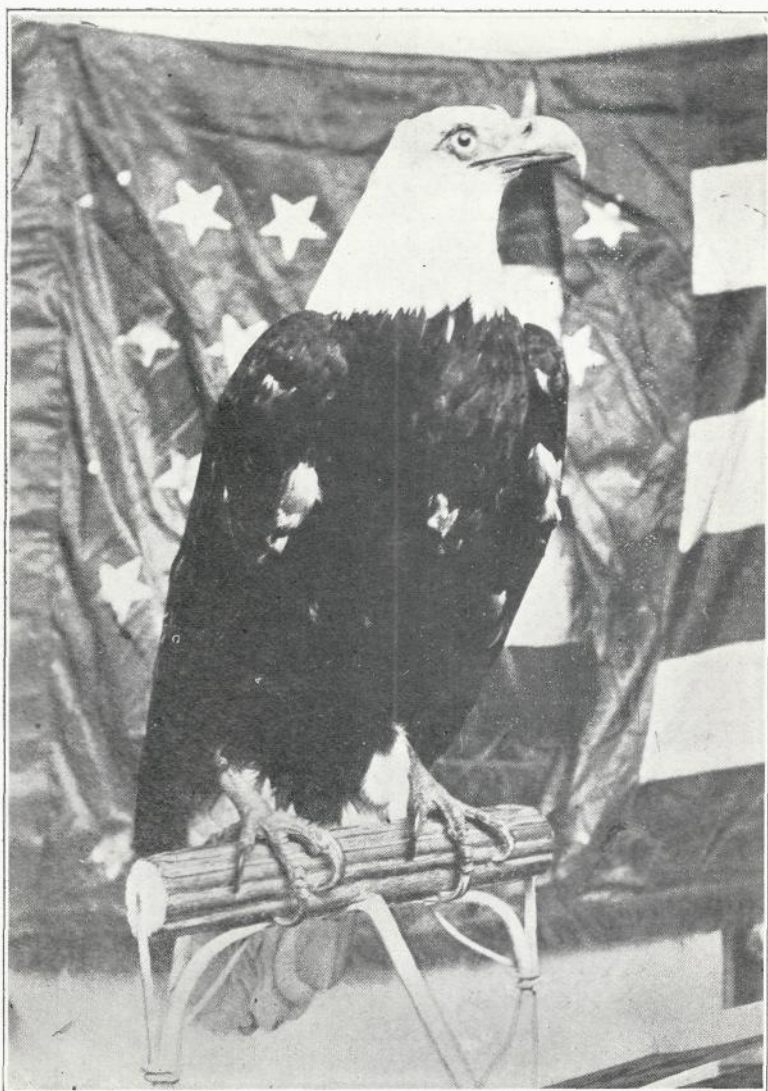
## THE STORY OF OLD ABE

The love of sailors and soldiers for mascots has long since become proverbial. Probably the most noted mascot in American military annals was "Old Abe," Wisconsin's famous Civil War eagle. Nor did the influence of Old Abe terminate with the conclusion of the war. Like John Brown, his soul goes marching on. His story has inspired numerous generations of American school children during the last half century. Now, in the greater struggle for democracy that engulfs the world Old Abe is hard at work, raising money for the boys in khaki, even as he did in lifetime for the boys in blue. A recent letter from Chambers, Nebraska, requesting a picture of Old Abe and an authentic history of him, conveys the news of a plan for a modern prototype of Wisconsin's famous bird, sentimentally capitalizing Old Abe's reputation, to make the circuit of the state in the interests of the Red Cross, until finally, his work completed, he shall find permanent resting place in the Nebraska Historical Library at Lincoln. We cheerfully supplied the photograph and the history; may the Nebraska eagle do as much for his country in its modern fight for freedom as did our own Badger bird half a century ago. Because of its timeliness and interest we publish here the story of Old Abe, prepared by Frederick Merk, formerly a member of the Society's editorial staff.

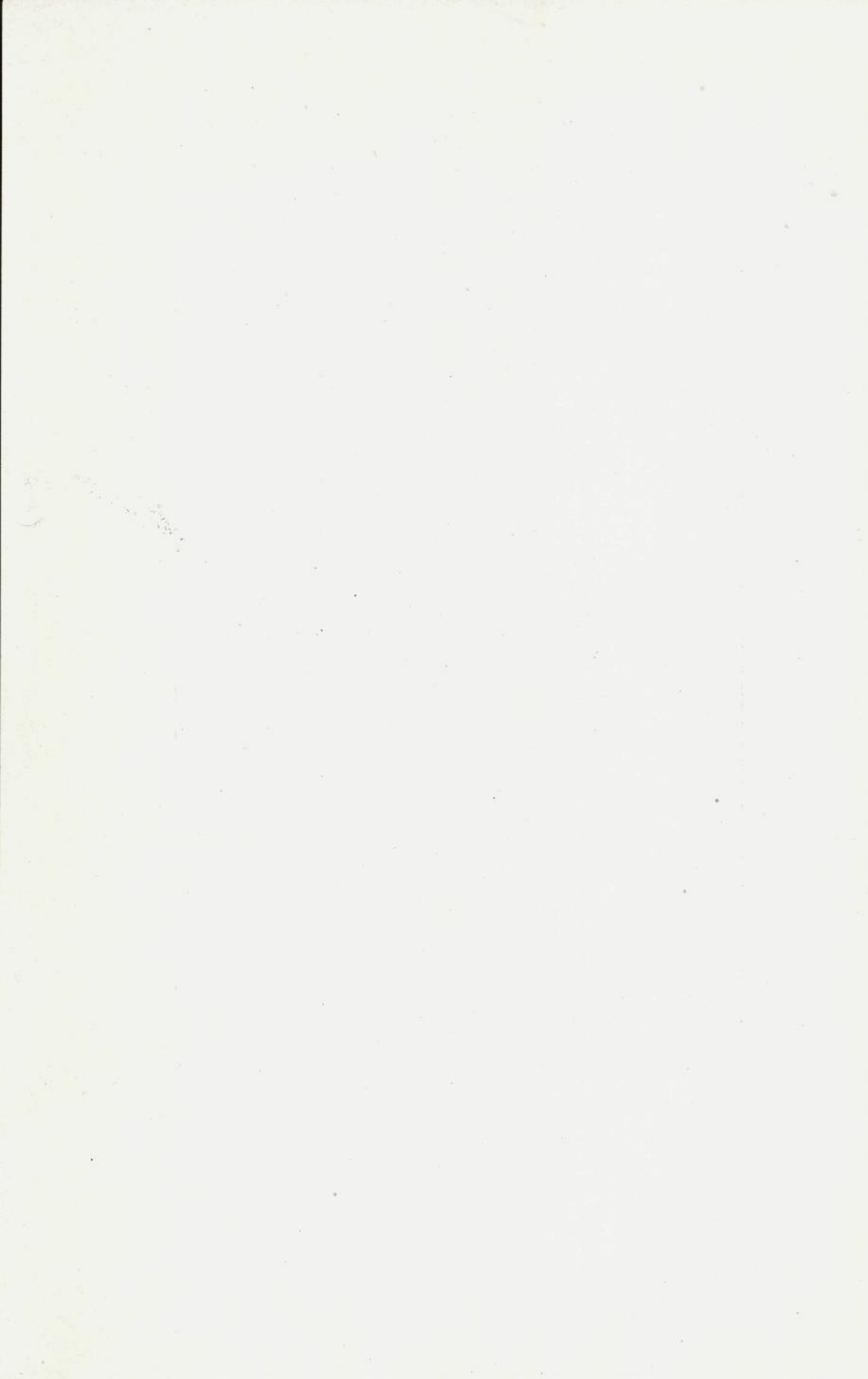
Many of the regiments that went forth from the North during the Civil War to do battle for the preservation of the Union carried with them some pet or mascot. Of them all the greatest fame was attained by the mascot of a Wisconsin regiment, Old Abe, the famous war eagle. Old Abe was as well known to the average soldier of the western army, during the war, as many of its commanding generals, and his reputation continued to spread after peace had returned, until it had reached to every part of the country.

The eagle was captured in 1861 when but a few weeks old by a young Indian brave of the Lake Flambeau tribe on the upper waters of the Chippewa River. By him it was raised and trained until the outbreak of the Civil War, when it was taken to Chippewa Falls and offered for sale to a recruiting officer of the First Wisconsin Battery. A bargain could not be struck, however, and the bird, now two months





OLD ABE, THE WISCONSIN WAR EAGLE  
From a photograph in the Wisconsin Historical Library



old, was taken to Eau Claire, where the Eau Claire Badgers, a company just organizing for the Eighth Wisconsin Infantry, were in camp. They bought the bird for \$2.50, and straightway Old Abe entered upon his military career. To gallant Capt. John E. Perkins, who fell at the battle of Farmingham, the eagle owed his appropriate name, given, of course, in honor of President Lincoln.

Old Abe quickly won his way to the hearts of the Eau Claire Badgers. In September, 1861, when the Company was sent to Camp Randall, at Madison, to join its regiment, an incident occurred which at once won for him the esteem of the whole regiment. As the "Badgers" marched through the gates of Camp Randall to the tune of "Yankee Doodle" and amid the cheers of the assembled troops, Old Abe seized with his beak the end of the flag floating over him and spreading it out to its full length, flapped his pinions as though inspired. The excitement of the crowd knew no bounds. Cheer upon cheer resounded, and the regiment vowed that the eagle should henceforth be its honored leader. When the Eighth Wisconsin was sworn into service, a prominent part in the ceremony was reserved for Old Abe. A beautiful shield had been prepared for him as a perch, and upon this he sat in dignified calm as the flag was draped about his wings.

Throughout the entire service of the Regiment Old Abe was attended by a special bearer, who in time of battle set him next to the regimental colors. At the battle of Corinth he is said to have risen suddenly from his perch, and soaring high above the clouds of smoke and flying shells, screamed out his defiance to the enemy. Whether authentic or not, this story has taken a prominent place in the romance of Wisconsin history. At least one soldier of the Regiment denied the tale at the time, declaring that Old Abe exhibited in battle more prudence than valor, and that he usually came down discreetly from his perch to be out of the way of flying bullets. Other soldiers, however, declare that in time of battle, when shot and shell were flying thickest, he would respond to the cheers of his comrades by spreading his wings to their full length and uttering the piercing screams for which the eagle is noted.

Whether Old Abe was a craven or a hero need not concern us here. He undoubtedly inspired his regiment in many a close-fought contest to rally to his defense when he seemed in danger of being

taken. Although the Confederates contemptuously referred to him as "The Yankee Buzzard," they made repeated efforts to capture him, and General Price is said to have remarked that he would rather capture Old Abe than a brigade of northern troops.

Old Abe accompanied the Eagle Regiment, as the Eighth Wisconsin came to be popularly known, through seven states, and served with it in seventeen battles. Twice he was touched by Confederate bullets, one of which carried away a third part of his tail feathers. He was publicly complimented during the war by such prominent men as General George Thomas and Secretary of War Cameron. Wherever he went, people thronged from far and near to behold the "fighting eagle."

After the war Old Abe became an honored charge of the state, being kept in a special room prepared for him in the State Capitol. He was always in demand for soldiers' reunions, centennials, and fairs in every part of the country, and the sale of his photograph is said to have netted for such affairs a total of \$80,000. At a single fair, the Northwestern Sanitary Fair, held in Chicago in 1865, he thus earned in a few days \$16,000. Many extravagant poems were written in his praise, and one considerable book was written about him. After his death in 1881 his body was stuffed to be preserved among the war relics of the state. In the fire which destroyed a large part of the Capitol in 1904, however, it was burned, a loss which occasioned widespread regret throughout the state. A photograph of Old Abe, when he was mustered into service, and a number of pamphlets and books written about him, are preserved by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

#### A CASE OF PRIMITIVE JUSTICE

The narrative which follows we take from the manuscript diary of Governor William C. Lane of New Mexico, now in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Library. Born in Virginia in 1789, Lane removed to Kentucky in 1811. After several years' service in the regular army in the capacity of surgeon he settled in St. Louis where he continued to live until his death in 1864. He was first mayor of St. Louis and nine times reelected. In many other ways the influence of his busy career was impressed upon the young city at the

mouth of the Missouri. In 1852 he was appointed governor of New Mexico, and served in this capacity about a year. The diaries before us deal with his outward journey from St. Louis to New Mexico, most of the period of his sojourn there, and the return journey to St. Louis and Washington in the autumn of 1853. The story which follows occurs in the diary under date May 6, 1853.

