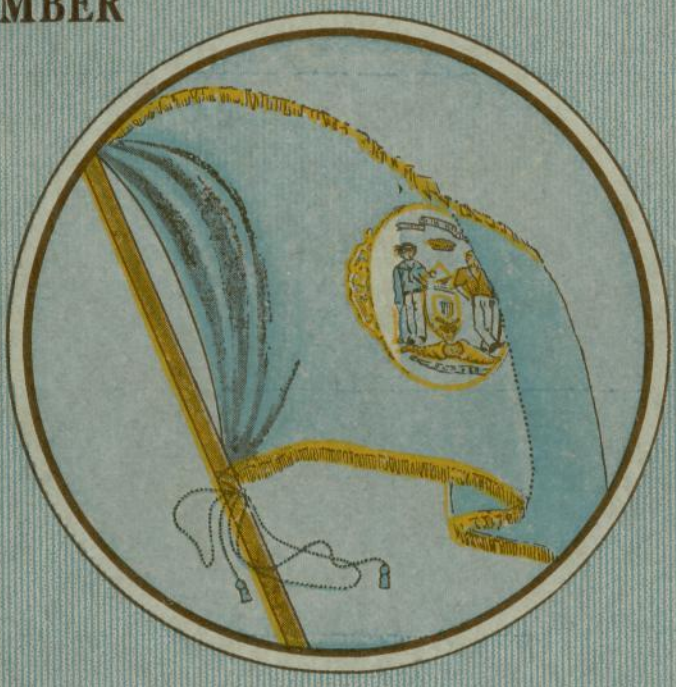
THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

SEPTEMBER 1924



VOLUME VIII

NUMBER 1

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY THE STATE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN is a state-aided corporation whose function is the cultivation and encouragement of the historical interests of the State. To this end it invites your coöperation; membership is open to all, whether residents of Wisconsin or elsewhere. The dues of annual members are two dollars, payable in advance; of life members, twenty dollars, payable once only. Subject to certain exceptions, members receive the publications of the Society, the cost of producing which far exceeds the membership fee. This is rendered possible by reason of the aid accorded the Society by the State. Of the work and ideals of the Society this magazine affords, it is believed, a fair example. With limited means, much has already been accomplished; with ampler funds more might be achieved. So far as is known, not a penny entrusted to the Society has ever been lost or misapplied. Property may be willed to the Society in entire confidence that any trust it assumes will be scrupulously executed.

The WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY is published quarterly by the Society, at 450 Ahnaip Street, Menasha, Wisconsin, in September, December, March, and June, and is distributed to its members and exchanges; others who so desire may receive it for the annual subscription of two dollars, payable in advance; single numbers may be had for fifty cents. All correspondence concerning the magazine should be addressed to the office of the State Historical Society, Madison, Wis.

Entered as second-class matter, December 17, 1917, at the post office at Menasha, Wisconsin, under the act of March 5, 1879.

The Collegiate Press
GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY
MENASHA, WISCONSIN

VOL. VIII, No. 1 Sept. 1924

THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

PUBLICATIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN. JOSEPH SCHAFER, Superintendent and Editor

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Paid for out of the George B. Burrows Fund Income

WILLIAM A. BARSTOW

KNOW-NOTHINGISM IN WISCONSIN

JOSEPH SCHAFER

Philadelphia, on the fourth of July, 1844, staged a unique and grandiose celebration. It was in the nature of a mighty demonstration of the Native American, or *Republican* Associations of that city, joined by allied organizations from neighboring cities and states. The leading feature was the parade which began at ten thirty, having formed on Arch Street and proceeded, by a complicated route employing nearly a score of streets and roads, to Snyder's woods. The procession, we are told, was preceded by a "trumpeter of fame, mounted." Then, in order, came: "the Committee of Arrangement on horseback, ten in number, with broad light blue silk scarfs, badges on hats, and carrying truncheons"; chief marshal and aides, mounted; plough, drawn by two horses, "the horses and harness decorated with ripe grain, farmers leading the horses and following the plough"; victuallers of the city, one hundred and thirty of them, in white frocks, with scarf and sash, mounted; "twenty infirm native American citizens, mounted, in citizen's dress; a barouche containing the president and vice-president of the New York delegation, followed by the committee of arrangements from New York, mounted, sixty-five members"; their banner, borne in the barouche, proclaimed the sentiment: "The Bible the basis of Education, and the Safeguard of Liberty."

Following the New York delegation came the delegation from Wilmington, Delaware, forty-five members, also with a barouche and with a banner inscribed with the challenge: "Our fathers gave us the Bible, we will not yield it to a foreign hand." Following this came a barouche bearing the orator of the day (William D. Baker), the reader of the

Declaration of Independence, and several others. A "Temple of Liberty" came next. It was supported by thirteen Greek columns, suspended on each "a scrolled shield bearing the coats of arms of the thirteen original states."

The temple was the real head of the procession. It was followed by the representations of the several states mounted, the committee of relief, the "orphans of the martyrs [those killed in the riots to be mentioned later] and the wounded in the assault at Kensington"; the Camden, New Jersey, Native American Republican Association; Second Ward Spring Garden Association, with a banner inscribed: "Foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of a Republican government"; more barouches, marshals, aides, etc. Then followed, in seemingly endless array, the organizations from the wards of the city, the suburbs, and those of neighboring towns, carrying banners inscribed with sentiments appropriate to the occasion, such as: "Beware of foreign influence," "The future destinies of the country depend on us," "Right gives might," "United who can break us," "21 years," and "America, our native land." It is said the line was an hour and a quarter in passing a given point; that the streets along the whole line were densely crowded, while "the windows and balconies of the houses were occupied by ladies, showering bouquets and wreaths, and waving their handkerchiefs in token of admiration."[1]

In this manner did the "Native American Republican Associations" first effectually dramatize their principles and their power in the eyes of the American public. The origin of this particular movement dates from the year 1837, when a meeting of native Americans occurred at Germantown, Pennsylvania, which drew up a declaration

[1] This description is from John Hancock Lee, *The Origin and Progress of the American Party in Politics* (Philadelphia, 1855), chap. xvii.

of principles, while about the same time meetings in New York took similar action.[2] That was just the period of the rapid settlement of Northeasterners, or Yankees, in Wisconsin, and in order to reveal the character of the agitation which came ten years later to that new community, it is only necessary to discover what Nativism meant where it manifested itself more normally. The Germantown "Preamble and Constitution" of 1837 affords a partial interpretation. In that document the Nativists demanded a repeal of the naturalization law of 1790, which permitted foreign-born persons, arriving in this country, to become citizens of the United States after five years' residence therein. "It needs no argument," they say, "to prove how rapidly increasing is the foreign influence, even now by far too powerful in our country; and the day must come and, we fear, is not far distant, when most of our offices will be held by foreigners—men who have no sympathy with the spirit of our institutions. . . .Is this the way to secure and perpetuate the freedom for which our ancestors bled and died? No, Americans, No! Let us come forward, then, and prove that the spirit of '76 is not yet extinct, and that we are not degenerate sons of worthy sires. Let us crush this rising power: it has already blossomed, let us destroy it in the bud, ere the fruit reach maturity."[3]

The address declares that the emigrants from Europe, who are coming at that time, are chiefly of those classes who, "discontented and oppressed at home, leave there filled with all the requisite materials to spread among our citizens anarchy, radicalism and rebellion."

This earliest pronouncement says nothing to indicate that a religious issue was involved in Nativism, but that phase of the subject was not long in manifesting itself.

[2] In a very real sense, however, the agitation leading to the passing of the alien and sedition acts during John Adams' presidency may be regarded as the first of the anti-foreign movements in this country.

[3] Lee, 15-16.

When, in 1843, the movement acquired new vitality, its principles were more explicitly set forth. They included (a) the demand for a revision of the naturalization law to require in future twenty-one years' residence of the foreign-born before they could be made citizens; (b) the assertion that the Bible, without note or comment, is not sectarian—that "it is the fountainhead of morality and all good government, and should be used in our public schools as a reading book"; (c) the declaration that Nativists are "opposed to a union of church and state in any form" and hold "that native Americans only should be appointed to office, to legislate, administer, or execute the laws of their own country."

It was the religious aspect of the movement which soon precipitated bloody riots. The Nativists accused the Catholic Irish of instigating the riots by attacking with rifle and shotgun Nativist meetings of unarmed men. These riots at Philadelphia in May, 1844, led to virtual war between Americans and Irish, with killings on both sides, the burning of rows of workmen's homes believed to have harbored armed rioters, and the firing, by the mob of Nativist sympathizers, of several Catholic churches. The apportionment of the blame for these outrages need not concern us here, but their effect was to engender a venomous hatred between Catholic Irish citizens and the American Republican Associations, which that generation was not likely to outlive. Perhaps the open hostility between Nativists and Catholics was one reason for the cover of secrecy which Nativism afterwards assumed. At all events, the change from open meetings to secret conclaves, with passwords, ritual, and emblems, was one of the modifications which it underwent apparently between 1844 and 1845. With that change—the establishment of the order of the "United Sons of America"[4]—*Nativism* became *Know-Nothingism*, and the

[4] Or the "Order of the Star Spangled Banner," as it was called in some localities.

first national convention of the American party, held at Philadelphia on the fifth to the seventh of July, 1845, was an assembly of these lodges as organized in fourteen states of the Union. Thus emerged the national Know-Nothing party.

During the whole of the interval 1837–1845, in which this party was forming, Wisconsin was in the territorial stage of political development. Politics, accordingly, differed materially from that in the older states. Not that there was ever a dearth of interest in politics; but the politics of the period in Wisconsin Territory was mainly personal, centering in men like James Duane Doty and General Henry Dodge, and rarely touching the economic and social issues which divided the voters of the nation. If one were to take the prominent territorial politicians at their words, practically all of them would have to be classed as Democrats. One suspects, however, that in the absence of rigid party organization, many who would normally have been Whigs paraded as Democrats because that was the popular thing to do and the only way to obtain political preferment. Among rival politicians, to be sure, there were charges of Whiggism or Know-Nothingism, denials, and counter charges without stint. Yet, if a man proclaimed himself a Democrat there was no official method of excluding him from the benefits of the party designation.

In 1846–1847, however, the discussion of statehood, the constitutional convention, and the debate over the first constitution, lifted Wisconsin politics to the national plane. Then, in 1848, the territory entered the Union as a state just in time to participate in the presidential election of that year, thus admitting to our quiet precincts the noisy demonstrations and the heated argumentation which have been a feature of each quadrennial election ever since.

The election of 1848 presented to the voters three options. General Zachary Taylor was the Whig candidate,[5] Lewis Cass the Democrat, while Martin Van Buren, erstwhile Democratic president in succession to Jackson, was the candidate of the Free Soil party. The Wisconsin vote favored Cass, who received 14,924 ballots, a plurality over each of the others. But Taylor had 13,642 and Van Buren 10,261, a combined majority of nearly nine thousand over Cass, which proves that the Democratic power in Wisconsin was seriously threatened. It is significant that the Van Buren vote was heaviest in those counties which were settled by the Yankees and where, in the absence of a Free Soil candidate, one would have expected heavy majorities on the Whig side. Racine, Walworth, and Rock counties, taken together, gave Van Buren 4762, as against 3008 for Taylor and 1685 for Cass, or a majority of 69 over all. This reveals a strong disposition to independence of party control on the part of the Yankee element, and a tendency to emphasize moral issues as against the more material issues debated between the two leading national parties, Democrats and Whigs. Here was a fruitful soil in which to propagate the principles of Know-Nothingism, and inasmuch as most of the northern Know-Nothings were antislavery men too, it is probable that the Free Soil vote of 1848 is at least partly explained by the leaven of Know-Nothingism already working among the Yankee element in Wisconsin. But there is no certain criterion for measuring the amount of party disaffection due to this influence as compared, let us say, with antislavery sentiment.[6]

The incentive to Nativism lay in the fact that Wisconsin, young as it was, already had a large foreign population which was destined to advance in numbers with giant

[5] Taylor had been officially endorsed by the Know-Nothing party, but that endorsement probably was intended to influence the vote in the South.

[6] On the Free Soil party in Wisconsin, see Theodore Clark Smith, in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1894, 97-150.

strides. The census of 1850 shows a native element amounting to 193,178 confronted with 105,458 foreign-born; or a trifle less than two natives to every one of those who had come from a foreign land. The national convention of the American party in July, 1845, complained that the ratio of foreign-born to American-born in the country as a whole had advanced from 40 to 1 at the beginning of the national government, to 7 to 1 in 1845. "A like advance for fifteen years," they say, "will leave the natives of the soil in a minority in their own land." Whether or not that prediction, as applied to the whole country, had reason behind it, no one could doubt that the inpouring of German, Irish, and Norwegian immigrants to Wisconsin would be apt in a few years to overwhelm the American element so far as mere numbers were concerned. To add to the causes of uneasiness the constitution makers, under Democratic leadership, adopted the principle that the suffrage right might be enjoyed by all foreign-born after one year's residence in the state, provided they had declared their intention to become citizens. This brought the new importations from overseas promptly into the political arena and greatly augmented the numbers to be reckoned with, as well as complicated the problems incident to the foreigners' lack of knowledge about American political affairs.

There is some evidence that it may have been this most liberal provision of the constitution, coupled with its denial of the suffrage to free negroes, which aroused a Nativistic opposition having its contact with the antislavery element. At all events, one of the newspapers in discussing the first constitution (1847) declared that, while the enemies of the instrument were loath to declare their views openly, many opposed the constitution on the specific ground of its liberality to foreigners.[7] Another considered there was "some lurking hostility to foreigners which is perhaps more deeply

[7] See *Madison Democrat*, May 6, 1847. As quoted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xxviii, 363-364.

felt than is freely spoken."[8] And one "abolitionist" from Kenosha County criticized the constitution makers for disfranchising free blacks while, at the same time, they "split hairs with a razor's keenness to secure the largest possible political rights to the foreigner who claims but a day's residence on our shores from the monarchies of the Old World."[9] When, therefore, the voters in 1848 surprised the political wiseacres by polling more than ten thousand votes for Van Buren and Free Soil, it is fair to assume that this was an expression mainly of a genuine and widespread interest in keeping the territories free from slavery; but, on the other hand, it may have expressed also more or less of the prejudice against foreigners which the discussion of the constitution revealed.

Most of the conditions about which the American party complained, and which it pledged itself to amend, existed in more intensive form in Wisconsin than in the eastern states. An exception must be made to this statement, however, which is more correct statistically than actually. For, after all, the evils complained of manifested themselves especially in the congested quarters of the eastern cities. That is where the ward heeler bought venal votes, some of which were apt to be those of adopted citizens; the municipal boss, by courting those who were devoid of American traditions and the means of discriminating between policies, was sometimes able there to control blocks of docile votes, by which means the result of an election could sometimes be changed.

In the industrial cities, also, the agitation for and the building up of a system of education supported by public taxes, was bringing forward sharply the issue of Bible teaching in the schools. New Englanders had always used the Bible for purposes of teaching, and they profoundly

[8] *Racine Advocate*, May 10, 1847.
[9] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xxviii, 643.

believed it to be, what the banners of the Nativists proclaimed it, "the basis of education, the fountainhead of morals." To them it seemed sacrilege and a palpable return to heathenism to urge the exclusion of the Bible from the schools. On the other hand, the Catholics, who paid taxes also, and who as citizens using the public schools possessed every right guaranteed by the national and state constitutions, were utterly opposed to the indiscriminate reading of the Bible to their children in the public schools. They looked upon such reading as not merely religious teaching, conducted usually by Protestants, but as instruction from a Protestant standpoint; hence in this state coming under the constitutional prohibition of sectarian instruction. This issue—the Bible in the schools—was from earliest times a feature of the heated controversy between the Know-Nothings and the Catholics. It led to suits at law from time to time in various states, with decisions commonly favoring the Protestants. In Wisconsin this question was finally settled in 1890 by the absolute exclusion from the schools of the Bible as a textbook, and the prohibition of the practice of Bible reading "without note or comment."[10] Such reading was held by the supreme court to constitute sectarian instruction within the meaning of section three of article ten of the state constitution, which provides that no sectarian instruction shall be allowed in the district schools of this state. The court, believing that Wisconsin was the first state to enact, clearly, such a prohibition, was of opinion that the constitution makers may have adopted the provision in deference to the large number and great variety of immigrants already domiciled in the state and as a positive attraction to others.[11] The history of the constitu-

[10] The Edgerton Bible Case. See Case of Weiss et al. vs. School Board of Edgerton. Collection of pamphlets containing the opinion of Circuit Judge John R. Bennett, briefs of attorneys, and opinions of Justices Lyon, Cassoday, and Orton.

[11] See opinion of Justice Lyon, in *Opinions*, by Justices Lyon, Cassoday, and Orton, 19.

tional convention throws no light on the point, since that specific feature of the educational article appears to have elicited no debate in committee of the whole and no comment in the newspapers. However, as the court indicates, the clause is in harmony with the liberal principles governing the treatment of foreigners in Wisconsin by the constitution builders, and it is not impossible that the committee reporting the article may have been influenced by such considerations.

Doubtless the exceptionally large number of foreigners in Wisconsin was itself a practical guarantee that no very serious Nativist agitation would occur here. For, with foreign voters holding the balance of power between existing parties, neither of them would dare openly to advocate the American party doctrines, because it would mean their political annihilation; and, on the other hand, unless conditions created by the foreign element in politics should become so bad as to call for revolutionary action—which never happened—no considerable numbers of natives would desert the old parties in order to build up an American party to combat the foreign influence. Thus, Nativism in Wisconsin proved to be rather a reflection of what existed elsewhere, a threat instead of a present political danger, an unquiet spirit useful to politicians for frightening the more childlike of the foreign elements and for supplying "issues" when nothing more legitimate offered.

During a single political canvass, that of 1855, did the Know-Nothing organization figure prominently and in a manner to render its influence calculable. That was the year of the entrance of the Republican party into the gubernatorial contest and its bare election of Coles Bashford to the governorship over the opposition of William A. Barstow, incumbent. Events in other states, notably Massachusetts, where the Know-Nothings had been completely successful

in 1854,[12] had so heartened the American party that they dreamed of a new political era in which their principles should dominate the country. That much activity was manifested in Wisconsin is shown from the number of lodges they claimed in that state, and from the fact that the Milwaukee *Daily American* was established in July, 1855, as the organ of the party in Wisconsin.

The editor of the *American*, David A. Gillies, came from the East for the purpose of conducting this journal. He was mild-mannered as a writer, in no sense a match for that master of invective, Sherman Booth, editor of the *Free Democrat*, or for Rufus King, the urbane editor of the *Sentinel*, who on occasion would wield a witheringly sarcastic pen. Gillies wrote profusely, though without distinction, on the principles of his party, but he paid so much attention to the practical features of his business that the paper seems to have reached a rather wide circle of readers through the state, as well as in Milwaukee. It continued to be issued as a Nativist organ until shortly before the election of 1856, when it was sold to A. J. Aikens and Wellington Hart, after which for the time being it was Republican in its politics.

It is impossible to assert with confidence anything about the numerical strength of the Know-Nothing party, but from post election statements of the *American* as to the number of lodges in the state and the aggregate of the vote they polled, the party at that time must have constituted a genuine menace to the Republicans and the Democrats, both of which counted on the foreign vote, though not equally, and each of which was anxious to prevent its members from giving way to the allurements of Nativism. That party, as was well known, demanded the reform of the naturalization law to require twenty-one years' residence of foreigners before they could be made citizens of the

[12] Though with the aid of the Free Soilers. See George H. Haynes, "A Know-Nothing Legislature," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1896, i, 1774.

United States; the exclusion of foreign-born citizens from public offices, which were to be filled in all cases by natives; and, in effect, the total proscription of Catholics as persons who, being members of a church which recognized the pope, a "foreign potentate," as its head, could not be good citizens of the United States. "The man who is a Roman cannot be an American."[13] To the above may be added the demand for "the enactment of laws for the protection of the ballot-box"; and the demand for "free and reliable institutions for the education of all classes of the people, with the Bible as the textbook in our common schools."[14]

Notwithstanding its claims as to numbers of adherents, the Know-Nothing party in Wisconsin refrained from nominating a ticket to contest the election. Had it done so the Democratic and Republican parties might have been spared much pains in their effort to avoid the imputation, mutually bestowed, of seeking and accepting Know-Nothing support. When the Democratic state convention met in Madison (August 31, 1855) a resolution was promptly offered "very strongly denouncing Know-Nothingism, and declaring the nomination not binding if procured by the aid of Know-Nothings."[15] After lying over several days, the resolution emerged in the Democratic platform, but it was modified to read:

> Resolved, that the principles of the Democratic party and the teachings of the constitution are utterly antagonistic to every political organization which is bound together by secret pledges, or which seeks to proscribe any class of our citizens upon account of their religious creed, or the place of their nativity; and that the provisions of the constitution and laws of Wisconsin in relation to the political franchises of foreigners, are entirely satisfactory to this convention, and in accordance with the Democratic sentiment in this state.[16]

[13] Milwaukee *Daily American*, Oct. 4, 1855.

[14] Quoted from the platform of the American party of New York, which the Milwaukee *Daily American* declared to be essentially like the platforms of all the northern states.

[15] *Sentinel*, Sept. 1, 1855. The resolution was introduced by Charles G. Rodolf, a man of Swiss birth.

[16] *Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1855.

Some excitement occurred in the convention when Dominic Casey, who claimed to be a delegate from Waukesha, denounced Governor Barstow as a Know-Nothing; but Casey was not seated and no one took seriously the rather incoherent charge. More or less mutual suspicion existed among the delegates, each being apt to wonder whether his nearest neighbor was not, perchance, a member of some K. N. lodge, or at least a secret friend of the "dark-lantern boys." The resolution quoted above, however, was held to "purge" the Democracy from all taint of Know-Nothingism, and most of the unterrified returned to their homes prepared to vouch for the uncontaminated character of their candidates who would thus be recommended to the adopted citizens for their suffrages. One of the adopted citizens, Charles Kuehn, was nominated for the office of state treasurer, the post to which Edward Janssen, also a German, had been elected in 1853.