Sta Fé—May 6<sup>th</sup>

#### THE JUDGMENT

The Pueblo Indians of N. Mex. are civilized communities; each being governed by its own Laws, administered by its own officers; & all being subject to the authority of the Gov<sup>r</sup>. of the Ter. of N. Mex as supt. Ind<sup>n</sup>. Affairs. There has been no interference with their Laws, which are merely their ancient customs, except where appeals were taken, from the decisions of the Pueblo Tribunals to the Tata—[Gov<sup>r</sup>. of the Ter.]—A case of this kind was decided today.

A Muchacho of Pojuaque, (Po-whack-e), courted a Muchacha of Nambé, a neighboring Pueblo, for 2 long years; at the end of which period the Friends of the Boy, according to established rule, went in a body & made a formal demand of the hand of the Girl, for the enamoured Swain—Consent was given, by her widowed Mother, & they were married.—These Indians are nominally Catholics, & the Muchacho and Muchacha, were married by a Priest,—the Boy promising, as a part of the marriage ceremony, to live with his mother-in-law, at Nambé. But the Honey-moon had not passed away, before the Boy was summoned, to return to his own Pueblo, with his Bride.—He was at a loss how to act, but finally went home, without his Bride, who remained with her mother.—Filial affection, was str[o]nger, than love for her husband, & she clung, like Ruth, to her mother, and the Muchacho soon after returned, to the House of his Mother-in-law. The Gov<sup>r</sup>. of Pojuaque, then demanded him of the Gov<sup>r</sup>. of Nambé; & according to their usages, which do not permit the expatriation of Males, except under certain circumstances, he was surrendered & forcibly carried Home to Pojuaque. The mother-in-law then appealed to the Tata, & he ordered the authorities, to reconsider the case, and decide upon it again. A rehearsing was had & the former decision affirmed.

The disconsolate mother-in-law, then made an earnest written appeal, to the Tata (Gov<sup>r</sup> of the Ter.), & all the parties were summoned before the Gov<sup>r</sup> and patiently heard.—When the Boy, (as he was called, altho' he was some 24 years old) was asked whether he loved his wife, & wished to live with her, he replied in the affirmative, but expressed a wish to reside at his own Pueblo, with his own rela-

tions: and when the girl (some 15 years old) was asked the same question, she frigidly replied that she was now married, & must of course live with her Husband, but steadfastly refused to leave her mother's House. The mother urged the binding force of the promise, made by the Boy, at the marriage, not to take her child away; & plead her widowhood & helpless condition, having no husband, no son, & 3 other young daughters, with poverty staring them in the face. She was rather a pretty woman, of some 35 years of age, tall, slender & graceful with a remarkably pensive countenance. She was moreover eloquent, & spoke both her own language, & the Spanish, with remarkable fluency. The relations of the Boy, & the authorities of Pojuaque, protested against the validity of the marriage stipulation, of the Boy to remain at Nambe, [illegible] of its having been made without the authority of his adopted Father, & against the laws of the Pueblo and that no condition of the kind was made by the mother when she consented to the marriage.—The authorities of Nambe said that they had merely complied with the customs of the Pueblos, in delivering up the boy to Pojuaque.—

Much argumentation ensued, & the Tata or Father, of all the Pueblos, was not a little perplexed, in making a judgment in the case.—The laws of New Mex<sup>o</sup>. allowed the Boy to go where he pleased; but the laws of his Pueblo, denied him this privilege. The Boy had made a marriage vow, which he now believed he had no right to make, & wished to break, & to take his wife away from her mother. The Girl acknowledged her obligations to Husband, but was firm in her resolve, to remain with her mother, even if it should part her from her Husband.—Whereupon the Judge took up the Bible & gave a decision according to the Laws therein contained—He pointed to Genesis Chapter 2, verse 24. "Therefore shall a man leave his Father & his mother, & shall cleave unto his wife & they shall be one flesh" And to Deuteronomy chap 24 verse 5 "When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business, but he shall be free at Home, for one year, and shall cheer up his wife, which he hath taken," and decided, that the Boy sh<sup>d</sup>. live at the House of his mother-in-law at Nambe for one year, & that a final decision of the case sh<sup>d</sup> be postponed, until the expiration of that time.

The mother-in-law wept with joy; the young wife (who was remarkably good looking) maintained her attitude of indifference, the Husband expressed his willingness to abide the decision of the Judge & the people of Nambe manifested the highest satisfaction; but the people of Pojuaque murmured, & a Lot of Lawyers amongst them commenced a speech in opposition to the decision; whereupon the Father stamped his foot, & commanded that all should submit to his decision, in silence, which was done, without another word.—

## *The Patriotic Record of Manitowoc Freier Saengerbund* 87

The mother, the young wife the Husband, & the men of Nambé, followed the Gov<sup>r</sup>. from the Indian office to his quarters, to embrace & thank him, for making so righteous a Judgment;—and then went on their way to Nambe, rejoicing—

### THE PATRIOTIC RECORD OF THE MANITOWOC FREIER SAENGERBUND<sup>1</sup>

Patriotism roots in tradition, for it is the stories of the sires that rouse the spirit of the sons. It is therefore fitting that in time of war we recall the services and sacrifices of the past and gain therefrom encouragement and inspiration. And this society is most fortunate in its record of service, both civic and military, and especially so in its soldiers' roll of honor.

This beautiful city of ours was once a straggling village, whose river quietly meandered into the lake, unfettered by docks and harbor piers, and whose surrounding hills were shrouded in the verdure of primeval forest. Modern conveniences of light and water, of paved streets and parks, of autos and of movies, were then undreamed of, for those were the days of the simple life.

About the middle of the last century there came into the village and county large streams of emigrants from Germany. They were Americans in spirit before they arrived, for they were anxious to escape the militarism and caste conditions of Europe, and were eager to become worthy citizens of this Republic. They brought with them an inborn love of song and festive mirth that cleared and warmed the social atmosphere of the pioneer community. One of their first united efforts was to organize this Free Singing Society, the "singing society" typical of their German habits, the "free" expression of their American spirit.

They came at a time when the discussion of state rights and slavery was growing more and more bitter and was steadily leading to the irrepressible conflict between the North and the South. Instilled, as they were, with republican tendencies, they offered a promising and fruitful field for the Union sentiment and the anti-slavery propaganda. The news that actual war had begun reached

<sup>1</sup>The Saengerbund, according to custom, still gives concerts once or a twice a year. At this one, a Red Cross benefit, Hon. Emil Baensch made the above address.

Manitowoc on April 19, 1861. And on that very day four members of this society enlisted, followed soon after by three others.

These seven free singers joined the ranks of Co. A, Fifth Wisconsin Infantry, the first company to leave this county. There was Ed. Schindler, who served the full term, until mustered out in July, 1864. Theodore Ruediger remained with the company for over two years, and was then transferred to the V. R. C. Guido Lindeman was with the company over three years, and was then transferred to Co. C of the Independent Battery. Peter Sherfius went out as second lieutenant of the company, and after his discharge was followed in office by Henry Roehr, who had been first sergeant. Both were active members of the society. Gustave Esslinger was soon promoted to first lieutenant of Co. K, of the same regiment, and left the service on account of wounds received in the battle of Gainesville. Charles Pizzala, who had held various offices in the society, resigned from the company after about a year's service, to accept the first lieutenantancy in Co. F of the Twenty-sixth Wisconsin. He was later made captain of Co. G of the last named regiment and was killed in action while bravely leading his men at Chancellorsville.

After the departure of this first company, the organization of a second one was at once agitated. In the summer of 1861 Fred Salomon, one of the earlier members of the society, had been commissioned colonel of the Ninth Wisconsin Infantry. In view of this fact it was an easy matter to gain recruits and Co. B was soon ready for duty. In that company Gustav Bloquelle served his full term, being mustered out in December, 1864. Fred Heineman did likewise, part of the time being assigned to duty at regimental headquarters. A. B. Chladek, long-time secretary of the society, became sergeant major of the regiment and was later made second lieutenant of his home company. Hugo Koch also won promotion to a second and then to a first lieutenantancy and was assigned to duty with the divisional headquarters. Carl H. Schmidt enlisted as a private, passed through the various noncommissioned grades to second lieutenant, then to first lieutenant, and came home as captain of Co. F. Colonel Salomon remained with the regiment about a year and was then promoted to brigadier general and at the close of the war had reached the rank of a major general.



## *The Patriotic Record of Manitowoc Freier Saengerbund 89*

In the second year of the war President Lincoln had requested the governor of Wisconsin to recruit a regiment made up of German-Americans, and the Twenty-sixth Wisconsin Infantry was organized in response thereto. Manitowoc County furnished Co. F, recruited in August, 1862. In that company Paul Leubner served his full term, being mustered out in June, 1865. Nic Roeder served from the start and died in service at Chattanooga in December, 1863. Otto Troemel, who had been the director of the society for several years, was from first sergeant of the company advanced to second and then to first lieutenant, and was discharged on account of wounds received at Gettysburg. Henry Greve's service was similar; starting out as sergeant, he became second lieutenant of Co. K, then first lieutenant of Co. E, and was wounded at the battle of Chancellorsville. Wm. H. Hemschemeyer enlisted as a private and reached the grades of sergeant and first sergeant; he then left the company to become first lieutenant of Co. I, and soon became its captain. Henry Bartz was captain of the local company and in the spring following was made major of the regiment; like his friend Troemel, he also was wounded at Gettysburg. Nicholas Wollmer went out as sergeant of Co. D of the same regiment; later he was promoted to first lieutenant of Co. G; at the battle of Peach Tree Creek he received severe wounds from the effects of which he died. His body was sent to Manitowoc and old settlers still speak of his funeral as the largest ever seen here.

As the war continued, more and more soldiers were needed, and the older men began to offer their services. In the Forty-fifth Wisconsin, we find Charles Korten as second lieutenant of Co. D, and Charles White as first lieutenant of Co. G. In the Forty-eighth Wisconsin F. A. Schenck was hospital steward, and Adolph Wittman was captain of Co. D. Besides those found in Wisconsin's muster rolls there was Dr. Mueller, who had removed from the village, who was commissioned as surgeon and died in service. And Carl Wimpf, who happened to be in St. Louis at the time, enlisted at that place and saw serious service as a member of the First Missouri Battery.

This roll call of twenty-six names makes up a proud record for it represents a goodly half of the active membership of the society. Four of these were wounded and four died in service. None of them were quitters but all remained the full term with their company except,

of course, those who were promoted to commissioned officers, and as to these the record is unusual and it is doubtful whether it is equalled by any society of similar size. The free singers of Manitowoc not only answered the call promptly, and served their country loyally, but by their merit two-thirds of them won promotion, namely ten lieutenants, four captains, one major, one surgeon, and one major general.

And those who remained at home were no slackers. The old minute book records as one of the first acts the release of all soldiers from payment of dues. And then, as the stress of war was being felt, we find entries of preparations for concerts for the benefit of soldiers' families. They appointed their own committees to distribute the proceeds of these concerts, for there was then no centralized body like the Red Cross of today. At every bazaar for the benefit of soldiers they volunteered their aid, and at every Fourth of July and other patriotic demonstration they were on deck. They enlisted the services of the ladies and the children, who picked the lint and wound the bandages, did the sewing and the knitting, packed and forwarded boxes of eatables and delicacies, thus forming a strong and active reserve army of encouragement for the boys at the front. And when the Johnnies came marching home again, they were received with songs of joy and thanksgiving.