The Republican convention followed on the heels of the Democratic, being held at Madison on the fifth of September. The issue of Know-Nothingism was just as prominent in the former as in the latter. Indeed, Sherman Booth, the redoubtable champion of a free democracy, forced that issue upon the attention of the delegates before the opening of the convention, first, by giving it the leading place in his editorial columns for several days, and second, by convoking a mass meeting at the capitol on the morning of the day on which the Republican convention was to convene. Mr. Booth presided over that mass meeting and spoke "at some length, recapitulating the statements which have appeared in his paper of late, as to the attempts of the K. N. organization to control the Republican convention and urging it as a duty of this meeting and of the convention to pass resolutions denouncing such attempts and the Know-Nothing organization itself, and to nominate candidates free from all taint or suspicion of Know-Nothingism. He closed by

offering a series of resolutions embodying these views."[17] The discussion which followed developed no difference of sentiment on the principles involved, but showed that the Republicans, like their predecessors of the Democracy, were anxious to handle the subject in as politic a manner as possible. When the convention opened, Byron Paine offered a resolution which was in these words: "Resolved, that the fundamental principles of the Republican party are based upon the equal rights of all men; that those principles are utterly hostile to the proscription of any on account of birthplace, religion, or color; and that this convention is opposed to all secret political organizations which favor such proscription or adopt secret measures or take upon themselves obligations inconsistent with the Republican's faith, and with fair and honest action as members of the Republican party." The resolution was adopted by acclamation.

Like the Democratic convention, the Republican gathering also had its tense moments over the K. N. subject. Mr. A. M. Wood, of Fond du Lac, was challenged as a suspect. He was duly catechised in regard to the purity of his Republicanism, and when he declared himself ready to vote for foreigners should such be placed in nomination, the leaders pronounced themselves satisfied. But this does not mean that all suspicion was thereby banished from the convention. In order to meet the requirement of a ticket which would attract German votes, the Republicans nominated Charles Roeser, of Manitowoc, editor of the pioneer Wisconsin German Republican newspaper, for treasurer.

The campaign which followed was grotesquely personal. We need not here discuss the charges against Barstow on account of the supposed excessive cost of the State Asylum for the Insane or the charges based on the alleged mismanagement of the school lands. These matters necessarily played a large part in the canvass. But the energies

[17] *Sentinel*, Sept. 6, 1855.

of the opposing newspapers were expended mainly in the effort, by hook or by crook, to fasten on the head of each ticket the charge of being a Know-Nothing or of being in league with the Know-Nothings for the purpose of securing their support in the election.

The Casey incident in the Democratic convention, which except as partisan ammunition would not have received even passing notice, was fastened upon by the Republican press for the purpose of convincing the voters that Barstow was too close to the evil one in the form of the Know-Nothings. Casey's statement was cleverly supported. The *Milwaukee News*, a Democratic paper, had made a prophecy to the effect that no doubt the Know-Nothings would attempt to control the Democratic convention, and the *Pinery*, another Democratic paper, confessed that "this Barstow ticket is certain of the whole vote opposed to the Maine law and a considerable share, if not the whole, of the Know-Nothing vote." To the partisan, here was a complete chain of evidence, from Democratic sources! One paper says the convention is very likely to be controlled by the "dark lantern boys"; another asserts boisterously that the candidate for governor is a Know-Nothing; and a third calmly speculates on the proportion of the Know-Nothing vote which their candidate will poll! One can imagine the glee with which Rufus King put these incidents together for the consumption of the *Sentinel's* readers.[18] And in this style of campaigning he was ably abetted by David Atwood of the *State Journal*, and other Republican editors. If the Republicans were actually arranging for the delivery to their gubernatorial candidate of the bulk of Know-Nothing votes, as was charged and as the facts of the election seemed to imply, they at least were able to throw up a very effective dust screen behind which to carry out their designs.

[18] See especially the *Sentinel* for Sept. 20, 1855.

The opposite party promptly adopted the same tactics. They charged "as per arrangement" (so the *Sentinel* put it) that Bashford was a Know-Nothing, and a little later the *Madison Democrat* not only repeated the charge but threatened to prove it. Democratic papers like the *Democrat* kept that idea before the people during the entire campaign, coupling it with frequently reiterated statements that the Republicans were determined to foist on the people another "Maine law" (prohibition) such as Governor Barstow had vetoed during the preceding session of the legislature. All of this was for the purpose of preventing any break in their foreign vote. "They know full well," said the *Sentinel*, "that if our adopted citizens vote independently and divide, as native citizens do, the Barstow ticket will be beaten out of sight. Hence all these appliances to rally the foreign-born voters in a body, to sham democracy."[19]

The campaign was not devoid of humorous aspects. Sometimes editors found their emotions of antipathy too strong to be adequately expressed in the vocabulary at command. That gave their opponents an opportunity to raise the laugh against them. Thus, on September 26 the *Sentinel* printed a little squib which ran as follows, under the caption "HOLD HIM:"

> Is there nobody over in Sauk County who will reason with the editor of the *Democrat*? Or is he so excited as to be past reasoning with? Certainly something ought to be done with him, for such enthusiasm cannot last until election without something giving out. He is disturbed about the Republican nominations, and calls upon his American K. N. friends not to vote for it [the Republican ticket]. Hear him: "Will the American K. N. support their sacrilege? No, Never—Whigs, demagogues, and broken down politicians banded together in infamy, are seeking to ruin the fair glory of our youthful state—will our honest and intelligent citizens be lured by their Syrene [sic] song and allow this putrescent mass of moral corruption, whose touch is but to destroy, be fastened upon us? Our hills and valleys, our woodland and prairies answer NO, NOT FOREVER."

[19] *Sentinel*, Sept. 11, 1855.

And King comments: "Ho, Excelsior! Good for the Baraboo hills!"

Shortly before the election the *Milwaukee American* (Know-Nothing organ) announced that the "Americans" would vote the Republican ticket, because the Democratic ticket was unworthy of support, while they were satisfied, in general, with the candidates nominated by the Republicans. This announcement, as may be supposed, caused a sensation. Thereupon the Democrats redoubled their efforts to convince the foreign-born that an actual fusion had been effected between the "Shanghais" (Republicans) and the Know-Nothings; that Bashford was unquestionably a member of the order, as had often been charged, without denial from him; that he had been slipping quietly from place to place, arranging matters with the K. N. lodges; and, in a word, that the confession of the *American* more than confirmed all that the Democrats had charged. This statement of the *American* was a genuine embarrassment to the Republicans. They did not wish to alienate the promised K. N. support, neither did they care to sacrifice such foreign votes as they had hoped to secure. As is usual in such cases, they took the path of least resistance, and on the eve of the election Bashford came out, in a letter to General King of the *Sentinel*, declaring merely that he was not a member of the order of Know-Nothings, or of any other secret order.

But the Republicans were not through with the "dark lantern boys" yet, for the day after the election the *American* made the direct claim that, if the Republicans should prove successful, it would be on account of the votes thrown to the Republican ticket by the American party. Its words were: "The American party of Wisconsin has achieved for the Republican party its victory—if victory it has obtained. Without their aid the party would have been routed in the present canvass."[20] Thereupon both Sherman Booth and

[20] *Daily American*, Nov. 7, 1855.

General King entered denials, asserting that the show of aid proffered to the Republican ticket by the Know-Nothings frightened away the foreign vote and led to the defeat of their ticket—if it was defeated. The *Sentinel* estimated the foreign defections at ten thousand. But the *American* returned the charge, saying:

> In the hundreds of councils [lodges of the K. N.] now in full operation in this state active preparations were made to poll the entire vote for Bashford and the remainder of the Republican ticket. The state council authorized an appropriation of means sufficient to send working men through the state to insure a united and concentrated effort on the part of the order in behalf of the Republican ticket. This was done and upwards of twenty thousand votes have been polled through this instrumentality.[21]

These statements are proof that the Know-Nothing party in 1855 elected to support the Republican nominees rather than to put up an independent ticket. They do not prove the existence of an understanding between the Republican and Know-Nothing organizations; yet in politics there is usually some fire where the smoke is a dense pall, as in this case it was. We cannot, of course, accept as anything more than a rough estimate the *American's* assertion that more than 20,000 "American" votes were polled.[22] But the net result of the campaign, especially the above disclosures, was to convince the public, and especially the foreign-born, that Republicanism was deeply tainted with the Know-Nothingism which they both hated and feared.[23]

[21] *Daily American*, Nov. 10, 1855.

[22] The official canvass for the state (*Sentinel*, Dec. 19, 1855) shows that Barstow received 36,355 votes, Bashford 36,198. A recount gave Bashford a very slight advantage. More interesting, as revealing a possible K. N. influence on the result, is the fact that Bashford was absolutely the high man on the Republican side, while Roeser, the one foreign-born candidate, was the low man. Roeser's vote was only 32,872. Kuehn, the foreign-born candidate on the Democratic side, received 38,657, which was more than went to any other candidate on his ticket except Barry, who ran for state superintendent of public instruction. The figures suggest that the Know-Nothings pulled Bashford over the line, but were cold toward Roeser as a foreigner. They also suggest that many German Democrats went to the polls to vote for Kuehn and no one else.

[23] This paper is necessarily a sketch rather than a definitive treatment of the subject, for the reason that our means of information are as yet incomplete. It is hoped that those possessing letters, journals, or diaries throwing further light upon Know-Nothingism in Wisconsin will favor the Historical Society with their records.—EDITOR.

Never again did the American party figure so prominently in Wisconsin. But for many years and during a succession of national campaigns beginning with that of 1856, the charge of Know-Nothingism was used against the Republicans for the purpose of holding Germans and Irish to their ancient Democratic allegiance. The plan did not wholly succeed, for little by little a fragment of the German population fell away and joined the party of Fremont and Lincoln. But of the various political forces operative in this state, which enabled the Democratic party to weather the storms of the Civil War and come out so nearly victorious in 1876,[24] doubtless the purely negative force of "Nativism," influencing the loyalty of foreigners to the Democracy, was the most important.

It would be possible to show that certain political episodes of the later period revived in a measure the earlier anti-Know-Nothing antipathies, resulting in significant shifts of party allegiance among the foreign-born. But the Know-Nothingism of the 1840's and the 1850's had its "Indian summer" in 1856 and 1860, and was blasted by the chill winds of war which so quickly followed. The later manifestations of the spirit of Know-Nothingism constitute another story.

[24] Tilden received 123,927, Hayes 130,067. The counties where Germans and Bohemians were most numerous gave the largest Tilden majorities.