And in the early seventies, when times had become normal, and peace smiled upon a reunited land, the children gathered cedar in the woods, and the women wound it into wreaths and intertwined them with flowers. And then the men, escorted by the militia company, marched to the cemetery and placed a wreath upon the grave of every soldier. This society has therefore to its credit the first observance of a decoration day in this locality, and that long before Memorial Day became an established function in this county.

And today, when this country has become engulfed in a world war, we find the society again promptly rallying around the flag. In every patriotic effort, for the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Thrift stamps, the Liberty bonds, its members are in the very forefront of activity. Grandmothers are bringing forth their long unused knitting needles, and are smilingly teaching their daughters and granddaughters a well-nigh forgotten art. Under the modern method of

*The Patriotic Record of Manitowoc Freier Saengerbund* 91

enlistment the sons only have been called to the colors, and in the trenches and in the camps are loyally upholding the honor of their country. And here is the roll call of their fathers:

John Chloupek, Alex Dusold, Theo. Loef, Max Rahr, Louis Schmitz, John P. Schreihart, Emil Schroeder, John Schroeder, Louis Schuette, Fred Schultz, John Staudt, Charles Streich, Jacob Stueber, Gustav Umnus, George Urban, Emil Vollendorf and Joseph Wilinger.

Thus, in the sere and yellow leaves of the old record book we read the story of how the fathers carried the flag and kept step to the music of the Union. And turning to the present we see the ranks of stalwart sons who "have in their hearts the living fires, the holy faith that warmed the sires."

May 24, 1918.

## THE QUESTION BOX

*The Wisconsin Historical Library has long maintained a bureau of historical information for the benefit of those who care to avail themselves of the service it offers. In "The Question Box" will be printed from time to time such queries, with the answers made to them, as possess sufficient general interest to render their publication worth while.*

### HISTORIC TREES IN WISCONSIN

Can you give me information concerning trees in Wisconsin which have been associated with historical events or prominent people, or which are noteworthy for other reasons?

I am collecting data about such trees in the United States and any assistance you can render in connection with Wisconsin will be greatly appreciated.

OREN E. FRAZEE,  
St. Cloud, Minn.

The following résumé has been prepared by Miss Kellogg in response to your inquiry concerning historic trees in Wisconsin. We trust it will prove to be of some assistance to you.

#### I Trees in Indian lore and archeology.

##### 1. Mound trees.

Many of the Indian mounds scattered over central and southern Wisconsin are covered with trees some of which have grown to great size. Early archeologists in Wisconsin supposed that these indicated a great age for the formation of the mounds; more recent investigators, however, are of opinion that none of the trees growing from the mounds are old enough to indicate that these earthworks were thrown up more than two or three centuries before the discovery of America. It is now thought that no trees in Wisconsin are more than five or six hundred years old. In the *Arbor Day Annual* for 1898 an oak standing three miles west of Whitewater is described, that is supposed to be older than the time of Marquette. An oak growing on the nose of the bear mound on West Washington Street in Wingra

Park, Madison, is quite large, but probably not more than a century old.

2. Manitou trees.

The Indians venerated natural objects, considering them as manifestation of spirits or "manitous," whom they attempted to appease by some form of sacrifice. Most of their manitous were animals, birds, and reptiles. Occasionally a tree or a stone became the object of their veneration. Henry R. Schoolcraft in the *American Indian* (Rochester, 1851) 78, relates the worship accorded to a large mountain ash in the vicinity of Sault Ste. Marie. So far as we have been able to discover no such tree is noted in Wisconsin annals, although doubtless there were such objects of Indian veneration within this state.

3. Burial trees.

Indian methods of burial varied with each tribe, sometimes even with different clans within the tribe. Tree burial was common among Wisconsin Indians. The body was wrapped in blankets and then placed upon a scaffold high in the branches of a tree. Sometimes the corpses were swung between two trees and left to the elements, and upon rare occasions the body was deposited upright in the trunk of a hollow tree.

4. Cache trees.

In making hordes of stone or copper implements, the aborigines frequently concealed them among the roots of a tree. Instances of the finding of such hordes or caches under stumps or the roots of living trees in Jefferson, Dodge, Washington, Calumet, and Sheboygan counties are given in an article upon "Caches" in *Wisconsin Archeologist*, volume VI.

5. Trail trees.

In order to mark Indian trails, trees were bent or twisted as sign-posts pointing the way. A tree so treated is found in Mercer's Addition to the Tenth Ward of Madison. This hickory tree marked the crossing of two trails, and its branches were twisted to point in the four directions. One of these pointing arms has been broken off, but the other three are yet to be seen.

At Green Lake on the Victor Lawson estate are bent trees indicating an old trail passing through the grounds. See *Wisconsin Archeologist*, XVI, 43.

In the city of Milwaukee near the corner of Wells and Thirteenth streets once stood a beech tree upon whose trunk was carved an Indian figure with a bow in one hand, and an arrow in the other; the arrow pointed towards the Menominee River, and the bow towards the Milwaukee. See *ibid.*, XV, 104. This tree is no longer standing.

#### 6. Council trees.

A very remarkable instance of this kind of tree was the so-called "Treaty Elm" that stood at the extremity of the point of land jutting into Lake Winnebago from the inlet of Fox River, now a part of Riverside Park at Neenah. This elm was of immense size and girth, and was used as a guide by steamer pilots on Lake Winnebago. It was under this elm that the famous colloquy between the Winnebago chief, Four Legs, and Col. Henry Leavenworth is supposed to have occurred, probably in the year 1819. The incident is thus related by Col. Thomas H. McKenney:

"When Gen. Leavenworth, some years previous to 1827, was ascending the Fox River with troops, on his way to the Mississippi, on arriving at this pass Four Legs came out, dressed in all his gewgaws and feathers, and painted after the most approved fashion, and announced to the General that he could not go through; 'the Lake,' said he, 'is locked.'

"'Tell him,' said the General, rising in his batteau, with a rifle in his hand, 'that THIS IS THE KEY, and I shall unlock it and go on.'

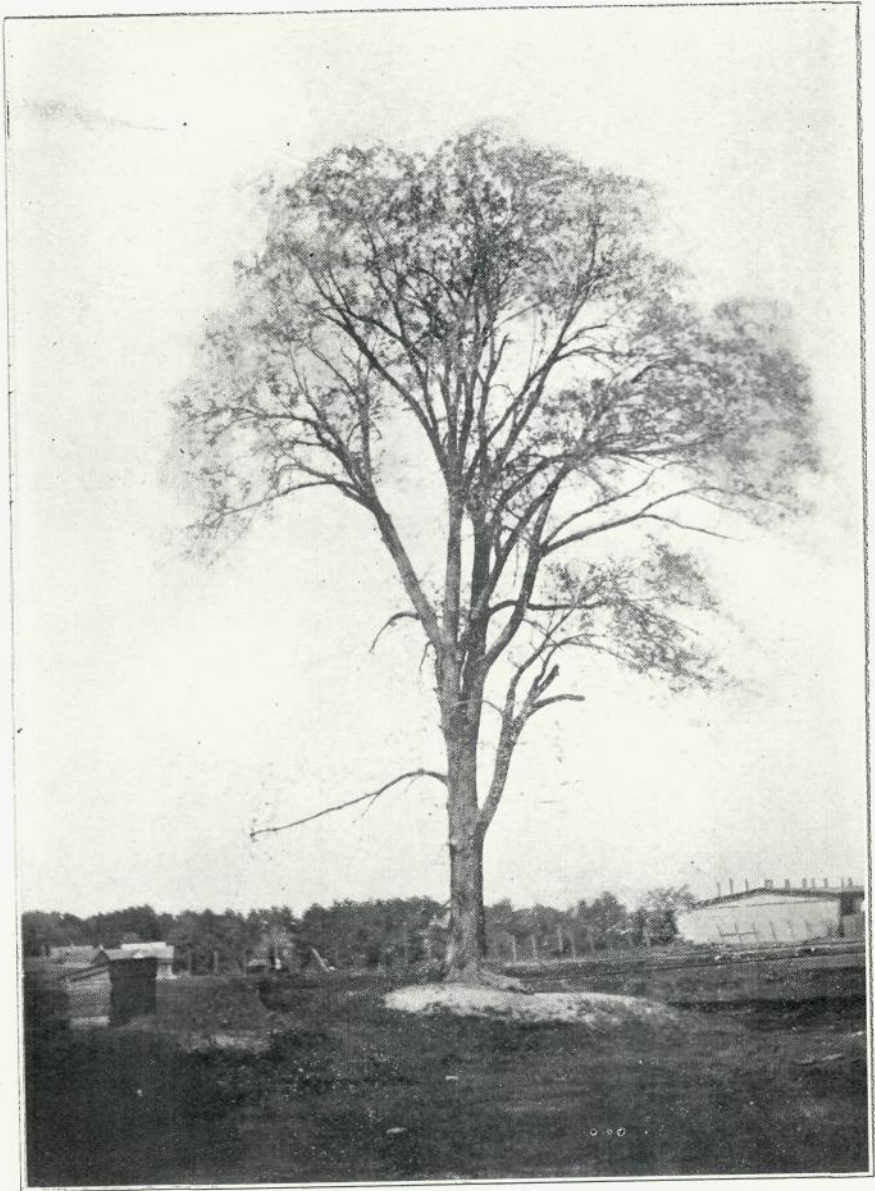
"The chief had a good deal of the better part of valor in his composition, and so he replied, 'Very well, tell him he can go.'"

The Neenah Council Tree stood until 1890 when in widening the channel of the river it became necessary to cut it down. A good photograph of this elm is in the museum of the State Historical Society, and a slab from its wood forms a large table top in the old log cabin of Governor Doty, which is preserved at Neenah as a relic of olden times.

## II Trees marking historic sites.

### 1. The Fort Howard tree.

The Wisconsin tree best deserving the title "historic" is the elm at Fort Howard, still standing in the yard of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway, protected by a railing erected by the railway company. This tree marks the site of the first permanent fortification in



THE OLD FORT HOWARD ELM

From a recent photograph supplied by Miss Deborah Martin





Wisconsin, and represents two hundred years of the history of this region under the rule successively of France, Great Britain, and the United States. The exact date of the building of the first post upon this spot is lost in the mists of antiquity; we know, however, who was the French commandant of the Fort St. Francis in 1718, and surmise that the post was built not long before that date. To relate the history of this post would be to epitomize the history of Wisconsin during the entire French régime. Enough to say that the garrison with difficulty held in check a horde of restless savages; that around this fort were waged the battles of the Fox Indian wars. It was also an extremely profitable fur trade post, and was a center for the graft and speculation that finally led to the overthrow of French sovereignty in America.

After the evacuation of Fort St. Francis by the French, the British in 1761 occupied and rebuilt the post, christening it Fort Edward Augustus. The English tenure was very brief, being maintained only until Pontiac's Conspiracy in 1763. Then the garrison was permanently withdrawn and not replaced until after the War of 1812. In August, 1816 the United States occupied this place with a strong garrison, and built thereon the military post named Fort Howard. This was almost continuously garrisoned until 1852, when the need for martial protection ceased. The garrison was at that time removed, the land and buildings were sold, and but few reminders are left of the historic importance of old Fort Howard save the old elm tree. This stands just south of where stood the commanding officer's quarters, which were occupied by several men noted in American history. Probably the best known of the American commandants was Major Zachary Taylor, who afterwards became president of the United States.

## 2. The Prairie du Chien tree.

Visitors to Prairie du Chien are shown a tree in whose branches the rebel Indian Chief, Black Hawk, is said to have secreted himself. This is a legend with no foundation in fact. After his uprising Black Hawk had no opportunity of visiting Prairie du Chien until he was brought there as a captive. Then he was at once placed in the guardhouse at Fort Crawford.

### 3. Historic trees at Portage.

Next in importance to Green Bay and Prairie du Chien in the early history of Wisconsin is the place where now stands the city of Portage. There from time immemorial craft were transported from the Fox to the Wisconsin over a little meadow that formed the watershed between the two mighty systems of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. In 1828 the United States government built Fort Winnebago at this site, and appointed as Indian agent John Harris Kinzie, son of the early trader at the Chicago portage. Thither in 1830 Kinzie brought his bride, who became the author of the descriptive volume called *Wau Bun*. When Agent and Mrs. Kinzie arrived at the portage there was no agency house ready to receive them, but during his term of office one was begun, across the Fox River from Fort Winnebago, and on the northern borders of the portage meadow. There maple trees were planted for shade and three of them are still standing in the northwestern corner of the Second Ward of Portage City to mark the site of the old Agency House where Mr. and Mrs. Kinzie entertained so many of their dusky wards.

About half a mile east of these maples is an elm, the solitary survivor of a group of three that stood in front of the first tavern in that part of the country, built and owned by Captain Gideon Low, and called by him the "Franklin House." In 1902 the Wau-Bun chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution planted three elm trees to mark historic sites around Portage: one upon the waters of Fox River where the Indians drew their canoes ashore to transport them across the portage; another, on the bank of the Wisconsin River near the site of the monument of Jolliet and Marquette, marks the western end of the famous portage trail. The third elm tree was planted on the site of the first Catholic church and its cemetery, wherein was deposited the body of the noted Indian trader, Pierre Paquette, who was tragically slain in 1836. The site of Paquette's murder, on the corner of West Cook and Mac streets, was marked at a later date by a fourth elm tree.

### 4. Historic trees in Dane County.

The first house in Madison was built in the early spring of 1837 under the shade of a large bur oak that stood a short distance from the bank of Lake Monona just off from the present King Street.

This historic oak still stands on South Butler Street upon the property of William Oppel, although the house it sheltered has long since been torn away.

On the farm of Knut Juve, in Pleasant Springs Township, still stands one of the two oak trees under which was gathered on September 2, 1844, one of the first Norwegian congregations in Wisconsin. The pastor was Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson, newly arrived from Norway, and the congregation soon thereafter organized, dedicated on December 19 of the same year a log church which is thought to be the first Norwegian Lutheran Church consecrated in America.

On the bank of Lake Mendota, in the city of Madison, near the foot of North Livingston Street, is a group of willow trees that have grown from cuttings brought by a former sea-captain from the first grave of Napoleon on the Island of St. Helena.

In 1916 there were planted at the village of Mount Vernon elms brought from the original Mount Vernon in Virginia. The occasion of the planting brought together the people of the neighborhood, and an address was made by Hon. John S. Donald, then secretary of state for Wisconsin.

##### 5. Trees marking surveys.

The first road in Wisconsin was laid out and marked in 1832 by United States troops from the garrisons at Forts Howard, Winnebago, and Crawford. In Calumet County on the edge of the old military road there still stands on the land adjoining the F. W. Bishop place at Sherwood a tree on whose trunk were carved the names and companies of several of the soldiers employed in cutting this first Wisconsin road. In 1907 the names were quite legible and probably are so still.

The northeastern boundary of the present state of Wisconsin, as described in the enabling act for Michigan, represented an impossible line, as was proved by the report of a reconnaissance made in 1840 to the War Department by the surveyor Thomas Jefferson Cram. In March, 1841 Congress ordered a second survey, and Cram went again to the northern Wisconsin woods and, after enduring great hardships, completed the difficult task of surveying the boundary for over one hundred miles. His companion on this second survey was Douglass Houghton, a famous engineer for whom later the city of

Houghton, Michigan, was named. Some years since a souvenir of their early explorations was found on a large pine tree on the shore of Trout Lake, in Vilas County. Upon a blaze two feet long and one foot wide had been cut the inscription: "XIX T. J. Cram D. Houghton Aug. 11, 1841." The tree fell before the axe of the lumberman, but the slab containing the inscription was saved, and presented by John B. Mann, of Minocqua, to the museum of the State Historical Society.

In conclusion it may be noted that the long lines of lombardy poplars seen by the roadsides and farmsteads in the eastern part of the state were usually planted by the German immigrants. The Americans preferred elms, maples, and occasionally planted fir trees as wind-breaks. Some time during the decade of the seventies Mr. Adolph Meinecke brought willow cuttings from Silesia, from Haute Marne near Langres, France, and from Turin, Italy, for use in his manufacture of willow ware furniture. These he planted on his farm near Milwaukee, and they have grown and flourished. The Italian Silver Willow (*Salix viminalis*) and the Red Willow (*Salix rubra*) have proved most useful for manufacturing purposes.

I am delighted with the fund of material you sent me regarding the historic trees of Wisconsin. It will prove of valuable assistance to me in my research problem.

I take pleasure in telling you that the Historical Society of Wisconsin has evidently made a more thorough investigation of the subject for me than has any other historical society in the United States.

Thank you very heartily for your kind assistance.

OREN E. FRAZEE,  
*St. Cloud, Minn.*

#### THE INDIAN TRADE OF ROCK RIVER VALLEY

I am trying to learn more about the fur trade that was carried on along Rock River, in this state, and in your *Chicago and the Old Northwest* I find so many references to the letter books of the Indian Department that I conclude that you visited Washington and made a personal examination of those books and other documents there. If I am right in this, I wish you would advise me if in your investigation you ever came upon any book or document showing to whom licenses to trade with the Indians in Illinois were granted prior to 1821. I have examined the reports of the Secretary of War showing the names of persons to whom licenses were issued in 1821 and subsequent years

to 1830, but I would like to know who was licensed to trade with the Indians at Grand Detour prior to 1821. I have indisputable evidence that there was a trader there.

WM. D. BARGE,  
*Chicago, Ill.*

The Indian trade in the territory now known as Illinois and Wisconsin was in a very confused and disjointed condition after the War of 1812 until the abolition of the Factory System of the United States and the passage of the Act of Congress, May, 1822, regulating the issue of licenses. The British traders had no intention of relinquishing so valuable a trading ground, if by any species of subterfuge they could continue to control it. Illinois had been supplied for many years from Mackinac by the traders of the Michilimackinac and South West Fur Companies. The Rock River district was supplied from three main posts—the upper river from Green Bay, the central portion from Milwaukee, and the lower portion from the Mississippi River traders, some of whom went overland from the Des Moines Rapids, but most of whom had headquarters at Prairie du Chien. The Illinois River was a separate district and was supplied from Mackinac via Chicago.

The traders of the South West Company were the ones who formed the American Fur Company, and although under the presidency of an American, John Jacob Astor, with ostensible headquarters at New York, were in reality nearly all Canadians and brought their goods to Mackinac from Montreal. At the close of the war of 1812, the United States placed agents at Peoria, Prairie du Chien, Chicago, Green Bay, and Mackinac; and established United States factories at all these places except Peoria. About 1818 a branch factory connected with Prairie du Chien was placed at Fort Edwards, the end of the Des Moines Rapids. It was expected by these means that all the Indians would be supplied with American-made goods and would bring their furs to the factories for exchange. Agents were not, however, prohibited from issuing licenses to individual traders, and even the governors of the territories, as superintendents of Indian Affairs within their borders, assumed the right to issue licenses. This system, or lack of system, led to great confusion. A license issued by one agent might be revoked by another if the trader was found violating, as all traders did, the law against supplying liquor to

Indians. The first agent at Mackinac charged \$50 each for licenses; for this practice he was sharply rebuked. (See many documents in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIX.) This was also complicated with issuing licenses to foreigners. At the close of the war Astor secured from the President a suspension of the rule against issuing licenses to foreigners, and the right was given each agent to use his discretion. This led to so many abuses that in 1818 the President issued an order that no foreigner should have a license. (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XX, 16, 17.) All kinds of subterfuges were resorted to; some American, an ex-soldier, or any employee of American citizenship took out the license, and the real trader accompanied him as an engagé until the trading ground was reached, when the disguise was thrown off and the usual relations of "bourgeois" and "engagé" resumed.

Thus it was not until 1822 that the license matter was reduced to a definite and dependable system.

In order to find the names of Rock River traders in the period from 1816 to 1822 you will be obliged to pick up the evidence bit by bit. In *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XII, 154-159 is published a list for 1818 of the American Fur Company employees. Those of the Illinois River are listed separately but as Rock River was supplied from Green Bay, Milwaukee, and the lower Mississippi, one cannot be sure who were definitely located on Rock River. Our own opinion is that Rock River was largely supplied by what was known as the "drouine" method (see explanation *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIX, 200, note 86, and XX, p. xix). For the Madison or Four Lakes region we have no account of traders earlier than 1825, although no doubt traders had been here from the time of the French régime. Old Tibault of Koshkonong and Beloit, and LeSellier from Milwaukee who traded along the Rock from the Four Lakes south were the earliest traders of whom we have any knowledge. They were both probably in this region prior to the War of 1812.

#### THE FLAG OF THE FIRST WISCONSIN CAVALRY

I have recently been assisting to prepare the Civil War battle flags of Wisconsin regiments for their final resting place in glass cases, in the beautiful room allotted to the G. A. R. in this building. One of these flags (of my own regiment) is a state flag of blue silk,

with the state motto "Forward," the United States seal, and the name of the regiment, ("10th Regt. Wis. Cav."). Pinned upon this flag I found a piece of paper, on which was written these words:

"Captured by Corporal T. Goodwin, Co. C, 3d Arkansas Regt., Harrison's Brigade, Humes Division, Wheeler's Corps, Dalton and Cleveland Road, May 9th, 1864."

This was in North Georgia, at the beginning of Sherman's Atlanta campaign. I distinctly remember that battle, as I lost my cap by a flying bullet, and would have been taken prisoner if I had not had a faster horse than my pursuers, as I returned from carrying dispatches. We lost our Colonel, who was taken prisoner after having two horses shot under him, and we lost a number of others, killed, wounded, and captured.

I am specially interested to find out how this flag came to be returned to Wisconsin after being captured. The flag of the 21st Wis. Inf. was captured at Chickamauga, and that of the 36th Wis. at Petersburg—and both of these were returned from Richmond to Washington after the war—then from Washington to Madison in 1905. Both of these are on record in the Adjutant General's office in Washington. But that office has no record whatever of this flag of the 10th Cavalry, so it is not likely that it came that way. I can find no record of it in the State Adjutant General's office here, in any way. None of the surviving comrades of my regiment (50 or more still surviving) have any recollection about the capture or return of the flag. So I am still more anxious to know its history.

There is a large number of letters, written from the front by Wisconsin soldiers of the Civil War, now on file in the archives of the Historical Society. Also a large number of letters and other papers of the Civil War, which were formerly in the vaults of the Governor's office here. I believe these letters have been indexed in some form. Now if some of your staff can find any information about this particular flag among these papers, I shall appreciate it very much indeed. There are also some scrapbooks in the Society's library, clipped from newspapers during that war, which might possibly help. I would be glad to do this myself, but my work in the Capitol ties me up closely from 8:30 to 5 every day. You see, I want to put a historical label on the flag, giving its history, before these flags are finally sealed up in cases, which will probably be within a week or two. The dates to look for (among letters or scrapbooks) would be during the months of May and June, 1864, as the capture occurred May 9th of that year.

STANLEY E. LATHROP,  
*Madison, Wisconsin.*

I have had Dr. Oliver, who is our worker in the Civil War field at the present time, look into the material in response to your request of April 9. The clippings in the E. B. Quiner collection to which you refer do not deal with anything after December, 1862. There is nothing in them, therefore, concerning the incident in which you are interested. The collection of governors' letters has been worked for May and June, 1864, but we fail to find any mention of the capture or return of the flag.

There is no history of the regiment in the library which probably means that none has ever been published. We are not able, therefore, to find a satisfactory answer to your inquiry.