EARLY HISTORY OF RIPON COLLEGE, 1850-1864

SAMUEL M. PEDRICK

On Saturday, November 23, 1850, a little group of men gathered at the home of H. D. Scott in the village of Ripon, in the township of Ceresco, Fond du Lac County, having been convened by a formal notice, signed by Justice of the Peace G. H. Baker, for the purpose of the "formation of a corporation for mental improvement and the promotion of education, as provided in Chapter 49 of the Statutes of Wisconsin." At this meeting an organization was perfected, under the advice of the village lawyer of that pioneer settlement, Alvan E. Bovay, and the new corporation was launched under the name of the "Lyceum of Ripon." A seal was adopted, consisting of the common scroll. David P. Mapes was elected president; Alvan E. Bovay, secretary; E. L. Northrup, treasurer; and Warren Chase, Jehdeiah Bowen, John S. Horner, Asa Kinney, Almon Osborn, and Edwin Lockwood, with the officers, were made the board of directors of this new educational organization. This was the beginning of Ripon College.

We have no record of who were present at that early meeting, but we do have the secretary's record of the formal action that was committed to the written page for preservation; that record was lost for many years, but was discovered by chance and returned to the college office in 1905 by the late W. W. Robinson, of Ripon.

At the first meeting the directors were "authorized in their discretion to contract for the erection of a building in the village of Ripon, of stone, fifty feet square, two stories high, with hip roof, Dome &c, to be used for the purpose of education." To get the full significance of this action one should have in mind a picture of the conditions

in this little community at that time. In May, 1844, the Wisconsin Phalanx had established itself in the valley, which they named Ceresco, and had been there working out the principles of Charles Fourier of France in a very practical way; but at the time of this meeting it had resolved to dissolve, and under an act of the legislature was dividing up its two thousand acres of land and was going out of business. Many of its members were taking farms and becoming permanent settlers; others were taking lots in the newly laid out village of Ceresco, planning to remain permanently. There were probably not more than two hundred souls then left of this social experiment. At the crest of the hill east of the village of Ceresco, Captain D. P. Mapes had obtained control of a forty-acre tract from its owner, Governor John S. Horner, and had there laid out and platted the village of Ripon in April, 1849, and was doing everything that he could to attract settlers to his plat. In the year and a half that had intervened from the time of the platting of his village, its founder had obtained but few families to locate, and we know that "the hamlet was small, and the people poor," when the "college" was projected. The farms in the adjacent territory had all been taken up from the government between 1844 and 1850, but the number of settlers thereon was still small. The school maintained by the Phalanx had been taken over by the local school district, but it was feebly supported and not largely attended.

Mr. Mapes, says Dr. E. H. Merrell in his historical sketch of Ripon College, published in 1893, was "in many respects a marked man. Trained in business in the states of New York and Pennsylvania, afterwards the owner of a steamboat that plied between Albany and New York, accustomed to the tough conditions that belonged to business life before the days of the railroads, or even of canals, he brought to the enterprise of building a new city

the courage, sagacity and magnetism, that mark the veteran general of many hard campaigns. His steamboat was sunk at the Palisades in the Hudson River, and with her went down the bulk of Captain Mapes' fortune. At that day there was one commonly accepted way of mending a broken fortune: it was to gather up what remained, if anything remained, and migrate to the wonderful West. Captain Mapes heeded the prevailing impulse and set his face towards the setting sun. His steps were led, shall we say by a Divine Hand, to the delightful spot which is now the seat of Ripon College. He wrought with a missionary spirit of sacrifice and enthusiasm, and soon gathered a company of strong men and women who had caught the inspiration of his unflagging courage and his personal magnetism."

Of the men whose names were on the directorate of this "Lyceum," several contributed to the history of the state. Alvan E. Bovay took his place in history as the one who first suggested to Horace Greeley the name "Republican" for the new party that should rise in 1854 upon the ashes of the Whig party, and who was the moving spirit in that schoolhouse meeting, the first held in the United States, March 20, 1854, where it was definitely determined that so far as this pioneer community could do so, a new party should be organized, under the name Republican, to meet the issues raised by the Kansas-Nebraska bill. John S. Horner had been an early secretary, and as such ex-officio governor, of Michigan Territory; later, in 1836, secretary of the newly organized Wisconsin Territory; and had lately been judge of the probate court in Marquette County. Warren Chase had been the leader in the Wisconsin Phalanx in Ceresco, a member of both the first and second constitutional conventions, had served in the State Senate as the first senator from Fond du Lac County, and was later a candidate for governor on the Free Soil ticket. Asa Kinney had been a member of the second constitutional convention.

In fact, all of the names were those of strong men of those pioneer days.

At this first meeting which organized the "Lyceum," the record reports the following as the subscriptions toward the new educational enterprise: John S. Horner, $25; Alvan E. Bovay, $25; David P. Mapes, $50; Jehdeiah Bowen, $50; E. L. Northrup, $50; A. P. Mapes, $50; John T. Woodside, $20; Marcellus Pedrick, $10; Lyman Turner, $10; Griffith Beynon, $10; Levi Parker, $10; George F. Lynch, $25; Edwin Lockwood, $10. Thus with $345 pledged, the directors felt encouraged to proceed. We are told that before the building operations went forward in earnest additional subscriptions were obtained, aggregating some $800, "payable in goods, lumber, lime, grain, and such other commodities as were then current." Of money there was then very little, and it is related that the leader of the enterprise turned in his gold watch later when the needs were most pressing.

Subsequent meetings of the directors were held on December 7, 9, 14, and 18, at which meetings specifications were gone over, bids received, first for a building of stone and later for one of wood and brick; and finally, after some modification of the bid of Andrew Gill, of Dartford, the secretary was authorized to enter into contract with Mr. Gill for a "Building 50 x 50 2 stories high of stone laid in 'Random Courses' levelled every foot and 'sunk pointed' From foundation (2 ft. below the surface) to the 1st timbers 3ft. walls 2 ft. thick. thence to the 2nd timbers 12 ft. 20 inches thick. thence to the top 11 ft. 8 inches thick. 34 windows and 2 doors windows and doors arched with stone. corners of building hammer dressed. 8 chimneys topped with brick 8 ft. above the roof. Gill to find all the materials save the wood. and to have free access to the stone and sand quarry. Job to be completed at 7 months from date of contract. that is July 18th 1851. For $800 2/3 of it to be

paid during the progress of the work. remainder on completion thereof."

Having disposed of the matter of the contract for the edifice the directors met again on the first day of January, 1851, and had before them for consideration the draft of a proposed charter which they intended to ask from the legislature at its session, which was soon to be held. At this meeting William S. Brockway and Dana F. Shepard were also present, and participated in the proceedings, being two of the men added, in the proposed draft of charter, to the collegiate board. The draft was taken up article by article and found satisfactory. There then remained but the one item of business, that of filling the blank as to the name of the college, to be inserted in the corporate name. "On motion of Mr. Northrup, the Honor of giving a name to the College was put up at auction. Bidding spirited. Finally struck off to Mr. Brockway for $25 donation. Thereupon on motion of Mr. Bovay it was unanimously resolved to call our institution Brockway College."

This matter having been determined. the charter was taken to Madison, and was enacted into law as Chapter 24 of the *Laws of 1851*, the same being approved by the governor, Nelson Dewey, January 29, 1851. This legislative charter created the nine former directors of the "Lyceum," with Alexander B. Beardsley, Edward L. Runnals, William Starr, and Messrs. Brockway and Shepard, together with the "President of the Collegiate Faculty for the time being, and their successors" as a body corporate under the name of the "Board of Trustees of Brockway College." The purpose of such corporation was declared to be: "To found, establish and maintain at Ripon . . . an Institution of Learning of the highest order, embracing also a department for preparatory instruction."

The first meeting of the trustees of Brockway College was held March 3 following the creation of the charter, and

elected officers of the board. The same men were elected who headed the old "Lyceum." The trustees then divided themselves into classes, one-third to go out of office the following July, one-third a year later, and the rest the third year. This done, they "proceeded to the site of the college building when on full examination of the grounds, and on returning to the public house it was resolved that the structure now under contract be located in the center of a certain Lot 16 rods by 8 to be conveyed by D. P. Mapes to Brockway College." At the same session authority was given to purchase two additional acres of ground from the Phalanx.

The lands being acquired, the "ground for the first building," so writes one who participated, "was staked out in a snow storm by three men, who together were probably not worth $15,000, and no part of that in ready money. Still the contracts were made and the walls of the building pushed up."

May 10, the secretary made the following entry in the record book:

LAYING CORNER STONE

Friday 4 P. M. A genial balmy day. Sun covered by opportune clouds. A small but hopeful company of Ladies & Gentlemen are collected on a 2 hour notice on the apex of College Hill. It is announced by D. P. Mapes Pres. pro. tem. of Brockway College that the corner stone of that Institution is now about to be laid and a copy of the charter deposited under the same by the Master Builder Andrew Gill. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Sherrill. The charter duly sealed was then deposited and the stone laid. After which addresses were made by Messrs. Mapes, Chase, Crawford and Bovay. Benediction by Mr. Sherrill & the company separated.

Although no provision had been made in the charter for the issuance of stock, the board wrestled with the question as to whether some stock interest ought not to be issued as an evidence of ownership for those who contributed to the enterprise. This was considered during at least three different meetings of the board, and finally an elaborate

plan was accepted for giving certificates in denominations of $5 each, bearing seven per cent interest payable in tuition; and all holders of $250 in stock were to be entitled to a perpetual free scholarship. Practically, subsequent events nullified this action.

During the summer the walls of the building went up the full three stories, when the work halted for lack of funds. As Mr. Bowen says in a brief historical article, at this point "the builders took a rest." He says further: "If the question were asked, what was intended to be done with that building, the replies of those who contributed might have differed widely. While some would have said that it was designed for a high school, others would have replied that it was built on purpose to entice settlers, that the proprietors might sell village lots. But whatever motives there may have been, one great one inspired all: the pioneers were bound to show their respect for education, and through dark days as well as sunshine, this love of education has never been quenched among our people."

January 17, 1852, the trustees held a meeting at which the reports were made as to the finances of the building. D. P. Mapes made a detailed statement of his own disbursements and charges on account of the college, crediting himself with lumber, subscription notes collected, and other items paid by him, showing his claim for a balance due him of $137.76. Mr.Bovay showed that he had paid out $178.33 more than he was charged with. E. L. Northrup in a similar manner was $93.69 out of pocket, besides the contributions made by him. There were other items reported outstanding unpaid. Evidently, without counting the above, the building had cost to that time, as reported by the secretary, $1,814.37, to which was added by a later memorandum of the secretary, $126 for lumber.

At this session we read: "Voted to memorialize the Regents of the University, and in failure of them, the

Legislature, to be admitted into connection with the University of Wisconsin and to be allowed the benefit of sharing in the university fund." No subsequent reference is made to the above minute, from which it is assumed that such memorial, if made, met with no success, for at the meeting of the board, July 28, 1852, the committee on auditing accounts was by vote: "Charged with the business of negotiating with the Presbyterian Society or any other Responsible Society or Individuals to take & finish the college and establish a school therein of a high order."