#### THE SULLY PORTRAIT OF EDGAR ALLAN POE

I have been endeavoring to assist a friend of mine who has in preparation a life of Edgar Allan Poe. One of the quests we are making is to find the Sully portrait of Poe, which is well known to have been in existence, but the whereabouts of which is not now known.

This portrait was painted at Richmond, Virginia, by Robert Matthew Sully (nephew of Thomas Sully).

Inasmuch as a more or less extended and careful search in Virginia has not discovered this portrait, and as Mr. Sully and Mr. Draper had quite an extensive correspondence, and as Mr. Sully (I am informed) did considerable work for Mr. Draper, and resided some time in Madison, I am led to inquire if any such portrait happens to be, or is known in that locality.

I am not well acquainted with the details of Mr. Sully's life but I am quite certain that I have heard that, after studying abroad under Sir Thomas Lawrence, he lived some time in Madison, and died there. Such being the case, it seems most probable that the Poe portrait was there, for he and Poe were devoted boyhood friends.

Any consideration you may give this topic, and any suggestion you may make, I will very deeply appreciate.

LONDON C. BELL,  
*Columbus, Ohio.*

Robert Matthew Sully's portrait of Edgar Allan Poe is not in the museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, although his portraits of Black Hawk, the son of Black Hawk, White Cloud, Pocahontas, and Chief Justice John Marshall are to be found here. Mr. Sully never resided in Wisconsin. He set out from Richmond, Virginia, in the autumn of 1855 with the intention of establishing



a permanent residence at Madison, but died en route at Buffalo, New York, October 16, 1855. That he had not previously visited Wisconsin is shown by the following excerpt from his letter to Lyman C. Draper, dated Richmond, Virginia, March 20, 1854: "I have long cherish'd the wish to visit Wisconsin—I may do so, in the course of the ensuing summer." This letter was written in acceptance of his election to honorary membership in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The early files of the Society reveal eleven letters written by Mr. Sully to Dr. Draper in 1844-45. They have to do with the portraits which Mr. Sully painted for the Society and with his proposed removal to Wisconsin. There is no mention of his portrait of Edgar Allan Poe.

The enclosed copy of a letter written by Mr. Sully's son, Edwin Sully, shows that the former's luggage was lost at Buffalo, New York, and never reached Madison. It also shows that the son was endeavoring to locate his father's paintings. It may be that he succeeded and that the information may now be had from Mr. Edwin Sully's representatives.

## COMMUNICATIONS

### THEY KNEW COLONEL ELLSWORTH

Your volume I, number 4, of June, 1918, on the life of Colonel Ellsworth received. I thank you very much for it. It puts me back to the session of the Legislature of 1898, when I was chairman of the committee on military affairs, and acted on the bill of appropriation for the state militia.

A Doctor ———, a proselyte of the Presbyterian Church, came before the committee and protested against the proposition, and amongst the arguments he made he alluded to Colonel Ellsworth and his regiment of thugs. Said they were raised in the slums of New York and were outlaws of the rawest kind.

After he was through talking, being very familiar with Colonel Ellsworth, I called the gentleman down good and plenty, and made him feel like a counterfeit five-cent piece.

He got Billy Wilson's zouaves confounded with Colonel Ellsworth's regiment. They were a band of thugs, not a man amongst them but had served a prison sentence, a worthless and disgraced bunch.

D. G. JAMES,  
*Richland Center.*

I read with much interest the article in the June *WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY* on Col. E. E. Ellsworth, by Chas. A. Ingraham. I had the pleasure of seeing Col. Ellsworth and his company give one of their exhibitions. I was publishing a newspaper in northern Illinois, and I was present at the Republican national convention in the Wigwam in Chicago when Lincoln was nominated the first time for president.

I had a seat in the reporters' gallery and Col. Ellsworth's company occupied a platform only a few yards from where I sat. The proceedings of the convention were halted while the company gave an exhibition of their drill. They went through their maneuvers with a precision that was remarkable, and when the order was given to "order arms" their muskets went to the floor as one piece. Their exhibition was received with repeated rounds of applause.

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The convention was held in May, 1860—two months before the company started on that celebrated trip through the East.

M. P. RINDLAUB,  
*Platteville.*

### LIGHT ON EARLY EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN MADISON<sup>1</sup>

My mother, Mrs. James M. Flower (Lucy L. Coues) has asked me to reply to your letter of December 7, receipt of which was previously acknowledged. She is too much of an invalid to prepare such an article as you suggest, but she has furnished me with some information that may be of use to you.

When she arrived in Madison she entered the home of Governor Delaplane as governess. Later there was need of an assistant teacher in the Madison High School, of which Professor O. M. Conover was then principal, and she was asked to take the place. She agreed to do this if Governor Delaplane would release her, which he kindly did.

At the end of her first term in the High School, Miss Coues was given a city order for her salary. She asked what she was to do with it and was advised to sell it for whatever she could get for it, as Madison was hard up and could not pay in cash. City orders were then at a discount of from 25 to 30 per cent.

Miss Coues did not feel that she could afford to lose 25 to 30 per cent of her salary, and she was advised to see Julius I. Clark. (She thinks that is the name, but is not sure of it.) She thought it very unfair that she should have been engaged without any explanation of this frightful discount, and Mr. Clark so far agreed with her that he advanced the money to pay the order himself.

Miss Coues then asked Professor Conover how he got his money, and learned that the High School had taken over the University Preparatory School, for which the University made regular cash payments to the city. Professor Conover's salary, by special arrange-

<sup>1</sup>This letter was called forth by the publication in the first issue of the *MAGAZINE* of the Civil War diary of Harvey Reid. Its appearance led to our attention being called to the fact that Miss Lucy Coues (now Mrs. James M. Flower), teacher of the Madison High School in 1861, was still living in Coronado, California. Accordingly we invited her to prepare for the *MAGAZINE* an article on her Civil War recollections of Madison. The letter we print, written by her son, explains why this was not done.

ment, came out of that, and Miss Coues decided that she would like to have a similar special arrangement. She so notified the Board and was assured that the matter would receive attention before the opening of the next term.

When she returned from her vacation she learned that no action had been taken with regard to this, and she at once announced that the High School would not open until such action had been taken—at least not with its full teaching force of two. She was told that there wasn't time for a meeting of the Board, as the necessary notices could not reach the members quickly enough. She promptly offered to see to that herself. And she did, delivering all the notices personally. She was informed afterward that it was the first full meeting of the Board ever held. And it passed the resolution that assured Miss Coues her salary without discount.

Daniel K. Tenney then took up the question of city finances and argued that if the city's income would not meet the city's expenses, the thing to do was to cut the expenses rather than try to meet them with orders that were of problematical value and that no one wanted. As a result of this, the High School was given up temporarily and the use of the building offered to Miss Coues to continue the school on her own responsibility. This she did until she married. The school during all this time was for girls as well as boys and not part of the time for boys alone, as has been stated.

ELLIOTT FLOWER,  
*Coronado, California.*

## SURVEY OF HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

### THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

In the three months' period ending July 1 there were eleven accessions to membership in the State Historical Society. Miss Julia Lapham, of Oconomowoc, Mrs. I. W. Moyle, of Big Bend, and Mr. Henry Bleyer, of Madison, were tendered life memberships by the Advisory Committee of the Society in recognition of gifts made or other services rendered by them. Other new members are John N. Cadby, Madison (life), and Charles H. Bachhuber, Port Washington, Wells Bennett, La Crosse, Carrie Blair, Appleton, Ella Brunson, Los Angeles, Charles T. Greve, Cincinnati, Mary Ryan, Port Washington, and Dr. Charles H. Vilas, Madison.

Dr. Louis Frank, of Milwaukee, for several years past a curator of the State Historical Society, died suddenly at his home on May 12, 1918. Dr. Frank was a man of varied attainments—physician, poet, musician, historian, and lover of literature in general. He compiled and in 1914 privately printed a notable history of medicine in Milwaukee; prior to this he compiled and published a family history. In other lines, he contributed to medical journals and wrote also on musical and poetical themes. His death is a distinct loss to the historical and cultural interests of Wisconsin.

One of the most interesting collections of war relics that has yet been placed on exhibit in the State Historical Museum in Madison is that presented by Ray E. Williams, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin of the class of 1916. As an ambulance driver in the Verdun region of France, Mr. Williams had opportunity for collecting numerous war trophies. Among those now on exhibit are samples of the steel helmets worn by the American, French, and German troops, a belt worn by the French engineers, a French flag, a French and a German fatigue cap, a gas mask, a rubber lined cloth case in which the gas mask is carried, a French bayonet, a flash-light and whistle used by ambulance drivers, an aerial torpedo, hand grenades, a fuse of a German 155 m m shell, a 37 m m shell used by the French, a war map carried by the German soldiers in the early part of 1917 showing the various European battle fronts, and numerous passports and certificates.

During the past year the State Historical Museum has been engaged, among its other work, in the making of a collection of Ameri-

can and foreign postage stamps. This collection, which is being made with the assistance of various friends, now numbers between two and three thousand specimens. The stamps are mounted on loose sheets, which, when not on exhibition, are filed in manila paper covers. A number of them are constantly on exhibition and provide a center of attraction especially to the young philatelists of Madison and the surrounding country. Many experienced collectors also consult the collection from time to time. The museum is endeavoring to increase its present collection and will be indebted to collectors and others for presenting their duplicates. In homes here and there in Wisconsin are albums of postage stamps which have been laid aside or discarded by former collectors. These can be made of educational value to hundreds of visitors by giving them to the museum. Old styles of post cards, "postage paid" envelopes, revenue stamps, stamped covers, and precancels are also desired.

In the museum corridor and in a small room set aside for this purpose near the auditorium are a number of bulletin boards of several sizes on which examples of the numerous posters, proclamations, handbills, and other literature issued by the Government, state councils of defense, and other war work organizations are continually exhibited. Changes are made every week, those last on exhibition being placed in the files in the Society's library and manuscript and document departments. Thus visitors are kept quite fully informed of the progress of war work in nearly every part of the United States.

Among the posters on display during the summer were some illustrating the service of the United States Coast Guard, the Navy and Marines, Committee on National Preparedness, National War Garden Commission, Committee on Public Information, War Savings, Food and Fuel Administrations, British Army Enlistment, and Underground Railways of London. The number of posters and similar material received by the Society every week is quite large. Much of this material is already being frequently consulted by students.

The Historical Museum of the La Crosse State Normal School has recently added to its collections some thirty or more photographs showing views in logging camps and scenes of logging operations as they were conducted from about 1890 to 1895 on the east fork of the Black River. The La Crosse museum is rapidly becoming one of the leading exhibition halls among the educational institutions of the state.

One of the splendid bands which enlivened the work of the boys of sixty-one was that of the First Brigade, Fourth Division, Fifteenth

Army Corps, many of whose numbers lived at Brodhead, Wisconsin. The director of the band was E. Q. Kimberley, of the Third Wisconsin Infantry, now a resident of Janesville. The band followed Sherman to the sea, and participated in the grand review at Washington at the close of the war. In August, 1864, the citizens of Galena tendered a reception to their distinguished fellow townsman, General Grant, and by special request this band was engaged for the occasion. A week was consumed in the journey, the men traveling in a magnificent band wagon drawn by four beautiful light grey horses. Another notable occasion for which the band's services were demanded was the first meeting of the Army of the Tennessee, held at Madison shortly after the close of the war. Generals Sherman, Sheridan, and other notables were present. By special request a young girl from Windsor composed a laudatory poem for this occasion, verses being directed to each of the leading generals in attendance. It had been understood that Sheridan would not be present, but unexpectedly he came, and on being apprised of this at the meeting where the poem was to be read the young poet hastily penned two additional verses devoted to him. Poem and poet alike were accorded tremendous applause. Those who care to learn more of this incident may find a full account of it in the installment of Ella Wheeler Wilcox's autobiography published in the *Cosmopolitan* for June, 1918. Mr. Kimberley has recently presented to the State Historical Library sixteen well-preserved ambrotypes of the members of the noted Wisconsin Civil War band of which he was the able director.

From Mrs. William C. Meffert, of Arena, have been received three manuscript volumes of her late husband's Civil War diary. Mr. Meffert was a member of Company H, Third Wisconsin Infantry, and served until the end of the war. Not all of his diary has been preserved, apparently, but the three volumes now turned over to the State Historical Library constitute a welcome addition to its manuscript records pertaining to Wisconsin's participation in the Civil War.

At Brookfield, Waukesha County, on July 4, a memorial tablet to Nathan Hatch, a soldier of the American Revolution, was unveiled with appropriate ceremony. The marker was provided by the Waukesha chapter of the D. A. R., and the ceremony which attended its unveiling was in the charge of this organization.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the First Presbyterian Church of Beaver Dam was celebrated with appropriate services at the close of May. At the historical service on June 2 was

read an account of the founding of the church, written by Dr. J. J. Miter who was its pastor for nineteen years beginning in 1856. The first church building, erected in 1844, is still in existence, being now a vacant dwelling house.

The golden jubilee of St. Peter's Church at Reedsburg was celebrated in the city park Sunday, June 9, 1918. Of the fifty-three charter members of the church six lived to witness its semicentennial. The parish now numbers 1,100 communicants, and the church property is assessed at \$100,000. During its fifty years the church has had five pastors, one of whom, Rev. A. Rohrback, served for forty years. The jubilee services were attended by upwards of 3,000 people.

The Assembly Presbyterian Church of Beaver Dam was organized May 3, 1858 with twenty-one charter members. In May, 1918, the sixtieth anniversary of the church was celebrated, with three of the charter members present. An unusual fact of interest about this church is the service of one pastor, Rev. T. S. Johnson, for fifty years, from 1867 to 1917. Rev. Johnson is still officially connected with the church in the capacity of pastor emeritus.

The Union Church of Windsor observed its sixtieth anniversary on Sunday, June 14, having been founded June 12, 1858. Of the thirty-two charter members but two are still alive, Miss Frankie Warner, of Windsor, and Mrs. Lathrop E. Smith, of Madison, whose wartime recollections we publish elsewhere in this *MAGAZINE*.

One of the most notable women of the Civil War was Belle Boyd, the famous Confederate spy. She died at Kilbourn in 1900, and on every Memorial Day the veterans against whom she fought decorate her grave with a flag, according her in death the same recognition they give their own departed comrades. At beautiful Forest Hill cemetery, Madison, each one of the scores of graves in Confederate Rest is decorated with flowers in the same way as are the graves of their erstwhile foemen in the burial plot consecrated to Union soldiers a few rods away. Such acts as these help to emphasize the fact that the issues of the great struggle between the Blue and the Gray are now a matter of history only.

The first issue of this *MAGAZINE* contained an appreciation of Increase A. Lapham and an account of the unveiling of a memorial tablet by the Waukesha County Historical Society on Lapham Peak, named by the United States government in his honor. A letter from the daughter of Dr. Lapham, written May 21, 1918, conveys the information that the memorial tablet has been defiled by neighbor-



hood hoodlums who have made of it a target to shoot at, as a result of which it has been badly damaged. Such an act of vandalism illustrates anew a theme on which the editor of these notes has more than once dilated: that a lack of reverence is one of the besetting sins of American life. We use the term not simply in its religious sense, but rather in its broadest significance. Could the hoodlums who defiled the Lapham monument have possessed any real knowledge of his self-sacrificing career as a soldier of the common good, we are persuaded that comprehension of the significance of their act would have stayed its perpetration. The roots of patriotism and of local history are inseparably intertwined. Familiarity with the latter subject must ever constitute a potent factor in the development of the former.

An interesting journalistic change was the passing of control of the Milwaukee *Evening Wisconsin* to William H. Park at the end of May, 1918. Mention of the *Evening Wisconsin* carries one back to the early beginnings of journalism in this state. The first Milwaukee paper and the third established in the state was the *Advertiser* founded in 1836. In 1841 Josiah Noonan purchased the *Advertiser*, and turned it into the Milwaukee *Courier*, which was edited from 1843 to 1847 by John A. Brown. The career of the *Courier* under Brown's leadership, if short, was far from placid. In 1845 Rufus King removed from the capital of New York to the metropolis of Wisconsin to assume the editorship of the *Sentinel*. About the same time the debate over statehood and the framing of a constitution for Wisconsin developed, and for several years absorbed the state as no other political issue in its history, probably, has done. In this struggle the *Courier* voiced the sentiments of one party, the *Sentinel* those of its rival. These were the palmy days of personal journalism in America; Wisconsin was a frontier community, and both King and Brown were fluent and able editors. Politics afforded the staple topic of editorial discussion, in waging which the rival editors seem to the modern reader literally to have dipped their pens in gall. One who has never looked at these old-time sheets can have little realization of the bitterness of the invective with which their discussions and recriminations were tinged. Regardless of the comparative talents of the editors, the *Sentinel* proved to possess better staying qualities financially, and in the spring of 1847, having delivered himself of a fiery valedictory, Brown departed for other fields. The *Courier* was purchased by W. E. Cramer, and on its ruins was founded the weekly *Wisconsin*, and shortly thereafter the daily *Evening Wisconsin*. For seventy-one years until the recent change of ownership its management was practically continuous. It is an interesting coincidence that the *Tribune*, Chicago's oldest and perhaps greatest

paper, was founded two days after the publication of the *Wisconsin* by Cramer.

On June 19 the Appleton *Evening Crescent*, the oldest paper in Outagamie County, passed into the control of the Meyer Press Company. The *Crescent* was started in February, 1853 by Samuel Ryan, Jr. With one brief exception in 1854-55 he controlled the paper until his death in 1907. Since 1907 Samuel J. Ryan has been the editor, having been for thirty-one years the active head of the enterprise. From the pioneer epoch of 1853 to the present time is a far cry in the history of Wisconsin journalism; such is the span which the Ryan family's control of the *Crescent* covers.

Professor John B. MacHarg has succeeded Professor Custer in the history department at Lawrence College. Professor MacHarg spent the summer at Columbia University, New York, taking a special course in the teaching of history.

On April 19 at La Crosse was celebrated the centennial of the birth of Cadwallader C. Washburn, the principal feature of the program being an address on the life of Washburn by Frank Winter of La Crosse. The following sketch of Governor Washburn's career was supplied for the printed program by the State Historical Library:

Cadwallader C. Washburn, son of Israel and Martha Washburn, was born in Livermore, Maine, April 22, 1818. Of the seven sons born in this family four were elected members of Congress, each representing a different state, and two of them served as governor of their respective states. Cadwallader left his New England home at the age of twenty-one and started west, stopping at Davenport, Iowa. He later removed to Rock Island, Illinois, and in 1842 settled in Mineral Point, Wisconsin, where he entered upon the practice of law. For the next forty years he ranked as one of the foremost men of the state. He was elected a member of Congress in 1854 and served for six years. He declined another election and early in the spring of 1861 changed his residence from Mineral Point to La Crosse. When the Civil War broke out he was appointed colonel of the Second Wisconsin Cavalry and rose to the rank of major general. He assisted General Grant in the siege of Vicksburg, and later was placed in command of the District of West Tennessee and of Vicksburg. In 1866 he was again returned to Congress and served two more terms. In 1871 he was elected governor of Wisconsin. Defeated for reelection in 1873, he devoted the remainder of his years to the management of his immense business interests. Here he achieved his greatest success in

life. He was the first man in the United States to introduce the system known as the patent process of manufacturing flour. His great mills at Minneapolis, with their yearly capacity of 2,000,000 barrels of flour, were his greatest pride, and he was universally admitted to be the foremost authority in America on the milling of flour. He was famed as a benefactor and philanthropist. For the six years preceding his death he was president of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, donated to the state university the astronomical observatory, which today bears his name, provided for the establishment of a public library in La Crosse, and for the erection of an orphans' asylum in Minneapolis, in honor of his mother. Because of the many public services he rendered, the legislature of Wisconsin by law created him a life regent of the state university, an honor never before conferred on any citizen. He died May 14, 1882.

The men of the Eighty-sixth division of the national Army have chosen for their unit the name of Black Hawk Division, in memory of the historical associations which cluster about the name and country of this famous but unfortunate Indian warrior. Too often in America the charm and inspiration which the possession of a fitting name involves is ignored by those who happen to have the power of fixing the designation by which an organization or a place shall be known. The highly practical corporation which provides our sleeping cars has long recognized the value which attaches to a well-chosen name. May those in charge of our new national army show similar wisdom. In naming the Black Hawk Division an excellent beginning has been made.

The twelfth annual meeting of the Waukesha County Historical Society was held at the Congregational Church in Waukesha, May 4, 1918. The forenoon session was devoted to reports of committees, the election of officers, and other routine business. The literary program in the afternoon was given over to papers on the Civil War. Mrs. W. H. Tichenor presented a paper on "The Work of Waukesha County Women during the Civil War"; Mrs. Louise Williams' recollections of "Civil War Times in Summit" were read by Mary Newnham; and a letter was read from Adelia Leavitt, who served as hospital nurse during the war. The paper by Mrs. Tichenor was published in the *Waukesha Freeman*, May 23, 1918.

The fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the state normal school at Whitewater was fittingly observed during the week beginning June 9. There was a patriotic service in honor of the 131 former students of Whitewater now in military service, the address being

given by Hon. Arthur H. Sholtz. The baccalaureate address was given by Judge S. R. Alden, of Terre Haute, Indiana, and the class oration by Rev. W. H. Parker, of Dedham, Massachusetts. One of the most enjoyable parts of the celebration was the old-time assembly conducted by Andrew Hutton, of Waukesha. Twenty former members of the faculty sat on the rostrum and delivered brief addresses in the style of forty years ago. The alumni address was given by Judge C. E. Randall and the commencement address by Professor Rollin D. Salisbury of the University of Chicago. All of these speakers are notable graduates of Whitewater.

Platteville and Whitewater Normal Schools were created by the same legislative act, and established by the same meeting of the board in 1866. Platteville opened first in a rented building. Whitewater constructed its own building, so that this, now a portion of the main school building, is the oldest normal school building in Wisconsin. It was formally opened for the reception of students April 21, 1868.

*Democratic Ideals. Sketch of Clara Bewick Colby* (n. p. 1917) by Rev. Olympia Brown is a small volume devoted to the career of this Wisconsin woman whose life work is so prominently identified with the cause of woman suffrage in America. The author is herself a veteran worker in the woman suffrage movement and writes of Mrs. Colby from intimate first-hand knowledge of the subject. The volume should possess considerable value for the student or the historian of the woman suffrage movement in the United States.

Publication of an interesting and lengthy narration of local history was begun by the *Mayville Banner* on May 9, with the printing of the first installment of Clarence L. Powers' "When the Pioneers Came to Wisconsin." Although the title is general, the story deals with a particular pioneer, Soldan Powers, who migrated to Wisconsin from the older East in 1837.

The first number of the *Anishinabe Enamiad*, edited by Father Philip Gordon of Reserve, Wisconsin, was issued in April. Father Gordon, a man of university training, is devoting his life to work among the Chippewa, and has been adopted by them into tribal membership. The *Enamiad* is a monthly organ devoted to the interests of Catholic Chippewa Indian missions and missionaries.

"Pioneer Occupations," written for the Sauk County Historical Society by N. G. Abbott of Eureka Springs, Arkansas, was published in the *Baraboo News* of April 4, 1918.

Of similar interest to the foregoing is an article in the *West Bend News*, April 3, 1918, on "The Old-Time Ashery." It gives an inter-

esting description of this now long-forgotten industry, as practiced in the vicinity of West Bend.

An interesting pioneer narrative entitled "Civil War Times," by J. T. Barto, was printed in the Richland Center *Observer*, March 28, 1918.