The record is silent for a full year. Dr. Merrell's sketch tells us what happened during that period, and I can do no better than to quote what he says: "Looking about for some religious denomination to take up the work, the trustees made overtures to the Winnebago District Convention of Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, proposing that this Convention assume one-half the debt, amounting in all to about $800, complete the college building and open a school in the spring of 1853. The Board offered to convey the entire property to the Convention when they should engage to meet the conditions. The proposition of the Board was conveyed to the Convention by the Rev. F. G. Sherrill, minister of the Congregational Church at Ripon. The ministers and churches of this Convention had the traditional instinct of Christian educators, and were not slow to respond to the overtures that seemed to come to them so providentially. But at this time the churches were very poor, and the failure of the wheat crop that year added to their distress. They could not assume additional burdens, however small. It chanced however, that the Rev. J. W. Walcott had recently come among them and was minister of the Congregational church at Menasha. He had been at the head of an academy in New York and had brought to the West a little money, the savings from his frugal life as a teacher. To him the Convention appealed,

asking him to assume the work of the new college, and practically hold it for the Convention until the churches should be able to take it off his hands and reimburse him the amount of what he should expend from his private funds.

"After various negotiations the arrangement was made, Mr. Walcott purchasing from the Trustees the entire property. . . . Mr. Walcott immediately assumed control of affairs and began the work of fitting the college building for school purposes and of laying the foundations of 'an institution of the highest order.' Four rooms on the east side of the building were finished and furnished during the fall and winter of 1852-3 besides the hall, and the school was opened for instruction June 1, 1853. . . . Mr. Walcott purchased land adjacent to the original plat, so that now the campus has about eleven acres in all."

From the opening until 1855 the affairs of the school were in the hands of Mr. Walcott. The corporation held one more meeting under its charter, July 27, 1853. The secretary's record of that meeting shows an attempt to continue the corporation by election of trustees, and records the following unanimous action: "Resolved that in the opinion of the Board it is highly desirable and indispensable to the success of this institution that Mr. Walcott should at his earliest convenience come to reside in this community." The meeting was "held in the college edifice first story east room, a beautiful public school room, finished." The secretary makes the following quaint note in closing his official connection: "Session was a short one. No valedictory from the President. No speech making from anybody, although the occasion was one that would have justified it; there before and around us were the first visible fruits of our long, disinterested, unaided and much suspected efforts." This first building is the present East Building of the group of college buildings, although the original square

structure was greatly changed and enlarged in 1882 into the building as it now stands.

The students who entered at that first session, in June, 1853, were principally children from the pioneer homes near at hand. The list of those first students has been preserved, as follows: Jane A. Bowen, Sarah E. Brown, Katie Clinton, Margaret Harris, Maria Harroun, Elida Huntington, Charlotte M. Mapes, Charlotte Masten, Mary J. Pedrick, Josephine E. Russell, Imogene Shepard, Augusta R. Scott, Jane H. Scott, Janette Taylor, Augusta Wentworth, and Mary M. West. The first teacher was Martha J. Adams. The male department was opened September 1 of the same year, with M. W. Martin as teacher, and the following young men in attendance: A. A. Atwell, E. D. Babbitt, Henry L. Barnes, T. W. Caster, John S. Bowen, E. K. Brown, G. D. Hance, A. W. Horner, J. M. Judd, F. Masten, Z. A. Pedrick, L. Strong, L. S. Shepard, Luther Spalding, Moses Swift, R. A. Rew, Cyrus Wakefield, A. C. Wedge, A. G. Wedge, and D. J. Wedge.

Mr. Walcott arrived in October, and from that time until 1855 was in exclusive control. Dr. Merrell tells us that "young men and women were instructed in the same classes, and the studies were those ordinarily accepted in fitting for the colleges of that day, and the English branches intended to furnish a practical education. No college classes were formed, and no college work was attempted." Indeed, no college work was instituted until 1863.

In the fall of 1854 Mr. Walcott made a definite proposition to the Winnebago Convention to take the school off his hands. Negotiations were entered into for the purpose, and a committee of the convention, fearing that the old charter was void—presumably for lack of use for two years—applied to the legislature for a new charter, which was granted, and became effective as Chapter 40 of the *Private and Local Laws of 1855*, approved February 9, 1855. The

convention voted to make the purchase, and to raise $10,000 for a dormitory. The first trustees under this second charter were Ezra L. Northrup, Jehdeiah Bowen, Jeremiah W. Walcott, Silas Hawley, Dana Lamb, Bertine Pinkney, Charles H. Camp, Harvey Grant, Sherlock Bristol, A. M. Skeels, Jeremiah Porter, Joseph Jackson, A. B. Preston, and Richard Catlin. The convention, in adopting the plan of taking over the college, did so with the understanding that the vacancies occurring on the board should be filled by "such persons as the Convention shall nominate, or approve," from time to time.[1]

Having outlined this plan, notwithstanding the fact that the property was still that of Mr. Walcott, and that funds had not been raised for the proposed dormitory, steps were taken in April, 1855, by the new board to erect a "dormitory building, three stories in height, and not to exceed one hundred and ten feet in length by forty-four in width, and that such building be of stone." This building, which was not fully completed until 1863, owing to lack of funds, bore the name of Middle College for many years. In 1903 it was remodeled and rechristened as Elisha D. Smith Hall, which name it now bears, in honor of the late Elisha D. Smith of Menasha, for many years one of the warm friends and supporters of the college. The delay in the work on this building caused much feeling locally. Some of the largest subscriptions, in the form of notes, were never paid, the notes disappearing from the resources of the college under circumstances that roused the hostility of a large faction in the community against the parties implicated. Public meetings of protest and condemnation were held, and misunderstandings between these subscribers and Mr. Walcott proved most harmful to the growth of the college.

[1] This denominational control was released by the convention in 1868 by formal resolution. Since that time the board of trustees has been self-perpetuating, without control as to its membership or policies by any organization or individuals whatsoever.

ORIGINAL EAST BUILDING, RIPON COLLEGE

February 21, 1857, the property was deeded to the official board of trustees, who gave to Mr. Walcott a mortgage for $6,977 on the entire realty.

In July, 1856, an educational convention was held in Ripon to determine the attitude of the churches toward this college. President Chapin of Beloit College, which was then a college for men, gave an address on the subject of female education, at the conclusion of which "he expressed himself very mildly against co-education in higher colleges," according to the Reverend Edward Brown, who was a member of the convention. The resolutions of that body recommended:

1. That the establishment of a college for males be left in its present situation until such time as God in His providence shall indicate the necessity.
2. That the preparatory department both for males and females be continued, and that there be a faithful execution of every trust.
3. That the main object be a female seminary.
4. That the five ecclesiastical bodies come in as equal sharers in the trusteeship, expenses and responsibilities of the institution.

The trustees at their next meeting, also in July, 1856, with these recommendations before them, voted unanimously not to make them the basis of its future plans. Thus, while the plan as to what the college was to be was not fully worked out, the underlying thought in the minds of the board at this date was that the institution should be one for both men and women; and in all subsequent developments that was never changed.

Again quoting from Dr. Merrell: "The local estrangements referred to above and the divided counsels had a depressing influence in those years. Finally the financial crisis of 1857 came upon the country with a crash, which with the other difficulties shook the faith of many. Nevertheless, though embarrassed, the cause was not deserted. The school was maintained, and efforts still continued to [be made to] weather the storm. Among those who rendered

efficient and largely unremunerated service during those years were, Rev. Dana Lamb, a shrewd, magnetic, and courageous man; Rev. J. W. Walcott, who, though buffeted, never allowed his love for the college to grow cold; Rev. H. W. Chapin, a determined and persistent solicitor for funds; and Rev. J. J. Miter, the scholarly and accomplished pastor of the church at Beaver Dam."

G. B. Cooley, Martha J. Adams, and later C. C. Bayley and Mrs. Clarissa T. Tracy, were the teachers who carried the bulk of the work from 1857 to 1861. Mrs. Tracy remained with the institution from the time of her coming, October 3, 1859, to the time of her death, which occurred November 13, 1905, and for many years she was affectionately called the "grand mother of Ripon College." The following is a very just and true estimate of her by one who knew her during this entire period: "The appointment of Mrs. Tracy was an event of providential significance. A woman of great intellectual vigor; well equipped in the branches of her department, especially in mathematics and botany, in the latter of which she was an acknowledged expert; of uncommon strength and nobility of character; unconquerable in courage and fertile in resources; self-sacrificing in the last degree for any good cause she may have espoused—she has been a center of moral and intellectual unity through trying years, on which the faith of weaker natures has taken hold as of a cable of steel in a difficult pass."

In September, 1861, the buildings and grounds were granted to the government to be occupied by the First Regiment of Wisconsin Cavalry, and the East Building and campus were so occupied as a military camp by that regiment until November 28 of that year, when the property was vacated. During the year 1861-62 college classes were suspended, owing principally to the financial distress of the institution. Mrs. Tracy, however, occupied two rooms in

the completed portion of the dormitory, and conducted a private school on her own account; and Martha Wheeler, who later became Mrs. George M. Paine, of Oshkosh, occupied other rooms in the same building and taught music to private pupils.

School was reopened in September, 1862, amidst great discouragement, for there was an overhanging debt of from ten to twelve thousand dollars drawing twelve per cent interest, the building which had been occupied by the soldiers had depreciated greatly, and the pledges made to the support of the college had such conditions attached to them that it was next to impossible to realize upon them. Nevertheless the following teachers were engaged and began work: Edward H. Merrell, principal; Mrs. Tracy, matron and teacher of mathematics and botany; Julia R. Hosford, teacher of French and English; and Augusta Camp, teacher of music. Of this new force, Dr. Merrell continued with the college to the time of his death, February 23, 1910, serving as instructor and afterwards professor, as president of the college from 1876 to 1891, as professor again, and then later retiring on the Carnegie Fund as professor emeritus. Miss Hosford later became the wife of Dr. Merrell, and died in 1876.

The spirit of the school took on a new air of hopefulness from within during 1862, and finally, with the election of the Reverend William E. Merriman, April 23, 1863, as president of the college, a new era began in earnest. Dr. Merriman was then pastor of the Presbyterian church at Green Bay; he accepted the election on July 21 and immediately began work at the munificent salary of $1,000 a year. Says Dr. Merrell of him: "The obstacles that confronted him were extraordinary, but he at once exhibited a power to overcome them which was also extraordinary. He was in the prime of mature manhood, and though infirm in health even then, he had the power of swift and effective

work. His intellect, naturally of great strength, was so completely trained that he was a master in dialectics. He was looked for to make the best speech on any occasion that called strong men together, even when he had received no previous notice that he was expected to appear. His princely will commanded every last faculty and resource within him. His Christian consecration and enthusiasm were so complete and magnetic that he carried about with himself a living rebuke for selfishness and inspiration for the fainting. . . . He was full of schemes, using the word in its best sense, and if one failed he was ready with another. His quiver was full of arrows, and a second was instantly in place if the first failed of the mark. . . .Although the institution had at this time no endowment, only one professor besides the president, and less than a half dozen students of college grade, yet it took its place at once among the churches and people of intellectual and moral leadership."

That we may have some idea of the condition of the two buildings at this time, it is well to state that the west half of the square section of the East Building and the third story were merely bare walls, while the Middle Building needed doors for the upper story, and a large number of other details to be finished before it could be called completed. These buildings were completed and furnished within the year after Dr. Merriman came. In addition the new president was able to report to his board in July of the following year that "both mortgages on the college property have been paid up and satisfied."