A reminiscent narrative of the first murder trial in Baraboo, written for the Sauk County Historical Society by R. T. Warner of Everett, Washington, was published in the Baraboo *News* of May 30, 1918.

An unofficial survey recently conducted by the authorities of the Stevens Point State Normal School on the extent to which the faculty and students have engaged in present war activities shows that they have loaned over \$23,000 to the United States government and contributed upwards of \$3,500 to war activities; that 18 salesmen were furnished for the liberty loan drive and war savings stamps; and that practically every member of the student body had engaged in one or more definite war campaigns.

A program of special historical interest was that carried out by the Milwaukee County Council of Defense on Tuesday evening July 2, 1918 when a reception was tendered to those persons of foreign birth and parentage in that city who had become naturalized during the last year. There were over five hundred new citizens and they, together with their families, were given a cordial welcome to the citizenship of Milwaukee.

#### THE TWEEDY PAPERS

John Hubbard Tweedy, of Danbury, Connecticut, settled at Milwaukee in the summer of 1836. He was then twenty-two years of age, a graduate of Yale College, and a member of the New Haven bar. He made Milwaukee his permanent home, and there died November 12, 1891, full of years and honors. Mr. Tweedy represented the Wisconsin New England element at its best. Upright and industrious, moral and public-spirited, broad-visioned and patriotic, he contributed in generous measure to the upbuilding of the territory and its future metropolis. Mr. Tweedy was retiring in his habits and tastes and accepted public office only under the stern prompting of duty. His share, nevertheless, in the early history of our community was considerable. When he had been but three years in Wisconsin, Governor Dodge appointed him receiver of the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal Company, where his sense of the caution needed in a public trust involved him in difficulties with the more speculative spirits of that early enterprise. In the legislature of 1841-42, Mr.

Tweedy was a member of the council, and aided with valuable advice the early territorial legislation. Mr. Tweedy was a Whig both by inheritance and by conviction, when the majority of the voters in Wisconsin were Democratic. Nevertheless so great was the public confidence in his wisdom that he was chosen member of the first Constitutional Convention, the only Whig delegate from Milwaukee County. After the defeat of the first constitution, he was nominated as candidate for territorial delegate to Congress, and to the surprise of his friends and of himself, he was elected, and became the last representative of the territory at Washington, serving from September, 1847, until the admission of the state in June, 1848. He was, while still delegate, nominated by the Whigs for first governor of the new state, but was defeated at the polls by the Democratic nominee, Nelson Dewey. The year following this election Mr. Tweedy was postmaster at Milwaukee; and in 1852 represented his district in the State Assembly. Thereafter he declined all public office, and devoted himself to private business, and to the many philanthropies in which he was interested. Although no longer in the active political field, he maintained a strong interest in the state's government, joined the Republican party upon its inception, and was a trusted adviser of the party leaders. He was the Wisconsin member of the Kansas Aid Society, and assisted in raising funds for its purposes; he helped to finance the election of 1855 which placed a Free Soil senator in Congress from Wisconsin, and the elections of the succeeding years for Republican representatives. During the Civil War Mr. Tweedy's patriotism was a valuable aid to the state administration. After the war his health declined, and he lived in retirement, never losing, however, a keen interest in the affairs of state.

His son, John H. Tweedy Jr., has presented to the Society a collection of his father's papers. This is probably the most important gift for the ante-Civil War period that has been received since the Strong and Woodman papers were acquired. While the Tweedy collection cannot be compared to either of these two other collections in quantity, its quality renders it of especial value to the state historians. The papers relate to many of the most important phases of political activity in the territory and in the early years of statehood, and while not in the least local in character reflect conditions of early days in Milwaukee's political history.

The range of dates is from 1834 to 1894, but after 1860 the papers are few and comparatively unimportant. The earliest letters are from college comrades, one of which describes a Yale Commencement of 1836. Next in order of time are series of land deeds and legal papers relating to the early history of Milwaukee. The papers of a suit in chancery between the Bank of Michigan and Solomon

Juneau throw light on the early sales of Milwaukee lots, and the methods of financing the village's first improvements. During his receivership for the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal Mr. Tweedy had a sharp difference with Byron Kilbourn concerning the methods of floating loans. Kilbourn, who had been appointed financial agent by the governor, had secured a number of loans in Ohio, which were to be paid in bank notes. Tweedy refused to accept anything but specie. Kilbourn's letters of 1840-41 are interesting material for the study of early financeering.

At the time of Tweedy's election in 1847 to the delegacy, political parties in Wisconsin were in much confusion. The reigning Democratic party was split into factions, corresponding to the national divisions, and known as Barnburners, Hunkers, Tadpoles, and Locofocos. The nomination of Moses M. Strong had alienated some of these factions, and on the strength of this opposition Tweedy, the Whig candidate, was elected. A letter from Rufus King describes in a graphic manner this campaign.

The larger portion of the collection consists of the correspondence received by Mr. Tweedy during his few months at Washington as Wisconsin's delegate. Among these letters are many of great interest, such as that of John Catlin, last territorial secretary, announcing the popular acceptance of the constitution, and requesting that steps be taken to secure Wisconsin's admission to the Union. Other writers, such as Marshall M. Strong, Josiah Noonan, and Rufus King describe to Tweedy the progress of the Constitutional Convention, and the favor with which the new constitution was received by all parties. Letters are to be found from most of the prominent Wisconsin men of the period: from William S. Hamilton, son of Alexander, resident of the mining region; from Agostin Haraszthy, the distinguished Hungarian immigrant to Sauk County; from Daniel Whitney and Henry S. Baird, leading spirits at Green Bay; from Orsamus Cole, Mortimer M. Jackson, and Levi Hubbell, later of the state judiciary; and from many other well-known pioneers of the state. The subjects are as varied as the writers, applications for appointments to West Point, recommendations for federal offices, requests for information concerning pension and land entries, pleas for new post-offices and post routes, claims to be prosecuted against the government, petitions for new harbor and river improvements and the building of lighthouses—to all these and other matters the delegate was expected to give his personal attention. Indian affairs were likewise within his province; petitions from the Stockbridge, and a plan for a Menominee treaty are found among these papers.

The Mexican War was being fought during Tweedy's delegacy, and a letter from Wiram Knowlton describes the Wisconsin volunteers

raised for that service. Purchases were also being made of Mexican war-scrip which was speedily invested in Wisconsin lands. A number of deeds signed by Presidents Polk, Taylor, and Fillmore show that Tweedy took advantage of this opportunity for investment. Possibly the most interesting of the delegacy letters are those relating to the northwest boundary of the incoming state. The enabling act had named the present St. Croix boundary, but the second Constitutional Convention expressed a preference for a line along Run River, and Tweedy was charged to present this request to Congress. The acceptance of this line would have made St. Paul and Minneapolis a part of Wisconsin. Letters pro and con from the inhabitants of the district, and from pioneers of Prairie du Chien are among these papers. The Antis had the most influence on Congress, and the St. Croix line was made the boundary.

After Tweedy had returned from Washington and had been defeated in the canvass for the first governor of the new state, he turned his attention to railroad development in Wisconsin, and there are among his papers several letters from engineers and financiers on the building of the first iron ways in the state. An apportionment document, undated, seems to refer to the legislative Assembly of 1852-53, of which Tweedy was a member. The papers of the period immediately preceding the Civil War, while few in number, are of considerable interest. Wisconsin's contribution to the Kansas Aid Society passed through Mr. Tweedy's hands, and several papers refer to this activity. Carl Schurz wrote in 1859 of the situation of the German press and German voters in the state. Two letters from Timothy O. Howe ask Tweedy's help in rescuing Wisconsin Republicans from the States-rights heresy into which they had fallen in opposing the Fugitive Slave Law; and in connection with the latter law appears a characteristic letter from Sherman M. Booth, written from "U. S. Prison, Custom House, Milwaukee, April 10, 1860." Of another character is a letter from Catherine Beecher, sister of Henry Ward Beecher and of Mrs. Stowe, concerning the founding of "Milwaukee Female College." Mr. Tweedy was one of the first trustees of this institution, and remained a member of its board until a year before his death. An early subscription list testifies to his practical assistance. The rest of the papers are miscellaneous in character, chiefly financial and commercial. A few letters from former college friends show the pleasant leisure of cultivated retirement and habits of reading and reflection.

The gift of the Tweedy papers is a new recognition of the State Historical Library as the most appropriate depository of the collections of Wisconsin men and women. It is to be hoped that it may stimulate other private owners of such letters and papers to place them where they will be of value to the historical workers of the state.



SOME WISCONSIN PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

*A Working Plan for Forest Lands of Peninsula State Park* is the title of Bulletin No. 3 issued by the Wisconsin Conservation Commission in December, 1917. During July and August, 1916, a survey was made of the Peninsula State Park with the view of instituting a proper management of the forests and for introducing a plan that would bring the lands to their highest productive capacity. From the data then secured, a comprehensive working plan has been adopted for the ensuing ten years. Of the 3,700 acres contained in the park, over 2,700 are still wooded. It is estimated that almost 5,000,000 feet of timber is yet standing. The policy of the state in managing the park is to preserve it primarily for recreation, and incidentally to utilize the forests so as to produce a small revenue therefrom. This latter practice, however, will be carefully guarded.

In her uncleared northern lands, Wisconsin has an undeveloped kingdom of great potential value, larger in area than either Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland, or the Netherlands. The Agricultural Engineering Department of the University of Wisconsin, in its effort to have this region settled, has issued a bulletin, No. 886 of the University Series, entitled *Land Clearing in Upper Wisconsin*. Land clearing specials have been run through these northern counties, and have given practical demonstrations of the best methods to be used in pulling stumps, which have been the greatest obstacle to prospective settlers. Evidence of the interest taken by the state at large in the development of this section of Wisconsin is seen in some of the acts passed during the legislative session of 1917. Chapter 658 of the session laws authorizes the University of Wisconsin to conduct investigations and demonstrations in order to determine the most efficient and economical method for clearing land. An appropriation of \$37,250 for the ensuing biennium was voted to carry on this work. Another act was passed authorizing the State Department of Agriculture to purchase dynamite and other explosives to be sold at cost to bona fide settlers. Another appropriation of \$3,500 was made to pay for the printing and distribution of a soil survey map of the upper half of the state to be issued by the Geological and Natural History Survey.

The Wisconsin *State Board of Health Bulletin*, for December, 1917, shows that for the three months of October, November, and December of that year 6,414 deaths were reported from the various townships, incorporated villages, and cities in Wisconsin. This corresponds to an annual death rate of 10.2 per thousand population.

These figures represent a slightly lower death rate for the quarter than has been the average for the last ten years. Practically all of this decline has been due to saving the lives of a greater percentage of children.

According to a bulletin issued in December, 1917, by the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin entitled, *Marketing Wisconsin Milk*, the per capita consumption of milk in this state amounts to about .6 to .8 of a pint daily. Practically all of the milk is now sold in bottles. In Milwaukee over 86 per cent of the total was handled in this manner, in Eau Claire 91 per cent, and in Beloit 81 per cent. Since the practice of bottling milk has come into vogue only within the last fifteen or eighteen years, the above statistics indicate how completely this plan has grown. A few cities, Madison, Eau Claire, and others have passed ordinances that forbid the retailing of milk except when bottled. Pastuerization is also becoming more general, especially in the larger cities. In Milwaukee 91 per cent of the milk retailed is pastuerized. The survey also discloses the fact that the practice of keeping cows in towns and cities has almost ceased. In Eau Claire, a city of 19,000 population, it is estimated that not more than 75 cows are kept for milk. The estimate for Milwaukee was given at less than a dozen. The survey shows that in handling the milk the farmers receive scarcely more than half the price which the consumers pay, the transportation companies taking approximately 7 per cent and the distributors 33 per cent.

A helpful bulletin on the subject of the *Wisconsin Income Tax Law*, issued in December, 1917, by the State Tax Commission, contains the laws of 1911, and the amendments of 1913, 1915, and 1917, together with the citations to decisions of the supreme court and some of the important rulings of the commission on the subject of income taxes. The primary object of the bulletin is to assist assessors of income and taxpayers in performing those duties imposed upon them by the tax laws.

In a bulletin issued by the State Department of Education in January, 1918, for the Boys' Council of Defense, entitled, *Organization and Training of the Labor Supply in the Public Schools*, the statement is made that the largest supply of possible farm labor in Wisconsin is in the high schools of our state. The schools are urged to make that supply of labor available for the farms of Wisconsin. Courses of study were to be so arranged and the schedule so adjusted as to enable those boys who desire to engage in food production work

to do so without loss of credit. An outline of the special work to be accomplished in each particular agricultural section is set forth in the bulletin.

The secretary's report of the annual meeting of the Wisconsin State Horticultural Society, published in *Wisconsin Horticulture* for January, 1918 shows that that organization is doing a great war work in the matter of increasing and conserving the commissary stores of the state. Through the efforts of the Wisconsin Gardeners' Advisory Council, they enlisted a great army of volunteer workers during the year 1917, and approximately 200,000 home gardens, averaging one-twentieth of an acre each were cultivated in this state.

The *Sixth Annual Report on the Workmen's Compensation Act*, issued by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, shows that during the year between July 1, 1916 and July 1, 1917 there were 20,560 compensatable accidents reported. This number exceeded those reported during the preceding year by more than 25 per cent and those of two years ago by 85 per cent. The number of cases in which a settlement was reached also showed a great increase, the total being 17,157. Of this number 219 were fatal cases. The benefits paid out in the cases settled during the last year reached \$1,517,329. Of this sum, \$1,184,371 represented indemnity paid to the injured workmen or their dependents, while \$391,958 were paid for medical aid. More than 96 per cent of the cases settled under the compensation act during the year were adjusted between the parties without a formal order from the commission. Out of a total of 832 decisions rendered by the commission only 50 were appealed to the courts, and in only 2 cases was the decision of the commission reversed.

The Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin has issued a bulletin (No. 881) entitled *The Great War*, by Professor W. J. Chase. It includes a study outline of the causes, the immediate background, and the beginnings of the war. The outline was originally planned as a guide-study to be used in making up club programs, but owing to the demand for its use it was revised to meet the needs of any group of serious minded people.

The *Annual Report of the Dairy and Food Commission*, issued in February, 1918, placed the total value of the dairy industry in Wisconsin at \$150,000,000. The production of cheese in 1915—the last year for which figures are given—amounted to 234,929,037 pounds, and was valued at approximately \$33,000,000. Dodge County still held the lead as the banner county in the production of

cheese, with a total of 23,061,528 pounds at the close of the year 1915. Sheboygan was second with 21,363,448, and Manitowoc third with 15,587,573 pounds. There were 435 more cheese factories in operation in 1916 than in 1910. The production of butter in factories amounted to 124,636,071 pounds in 1915, and was valued at \$34,744,774.51. Under the license law that became effective January 1, 1916, 1,028 butter makers and 2,457 cheesemakers took out licenses in 1916 for operating their business. The report shows that the milk condenseries have had a remarkable growth in Wisconsin. In 1915 they bought 396,607,532 pounds of milk, and have been responsible for building a large number of creameries and cheese factories in communities adjoining the condenseries.

Circular 100 issued in February, 1918 by the Agricultural Extension Service of the University of Wisconsin is entitled *Hints on What to Eat During the War*. For the four basic foods, wheat, meat, fat, and sugar, other articles must be substituted if our nation is to give that support to our allies which it is expected to give during the war. The substance of the whole bulletin is summed up in these statements. Save wheat—use more corn. Save meat—use beans and fish. Save fats—use just enough. Save sugar—use syrups.

According to Bulletin number 14, issued by the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture in February, 1918, entitled *Agricultural Statistics for 1917*, Wisconsin has added over 700,000 additional acres to the cultivation of crops since the 1910 census. The total area devoted to cultivated crops has increased from 7,915,904 acres to 8,689,354, or nearly 100,000 acres each year. The statement is made that there is yet a productive region equal to all land now in such crops in Wisconsin remaining to be developed in the upper part of the state. Several counties in that territory have doubled their acreage of cultivated crops since 1910. The total value of all farm crops in Wisconsin for 1917 was estimated at \$330,656,000, which is an increase of \$103,577,000 over the 1916 estimate. The total value of live stock on the farms in Wisconsin on January 1, 1918 was placed at \$316,253,000. This exceeded the estimate of the preceding year by more than \$42,000,000.

*The Tenth Annual Report of the Rail Road Commission of Wisconsin*, Part I, which covers the period from June 30, 1915 to June 30, 1916, shows that a total of 405 cases were heard by the commission. Of this number 228 were railroad cases, 140 utility cases, and the remainder involved the administration by the commission of the stock and bond, blue sky, water power, convenience and necessity, and non-

duplication laws. During the period covered by the report 148 formal railroad decisions were issued, and 142 utility decisions were rendered. The tariff department of the commission reports that 12,930 bills were audited, and that overcharges to the amount of \$279.90 were discovered. Of this amount all but \$58.50 had been refunded by the carriers.

*The First Annual Report on the Statistics of Municipal Finances*, issued in April, 1918, contains data that is the result of seven years of labor on the part of the Wisconsin Tax Commission. Since 1910 that commission has been collecting reports of receipts and disbursements of over 1,500 towns and villages, 128 cities, and 71 counties in Wisconsin. By a series of tables and charts, numbering 38 in all, the report shows the finances of all civil divisions of the state. The tables and charts illustrate in a most striking manner the differences between the financial systems of the different municipalities.

Bulletin number 31 of the *Wisconsin Farmers' Institutes*, issued in April, 1918, shows the manner in which the Wisconsin farmers have met the great emergency that befell them following the outbreak of the war. One special feature that is emphasized in the report is the fact that those counties that had already employed agricultural agents proved to be much better prepared agriculturally to meet the tests imposed upon them than those that were not supplied with agents. Several counties that had not adopted the policy of employing agents fell in line immediately following the declaration of war and employed emergency food agents. The bulletin shows that there are six different institutes all devoted to agricultural interests that hold regular sessions in Wisconsin.

According to a bulletin on *The Mineral Resources of Southwestern Wisconsin*, prepared by W. R. McConnell of the Platteville State Normal School, issued in April, 1918, Wisconsin produced over \$10,000,000 worth of zinc in 1915, and was excelled by only two states in the Union. All the lead and zinc mines of Wisconsin are confined to the three counties of Grant, Iowa, and Lafayette. The report shows that lead mining, once the leading industry in that section, is fast disappearing. Only 3,000 tons of lead valued at \$171,000 were mined in 1915. Southwestern Wisconsin is geographically a part of the Upper Mississippi Valley Lead and Zinc District, which includes parts of Iowa and Illinois. In 1915 the entire district produced 46,900 tons of zinc and of this amount Wisconsin alone produced over 41,000 tons, or more than seven-eighths of the entire amount.

A pamphlet entitled *Election Laws of Wisconsin of 1917 and 1918*, issued in May, 1918, and prepared by Merlin Hull, Secretary of State, contains a reprint of all the election laws found in chapters 3 to 12 inclusive of the Wisconsin statutes of 1917 as amended by the special session of the legislature that convened in February, 1918. All those chapters and sections that are necessary or helpful in the proper conduct of elections are included. The pamphlet is especially valuable to naturalized citizen voters.

#### THE WIDER FIELD

Mr. Edwin O. Wood of Mackinac and New York has been for many years a lover of the scenic and the historical attractions possessed by the "fairy island" at the head of Lake Michigan. As a result of this liking he has prepared and published two fine volumes, richly illustrated, under the title *Historic Mackinac*. The first volume is devoted to a narration of the events pertaining to the Mackinac country from the beginning of French occupancy down to the present time. The second volume contains a collection of original narratives by travelers and others (such as Schoolcraft, Mrs. Kinzie, Bayard Taylor, and Wm. C. Bryant) about Mackinac. Mr. Wood does not pretend to be a trained historian and frankly puts his volumes forth as an offering of love for the benefit of any who may enjoy reading the legends and history of Mackinac. For the traveler or the reader who enjoys a narration of real life rather than a work of fiction, these handsome volumes will have a distinct attraction. The scholar will find in them but little assistance, but the author did not undertake, evidently, to write for his benefit.

The *Michigan History Magazine* for April, 1918 contains an interesting survey of Michigan's part in the Great War by Major Roy C. Vandercook, secretary of the Michigan War Preparedness Board. Such surveys, giving a complete account of the war activities of any state, by those who are in position to know the facts, are of great historical importance and will be the basis from which much historical study will develop in later years. Other articles appearing in the same issue are: "The Creation of Michigan Territory," by William L. Jenks; "History of Prohibition Legislation in Michigan," by Floyd B. Streeter; "James Burrill Angell and the University of Michigan," by Wilfred B. Shaw; "Early Catholic Missions in Emmet County," by Judge Thomas Lineham; "The Michigan Audubon Society," by Mrs. Edith C. Munger; "The Pageant of Escanaba and Correlated Local History," by F. E. King; "Reminiscences of the Mackinac Country," by Brayton Saltonstall; and "Memories of Northern Michigan," by Archibald Butters.

The January, 1918 number of the *Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is devoted entirely to a treatise on the History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803 to 1850, written by Edward A. Miller.

Two articles are found in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. The longer and more important one continues J. E. Murr's "Lincoln in Indiana," begun in the December, 1917 issue. The other article is a short account of "Topenebee and the Decline of the Pottawattomie Nation."

*The Anti Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850* by Asa Earl Martin is a substantial and scholarly monograph issued as Number Twenty-nine of the Filson Club publications. The new volume continues the attractive typographical style inaugurated recently with the issuance of Number Twenty-eight of the Club's publications. The scholarly character and attractive dress of this Society's issues render them noteworthy among western historical publications where too often either form or scholarship, and sometimes both, are sacrificed in deference to political or other considerations.

The *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society for April, 1917 was issued in April of the present year. Its leading article is an excellent study by Judson F. Lee of transportation as a factor in the development of northern Illinois prior to 1860. Another article of much interest and timeliness is an appeal by Jacob Piatt Dunn, of Indiana, for the preservation from impending oblivion of our native Indian languages of North America.

The major portion of the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* is devoted to "Relief Work in Iowa During the Civil War," by Earl S. Fullbrook. Aside from this is a short article on the death of Albert Sidney Johnston on the Battlefield of Shiloh, contributed by Joseph W. Rich.

Several interesting articles comprise the contents of the April number of the *Missouri Historical Review*. H. A. Trexler contributes the second installment of his study of "Missouri-Montana Highways"; the third installment of the translation of Gootfried Duden's report on western American conditions is presented by Wm. G. Bek: "Missouri and the [present] War," and a memorial sketch of Francis A. Sampson, former secretary of the Society, are contributed by Floyd Shoemaker.

Among the leading articles in the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* is an interesting account of "The United States Gunboat Harriet Lane," by Philip C. Tucker. Other contributions worth noting are the second installment of "The Powers of the Commander of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department," by Florence E. Holladay, and "Hamilton Stuart: Pioneer Editor," by Ben C. Stuart.

A significant indication of the ever-increasing interest in the subject of Spanish-American history and relationships is afforded by the appearance in February of the first number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*. The new quarterly is admirably sponsored, and enlists the support of such men as President Wilson, Secretary McAdoo, Secretary Lansing, and John Barrett. Judged by the first issue, the *Review* bids fair at once to take prominent rank among the leading historical quarterlies of America. It should be a matter of particular interest to Wisconsin readers that the managing editor is James A. Robertson, long connected with Wisconsin and associated with the late Emma Blair in editing the monumental *Philippine Islands* in fifty-five volumes.