This year 1863-64 was the first year when the school offered distinctively college work, the class entering that year graduating as the first class, the class of 1867: Luthera H. Adams, Harriet H. Brown, Susan A. Salisbury, and Mary F. Spencer, of whom only Miss Adams now survives, at Omro, Wisconsin.

William S. Brockway, for whom the college was named, had died some years before, but his brother and relatives were among those who had exhibited a hostility to the administration of Mr. Walcott, and it was thought best to apply to the legislature for an amendment to the charter, which among other things should change the name of the college. Accordingly a draft of the proposed amendments was made, presented by William Starr, a trustee and then a member of the Assembly, and enacted into law, and published April 11, 1864, as Chapter 220 of the *Private and Local Laws* of that year. From that date the name of the institution has been Ripon College.

THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENT ON PINE LAKE

MABEL V. HANSEN

An interesting and romantic feature of the early settlement of this section of Waukesha County was the location of the Swedish colony that settled about Pine Lake in 1841 and subsequent years. Twelve families came over originally, including two noblemen of the realm and one baron. These people had held political positions in Sweden, but the death of the old king and the ascension of a new ruler with the consequent change in administration policies had caused them to lose their offices. All were anxious to better their conditions in some way, and so came to America, which they regarded as a land of beauty and golden prospects. The new colony was called New Upsala, and a leading spirit was the Reverend Gustaf Unonius, an enthusiastic young minister, a graduate of the Swedish university of Upsala. It was the intention of Unonius and the others to found a Swedish university here, and a quantity of cedar logs was got together to build a church on the point where Hotel Interlaken now stands. They finally did build a small log church on the west side of Pine Lake, where Holy Innocent's Cemetery is now located. This building was in later years removed to a lot just east of Nashotah, where it is still occupied as a dwelling.

The early history of these people, formerly accustomed to every luxury, is one of deprivation, suffering, and lack of the actual necessities of life. Their money soon exhausted, and not knowing how to work to advantage, some of them were reduced to absolute beggary.

The first member of the colony to come over was Knut Bengt. Peterson, a regimental paymaster in the Swedish army, who arrived as early as 1841, and took up a half-section of land on the east shore of Pine Lake, building his

log cabin a little to the west of where James A. Kirk of Chicago later erected his mansion. Peterson's family, consisting of his wife and eight children, joined him several years later. The Peterson home became a veritable social center in this colony. The latch-string hung outside, and as the settlement grew, there was always company. In that far time there were only two women in this entire section—Mrs. Stephen Warren and Mrs. Peterson. A story is told that Mrs. Warren became so lonesome and homesick that it seemed as if she could not endure it any longer, so she had Mr. Warren take her over to visit Mrs. Peterson. Now Mrs. Peterson could speak not one word of English, nor could Mrs. Warren talk Swedish, but it is recorded that they had the best kind of visit, and Mrs. Warren went home feeling much happier, for the sight of another woman's face and a sympathetic hand clasp of one of her own sex.

Captain Pallycarpus von Schneidau settled in 1841 on the southeast shore of Pine Lake, where Mark Gibson now resides, and Gustaf Unonius, also in 1841, on the place just to the north of them, afterward the old Chapman farm, now the country seat of the Mayer brothers of Milwaukee. Farther northward, beyond the Peterson estate, were J. O. Rudberg's holdings, which remain in the family to the present day. Mr. Rudberg, who came over in 1843, was a surveyor, having been educated in the colleges of his native land in engineering and forestry, and was perhaps the most practical member of the settlement at Pine Lake. He surveyed a large piece of land in this vicinity and as far north as Lake Superior, later holding the position of county surveyor for two terms. Baron Thott, a nobleman, of whom little seems to be remembered, became a cook for Mr. Rudberg in order to get bread, accompanying him on his journeys into the wilds. The baron did not remain here very long, however, and no one seems to know what became of him.

Lieutenant St. Sure, also a nobleman, lived over the hill, beyond the village, on the farm now known as the Christensen farm. The log house which St. Sure built for his family was one of the largest and finest of its day. It burned down only a few years ago, having been boarded over and used as a dwelling until that time.

George Bergwall, who was a revenue collector at the port of Gothenburg, Sweden, settled in 1842 one mile south of the village of North Lake, and Charles Balkman, a sailor who had tired of the sea and wanderlust, settled just opposite Bergwall, on the east shore of North Lake. Vohlene, another member, lived on the shore of Beaver Lake on the farm afterward owned by Hiram Simonds. On the west side of Pine Lake were located the Nordberg and Bergus families. Others in the colony were John Johnson, Ernest Eckedahl, a harness maker, who did not stay very long, George Gleerup, and a man by the name of Blanxius. Bergus, Gleerup, Blanxius, and Bergwall married daughters of the Peterson household.

Among the characters peculiar to this settlement was the hermit Peter Bokman, a dissenting Lutheran preacher and a religious recluse who lived in a cellar or cave roofed over with logs, on what was then a part of the Rudberg estate, now the Patrick Cudahy summer home. Bokman died there and was buried near by. When the late Dr. Luethstrom became the owner of the property, he rebuilt a little log cabin to mark the spot where the aged hermit dwelt, but this has in late years been removed.

The St. Sure family, who had been accustomed to much luxury in their native land, lived in most distressing circumstances for a time. St. Sure tried to break up a stony piece of land but failed completely, and in the early fifties sold the place and moved to Chicago. A story which illustrates the sad contrast in their lives in this new land is told about Mrs. St. Sure. Attired in a green velvet

riding suit, sole relic of her former grandeur, she sallied forth one balmy spring day to visit her neighbor Mrs. Peterson. As she went up the pathway to the house, a great black pig followed her. Her hostess, standing in the doorway, remarked, "You have company." Turning, Mrs. St. Sure saw the ugly animal and burst into tears, saying, "And have I come to this!" Silken gowns and bare feet were not conducive to conjugal felicity either, and it is related that husband and wife were separated after leaving here, St. Sure pursuing the study of medicine, for which his fine education had well fitted him. After many years, it is said, he was called to minister to a dying woman. It was his former wife, and it is a pathetic ending to the romance of their lives that a reconciliation was effected upon her death-bed.

The most romantic interest, however, lingers about Captain von Schneidau, his wife and family. Captain von Schneidau belonged to the staff of Prince Oscar of Sweden, and was his best friend and daily companion until he became enamored of a great beauty, Froecken Jacobson, a Swedish Jewess. As it was an infringement upon the matrimonial codes of Sweden for Jew and Gentile to marry, they journeyed across the channel to Denmark, where they were united, and then came to this country, joining the colony at Pine Lake. Thus they began life under the most trying circumstances and innumerable drawbacks, and they endured severe hardship. They conducted a very meager business here in the way of a grog shop and grocery, and a story is related of how the beautiful Fru Schneidau would tap her whisky keg until it was about full and then fill in the Pine Lake water, keeping on until there was not much whisky left. But it is also related that none were the wiser for taking in the little lady's wit and beauty at the same time. An infant son born to them at Pine Lake died from exposure to frost and cold. It was while they were suffering

the greatest hardship that they were visited by Mayor Ogden of Chicago, who induced Captain von Schneidau to go to the city, and afterwards adopted the daughter, Pauline. Von Schneidau conducted the first daguerreotype studio in Chicago.[1] It was located on Lake Street. Their fortunes changed after their removal to Chicago, and they lived very comfortably. Their home was frequented by many of the best people of the city, and among the celebrities whom they entertained was Ole Bull, the violinist. Von Schneidau's reputation as a daguerreotypist spread beyond the limits of Chicago, and he even went to New York to make a likeness of the already famous Jenny Lind. It may be that it was there that the incident occurred which, we are told, resulted in the singer's making a substantial contribution to the Lutheran church which Unonius was trying to complete in Chicago. Unonius, so the story goes, learned that Jenny Lind was to be at the von Schneidau studio on a certain day for a sitting, so he hied himself there at the appointed time; and when von Schneidau showed Jenny Lind the beautiful likeness which he had made of her, she fairly flew into a rage, asserting that it flattered her. She was quite plain herself and disliked flattery. Turning to Unonius for his opinion of the daguerreotype, he gently agreed with her that it was not a true likeness. Rejoiced to have a champion, she said she was happy to find a man

[1] The discovery of the daguerreotype process of portrait making was first announced to the world by Jean Jaques Claude Daguerre, of Paris, in 1839. Professor S. F. B. Morse, who at the time of the discovery was residing in Paris, brought the details of the process to America, and immediately much experimentation began. By October, 1839, Alexander S. Wolcott, a worker in mechanical dentistry, and S. D. Humphrey were busily engaged in New York in making a camera according to Daguerre's instructions. To their surprise, the first exposure of the plates resulted in two successful impressions, each unlike the other; in time the experimenters learned that one picture was positive, the other negative. Humphrey tells us that, "another attempt was agreed upon, and the instruments, plates, etc., prepared and taken up into an attic room, in a position most favorable for the light. Having duly arranged the camera, I *sat* for five minutes, and the result was a profile miniature (a miniature in reality) on a plate not quite three-eighths of an inch square. Thus, with much deliberation and study, passed the *first* day in Daguerreotype—little dreaming or knowing into what a labyrinth such a beginning was hastening us."

Most of the portraits were of necessity profiles, as means had not yet been discovered sufficiently to lessen the intensity of the light for proper protection for the eyes. Extremes of light and shade had also to be overcome before pleasing portraits could be obtained.

so sincere in his judgment, and at the same time asked what she could do for him. Here was the chance he had been waiting for so long. He told her of his church and its needs, and the generous songstress opened her purse and contributed three thousand dollars, and in later years still further aided him. Upon the death of Mrs. von Schneidau the father and daughter visited Europe, but returned to Chicago in the course of two years, when Mayor Ogden claimed his adopted daughter and she went to live at his home. The father lived near by in the home of a friend until his death. Pauline von Schneidau was sent east to school, and while there met a son of Leonard Jerome, whom she afterward married. Their daughter became Lady Cornwallis West of England, whose son, Winston Spencer Churchill, was first lord of British admiralty.

A notable event in the Pine Lake colony was the visit of Fredrika Bremer, the noted Swedish novelist, in 1850. Of this visit I quote a reminiscence of Mrs. Hilda Spillman, who is a daughter of the Peterson household, and whose childhood days were spent in this historic colony. She says:

"At the time Fredrika Bremer came, it was my brother who waited upon her in Milwaukee and brought her to our home here, where my mother with her cheerful welcome and hospitable board was awaiting their arrival, and every neighbor who could come had been invited to the house to make the dear lady welcome. And I remember very well the evening was perfect, the lake like glass, and our guest proposed a row on the lake in the moonlight. Being a wicked coquette she walked up to my youngest brother and took his arm, and how could anybody resist it? And it was ideal. Then back to the house, where all were waiting to be entertained, the famous lady got out one of her books and read a very amusing story. Then there were games and dancing, but where was the music to come from? All at once my mother began to clear her throat and sang some

old familiar ballads and anything called for, and kept it up till the wee hours. There were some fine voices in our family, having been trained back in Sweden. Well, our guest left us all a little souvenir and gave my mother her own portrait."

Here follows Miss Bremer's own story of the visit to the Swedish colony, taken from her book *Homes in the New World:*

"There remain still of the little Swedish colony of Pine Lake about half a dozen families, who live as farmers in the neighborhood. It is lake scenery and as lovely and romantic as any may be imagined—regular Swedish lake scenery, and one can understand how those first Swedish emigrants were enchanted, so that, without first examining the quality of the soil, they determined to found here a new Sweden, and to build a new Upsala! I spent the forenoon in visiting the various Swedish families. Nearly all live in log houses, and seem to be in somewhat low circumstances. The most prosperous seemed to be that of the smith; he, I fancy, had been a smith in Sweden, and had built himself a pretty frame house in the forest; he was a really good fellow, and had a nice young Norwegian for his wife; also a Mr. Bergwall, who had been a gentleman in Sweden, but who was here a clever, hard-working peasant farmer, had some acres of good land, which he cultivated ably, and was getting on well. He was of a remarkably cheerful, good-tempered, and vigorous Swedish temperament; he had fine cattle, which he himself attended to, and a good harvest of maize, which now stood cut in the field to dry in the sun. He had enlarged his log house by a little frame house which he had built up to it; and in the log house he had the very prettiest, kindest, most charming young Swedish wife, with cheeks as fresh as red roses, such as one seldom sees in America, and that in spite of her having a four-weeks-old boy, her first child, and having, with the assistance only of her young sister, to

do all the work of the house herself. It was a joyous and happy home, a good Swedish home, in the midst of an American wilderness. And the dinner which I had there was, with all its simplicity, exquisitely good, better than many a one which I had eaten in the great, magnificent hotels of America. We were ten Swedes at dinner, most of the number young men, one of whom was betrothed to the handsome young sister of the mistress of the house. Good milk, excellent bread and butter, the most savory water-fowl and delicious tarts, cordial hospitality, cheerfulness and good feeling, crowning the board; and besides all the rest, that beautiful Swedish language spoken by every one—these altogether made that meal a regular festival to me.

"Our young and handsome hostess attended to the table, sometimes went out into the kitchen—the adjoining room—to look after the cooking, or to attend to her little baby in the cradle, which cried aloud for its dinner, then came back again to us, and still the roses bloomed freshly on her cheeks, and still her kind smile was on her lips, spite of an anxious look in those clear blue eyes. Both sisters were blonde, with round countenances, blue eyes, light hair, fair complexions, regular white teeth, lovely slender figures—true Swedes, especially the young wife, a lovely specimen of the young Swedish woman.

"In the afternoon she took me by a little path through the wood, down to the wonderfully beautiful Pine Lake, on the banks of which, but deeper still in the woods, her home was situated, and near to which the other Swedish houses also stood. On our way I asked her about her life, and thus came to hear, but without the least complaint on her part, of its many difficulties. The difficulty of obtaining the help of servants, male and female, is one of the inconveniences which the colonists of the West have to encounter. They must either pay for the labor at an enormously high rate—

and often it is not to be had on any terms—or they must do without it; and if their own powers of labor fail, either through sickness or any other misfortune, then is want the inevitable consequence. There is need of much affection and firm reliance for any one, under such circumstances, to venture on settling down here; but these both lived in the heart of the young Swede, and her eyes sparkled as she spoke of her husband, his kind, good heart, and his vigor of mind and body. While we were standing beside that quiet lake garlanded by thick branching trees and underwood splendid with the coloring of autumn, we heard the husband's voice as he drove the oxen down to the water, and soon we saw their huge horns pushing a way through the thick foliage. Our cheerful, well-bred host was now a brisk ox driver.

"After this we betook ourselves to the oldest house of the colony on Pine Lake, where lived Mrs. Bergwall's mother, the Widow Peterson, and who expected us to coffee; and thither we drove, Mr. Lange and I, in our little open carriage, the other Swedish families driving there also, but with oxen. A young Swede, who had married a fat, elderly American widow, was of the company. I saw them going on through the wood, she sitting with her parasol on the carriage, while her young husband drove the oxen. One of Mrs. Peterson's sons, a young man of about twenty, rode before us as a guide through the labyrinths of the wood. Thus we arrived at a log house, resembling one of the peasant cottages around Aersta, standing upon a green hill, commanding the most beautiful view over the lake, which was here seen in nearly its whole extent.

"Mrs. Peterson, a large woman, who in her youth must have been handsome, came out to receive me, bent double and supported on a crutch-stick, but her open countenance beaming with kindness. She is not yet fifty, but is aged and broken down before her time by severe labor and trouble. I saw in her a true type of the Swedish woman of the middle

class, with that overflowing heart which finds vent in tears, in kind looks and words, and who does not measure by niggard rule either what the hand gives or the tongue speaks; a regularly magnificent, warm-hearted gossip, who loves to entertain her friends with good cheer as much as she loves her life. She regaled us with the most delicious coffee, and flavored that warm beverage with warm, kind looks and words.

"Her husband began here as a farmer, but neither he nor his wife were accustomed to hard work; their land was poor (with the exception of Bergwall's farm, all the land around Pine Lake appears to be of poor quality), they could not get help, and they were without the conveniences of life; they had a large family which kept increasing; they endured incredible hardships. Mrs. Peterson, while suckling her children, was compelled to do the most laborious work; bent double with rheumatism, she was often obliged to wash for the whole family on her knees. Her husband was at last obliged to give up farming; he then took to shoe-making; and at this trade succeeded in making a livelihood for himself and his family. He had now been dead a few years, and the widow was preparing to leave the little house and garden which she could no longer look after, and remove to her son-in-law, Bergwall's.

"Their children, four sons and four daughters—the two youngest born here, and still children—were all of them agreeable, and some of them remarkably handsome, in particular the two youngest boys—Knut and Sten. Sten rowed me in a little boat along the shores of the charming lake; he was a beautiful, slender youth of seventeen; and as he sat there in his white shirt-sleeves, with his blue silk waistcoat, with his clear, dark blue eyes, and a pure, good expression in that lovely, fresh, youthful countenance, he was the perfect idea of a shepherd in some beautiful idyll.

"We rowed along the wooded shores, which, brilliant in their autumnal coloring, were reflected in the mirror-like waters. And here, upon a lofty promontory covered with splendid masses of wood, was New Upsala to stand—such was the intention of Unonius and his friends when they first came to this wild region, and were enchanted with its beauty. Ah! that wild district will not maintain Upsala's sons. I saw the desolate houses where Unonius and Schneidau struggled in vain to live.

"But the place itself was delightful and lovely—characterized by a Swedish beauty, for dark pines towered up among the trees, and the wood grew down to the very edge of the lake, as in our Scandinavian lakes, where the water-sprite sits in the moonlight, and plays upon the harp, and sings beneath the overreaching verdure.

"Returning to the log house, we spent the evening—one and twenty Swedes altogether—in games and songs and dancing, exactly as if in Sweden. I had, during the whole time of my journey to the West, been conning over in my mind a speech which I would make to my countrymen in the West; I thought how I would bear to them a salutation from their mother country, and exhort them to create a new Sweden in that new land! I thought that I would remind them of all that the Old Country had of great and beautiful in memory, in thought, in manners and customs; I wished to awaken in their souls the inspiration of a new Scandinavia. I had often myself been affected by the thoughts and the words which I intended to make use of. But now, when I was at the very place where I longed to be, and thought about my speech, I could not make it. Nor did I make it at all. I felt myself happy in being with my countrymen, happy to find them so agreeable and so Swedish still in the midst of a foreign land. But I felt more disposed for merriment than solemnity. I therefore, instead of making my speech, read to the company the little story by Hans

Christian Anderson, called 'The Plum Tree,' and then incited my countrymen to sing Swedish songs. Neither were those beautiful Swedish voices lost here in the New World, and I was both affected and impressed with a deep solemnity when the men, led by Bergwall, sang, with their fresh, clear voices, 'Up Swedes! for king and Fatherland,' and after that many other old national songs. Swedish hospitality, cheerfulness, and song lived here as vigorously as ever they did in the Old Country.

"The old lady Peterson had got ready a capital entertainment; incomparably excellent coffee, and tea especially; good venison, fruit, tarts, and many good things, all as nicely and delicately set out as if on a prince's table. The young sons of the house waited on us. At home, in Sweden, it would have been the daughters. All were cordial and joyous. When the meal was over we had again songs, and after that dancing. Mrs. Peterson joined in every song with strong and clear, but somewhat shrill voice, which she said was 'so not by art, but by nature, since the beginning of the world.' The good old lady would have joined us too, in the dances and the polkas, if she had not been prevented by her rheumatic lameness. I asked the respectable smith to be my partner, and we two led the 'Nigar Polka,' which carried along with it young and old and electrified all, so that the young gentlemen sprang aloft, and the fat American lady tumbled down upon a bench overpowered by laughter; we danced, finally, round the house.

"After that we went in the beautiful evening down to the shore of the lake, and the star-song of Tegnér was sung beneath the bright, starry heavens. Somewhat later, when we were about to separate, I asked Mrs. Peterson to sing a Swedish hymn, and we all joined in as she sang 'Now All the Earth Reposeth.' We then parted with cordial shaking of hands and mutual good wishes, and all and each returned to their homes in the star-bright night.

"I was to remain at Mrs. Peterson's, but not without some uneasiness on my part as to the prospect of rest; for, however sumptuous had been the entertainment of the evening, yet still the state of the house testified of the greatest lack of the common conveniences of life; and I had to sleep in the sister's bed with Mrs. Peterson, and six children lay in the adjoining room, which was the kitchen. Among these was young Mrs. Bergwall, with her little baby and her little step-son; for, when she was about to return home with Herr Lange, his horses became frightened by the pitch darkness of the night and would not go on, and she herself becoming frightened, too, would not venture with her little children. Bergwall, therefore, set off alone through the forest, and I heard his wife calling after him: 'Dear Bergwall, mind and milk the white cow well again tonight.' (N. B.—It is the men in this country who milk the cows as well as attend to all kinds of outdoor business.) He replied to her with a cheerful, 'Yes.' And Mrs. Bergwall and her mother prayed me to excuse there being so many of them in the house that night, etc.—me, the stranger, and who was the cause of this throng! . . . . It was with heartfelt emotion and gratitude that I, after breakfast next morning, took leave of my Swedish friends."

Returning to mention of the leader of this remarkable colony, Gustaf Unonius, he became a student of Nashotah House, then in its infancy, and was the first graduate of that institution to enter the Episcopal ministry. He remained in this country for many years, laboring in the church, but after a visit to his old home in Sweden in 1856, he became so taken up with the hospitality, courtesy, and friendliness extended to him, that the foolish man thought how nice it would be to live there always, forgetting that he was for the time experiencing the hospitality shown to an honored guest. Nevertheless with that delightful thought ever before him, he finally decided to wind up his affairs

in America, despite the pressure of friends here to dissuade him from his purpose. Here he had really prospered, but go he must and go he did, much to his chagrin, for he soon had his eyes opened to the shallowness of human hopes. He had to give up his dearly beloved ministerial gown, for the Swedish church neither would nor could accept the Episcopal ordination. So there ended the poor man's dreams, for poor he was and poorer he became when he was obliged to accept a meager professorship. His death occurred in Sweden a few years ago.

Unonius may be said to have given the first impetus to the regular Swedish emigration. He was young and fearless and possessed many of the qualities necessary for the struggles in the American wilderness. Although the settlement at Pine Lake failed, it was not without its influence upon the Swedish-American history.

HISTORIC SPOTS IN WISCONSIN

W. A. Titus

THE VENERABLE LA POINTE REGION

Dark behind it rose the forest,
Rose the black and gloomy pine trees,
Rose the firs with cones upon them;
Bright before it beat the water,
Beat the clear and sunny water,
Beat the shining Big-Sea-Water.
Longfellow

On the far northern shores of Wisconsin where the great wedge of water now called Chequamegon Bay is thrust southwestward between islands, cape, and mainland, there arrived in 1665 the first missionary to the natives of the Wisconsin region, and through all the years that have come and gone since white men first touched these shores, an air of sanctity and veneration has hung over the little hamlet of La Pointe. Indeed, long before the French came, the Indians themselves had a tradition that spirits dwelt on the island now known as Madeline, and it was almost impossible to persuade an Ojibway to land his canoe on these enchanted shores. Of all the spots where early history was made in Wisconsin, the La Pointe region was and is the most picturesque. The beautiful bay, bounded on the east by a natural mole of sand, was studded with islands on which were dense growths of sombre evergreen trees. It is not remarkable that the savages came to believe that in these gloomy island forests dwelt spirits that were powerful for good or for evil. Longfellow, by placing the scene of *Hiawatha* on these shores, has added romance to history and made the whole region as charming in poetry as it is venerated in authentic story.

The pioneer explorers, Radisson and Grosseilliers, coasting along the southern shores of the Great Lake, came,

probably in 1659, to the spit of land that then formed a natural dike between lake and bay. Dragging their canoe across the narrow barrier, they crossed the broad bay and landed somewhere between the present cities of Ashland and Washburn. Here they proceeded to construct a "fort," triangular in outline, and surrounded by palisades. This was probably the first structure reared by civilized men within the present limits of Wisconsin; modern authorities agree that it was located at or near the mouth of Whittelsey Creek. The explorers concealed their supplies in a cache and then, by a friendly attitude, ingratiated themselves with the native tribes with whom they made long hunting journeys. They pushed westward among the Sioux as far as the headwaters of the Mississippi, suffered much from lack of food, and finally found their way back to their base on the west shore of the bay. They remained in the wilderness of the Northwest for almost three years, with the exception of a brief visit to the settlements on the St. Lawrence during the winter of 1660–1661.

In 1665 Father Claude Allouez came to the abandoned "fort" of Radisson and Grosseilliers, and near its ruins he built a small chapel of bark—the first mission building erected in what is now Wisconsin. Allouez named his mission La Pointe du Sainte Esprit. Although a considerable number of savages dwelt in the several villages on the west shore of the bay, Allouez was able to effect little or no change in their pagan practices. He tired of the hopeless task, and in 1669 he was relieved by Father Marquette, whose later fame as missionary and explorer completely eclipsed that of the humble founder of the La Pointe mission. The new missionary soon realized that he was making little progress in the field where his predecessor had failed. Because of the Jesuit dogma that baptism insures salvation to the dying penitent, special effort was made to baptize such infants and children as the missionary found to

be hopelessly ill. The savages observed that these children almost invariably died soon after the rites of baptism had been administered; thus they came to believe that the good missionary was a sorcerer or possessed of an evil spirit. They insulted him, scoffed at his teachings, and finally compelled him to admit that the two years he spent in the La Pointe region were almost barren of results. In 1671 the fierce Sioux began to harass the local tribes, and the latter scattered to the eastward. Marquette retired to the Mackinac region, where he founded the mission of St. Ignace, the most permanent of all his missionary posts, and the place where his remains found a final resting place. Not again for one hundred and sixty years was a religious service heard on the shores of Chequamegon Bay. No vestige remains of the old chapel of Allouez and Marquette; even its exact location is uncertain.

In 1693 Le Sueur built a fort on the south end of Madeline Island near the present village of La Pointe, and under the protection of the fort established a trading post. One of the reasons for this outpost was the necessity for safe water communication between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. The bitter conflict between the French and the Fox Indians, which lasted more than a quarter of a century, had closed the Fox-Wisconsin route. The substituted route between the lakes and the Mississippi was up the narrow and turbulent Bois Brule to its headwaters, whence a portage of one and one-half miles across willow marshes brought the traveler to the St. Croix River on the other side of the divide. Because of the frequent and almost insurmountable obstacles to canoe navigation, this route was little used after the Fox-Wisconsin waterway again became available.

In 1718 the French government reëstablished a military post at La Pointe, which was continuously garrisoned by the French during the first half of the eighteenth century.

This post was in all probability located on Madeline Island and was officered by some of the most brilliant and enterprising of the young Frenchmen of the period. From official correspondence still extant, we catch glimpses of the servants of New France in this remote outpost. We learn from one of these letters that in 1733 Sieur de la Ronde was given the post at La Pointe, and with it a commission from the French monarch to work the copper mines of the Ontonagon region; but the record further shows that, because of the superstition of the natives, he met with serious difficulties in his quest for copper, and that nothing came of his efforts. Associated with de la Ronde in this abortive enterprise was Sieur St. Pierre, a grandson of Jean Nicolet.

It is recorded that in 1756 Beaubassin, the last French officer to command the post at La Pointe, left with his garrison and his Indian allies to engage in the war against England and the English colonies. After his departure, French traders, caring little about the military or political status of the territory, continued to ply their traffic with the natives until 1765, when Alexander Henry, an English trader, rebuilt or reopened the old trading post on Madeline Island. From the later records we have a scant history of the original settlement down to the time when the old harbor became choked with sand, and the village was moved two miles north to get a better water front.

A Congregational mission was established on the island in 1830, with Frederick Ayer in charge; the following year the Reverend Sherman Hall assumed direction of the work. This was the only mission post on Lake Superior in 1831.

In 1835 the Reverend Frederick Baraga, an Austrian of noble birth, reëstablished the Catholic mission at La Pointe after an interval of one hundred and sixty-four years from the time of the departure of Father Marquette. We have already seen that the chapel of Allouez and Marquette was built on the mainland and that every vestige of it had

disappeared before the close of the French occupation. Father Baraga built his church in the original or abandoned village of La Pointe on Madeline Island. Regardless of these discrepancies, the Baraga church was pointed out many years afterward to unsuspecting tourists as the identical chapel built by Allouez and used by Marquette. It is only proper to state that the story was pure invention, was probably based on local tradition, and had no historical background whatever.

After years of faithful service in his wilderness environment, the much loved Father Baraga became a missionary bishop. He died in 1868. Of him a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April, 1868, said: "I have had the pleasure, once in my life, of conversing with an absolute gentleman; one in whom all the little vanities, all the little greedinesses, all the paltry fuss, worry, affectation, haste, and anxiety springing from imperfectly disciplined self-love—all had been consumed; and the whole man was kind, serene, urbane, and utterly sincere. This perfect gentleman was a Roman Catholic bishop who had spent thirty years of his life in the woods near Lake Superior."

The days of the old missionaries and explorers have passed forever, and thriving cities occupy the sites of the Indian villages of long ago. Instead of the sighing of the pines and the wash of the waves on the shore are heard the clamor and discordant noises of modern industry. The love story of Hiawatha and the life struggles of explorers and missionaries are remembered only on occasion and by the few. The islands of the region, reverently named the Apostle Group, have fared better, and the semblance of their former beauty is still apparent. As they are the favored haunts of thousands of summer tourists, there is reason to hope that their natural beauty will be preserved and even enhanced.

THE STORY OF A WISCONSIN SURVEYOR

JOHN B. VLIET

In the spring of 1835 Garret Vliet[1] was county surveyor of Hamilton County, Ohio. In the latter part of May or early in June of that year, he set out for a journey on horseback from his home at Cincinnati to Green Bay, in the present state of Wisconsin, traveling in company with Byron Kilbourn. He was in Green Bay in June and went thence along the banks of Fox River to Lake Winnebago, examining the water powers on that river; and thence by trail, east of the lake, to the present site of the city of Fond du Lac, where he encamped on July 4, 1835. Thence he returned by trail, east of "Winnebago Swamp"—later Lake Horicon—to Milwaukee. At his encampment east of the swamp he was visited by two Indians. Soon after this, Ellsworth Burnett and James Clyman, while together on the same trail near the same place, were attacked stealthily in their camp by two Indians, and Burnett was killed and Clyman wounded, though he managed to escape. By comparing notes with Clyman afterward, Vliet was fairly well convinced that the two Indians were the same who visited him. The killing was to satiate the Indians' law of revenge, for which these two probably required two vic tims.

While at Green Bay, Mr. Kilbourn had secured title to the fractions of land along the west shore of the Milwaukee River from the section line in Canal Street, near the Menomonee, in the present city of Milwaukee, to the quarter section line just north of Walnut Street, and Garret Vliet was employed to survey the original village plat on the west side. This was completed prior to November 1, 1835.

To the present time—February, 1901—I have found no record, among his papers, of his movements during the time above referred to. The foregoing statements are from my recollections, founded in part on personal observation, but mostly on his story

[1] Garret Vliet was born in Sussex County, New Jersey, January 10, 1790, and died at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, August 7, 1877.

of his experiences. But, for something over a year thereafter his steps may be traced with considerable precision by data found among his papers, especially from a pocket memorandum and account book, copies of his field notes of surveys for the government, and his instructions from the surveyor general in regard to these surveys—and that is the object of this paper.

The memorandum book shows that he was in Milwaukee November 1 and in Cincinnati November 19, 1835. About two weeks of the intervening time he spent on the road between these points, riding his faithful horse, Ned.

On or before the first of December following, he was appointed a United States deputy surveyor and assigned to the survey of a district of ten townships of public lands lying west and northwest of Milwaukee. These consisted of townships 7, 8, 9 in ranges 18, 19, 20, and township 7 in range 21. His special instructions from the surveyor general, Robert T. Lytle, at Cincinnati, bear the date December 1, 1835. He procured his tent and the principal part of his supplies for the work, at Cincinnati, employed George P. Delaplaine, Samuel Frazey, Samuel Spivey, and Richard Short there as assistants, and proceeded with them and the outfit on a steamboat down the Ohio River and up the Wabash, en route for the field of operations. The probability is that they left Cincinnati on the twenty-first or twenty-second of January, 1836. Elisha Dwelle, who had been, I think, chief clerk in the surveyor general's office, was at the same time assigned to the survey of the district adjoining that of Vliet on the south. He probably accompanied the party; his outfit was shipped with Vliet's—he paying one-half the charges to Chicago.

We next find them, on the twenty-seventh, at Merom on the Wabash midway between Vincennes and Terre Haute. It is most probable that they were then proceeding by land—their steamer having been prevented by ice from ascending the Wabash farther than Vincennes or that vicinity. The weather became very cold that winter. At Cincinnati the Ohio was frozen over for some days, so that teams crossed on the ice (I crossed on foot). This cold weather probably set in about the time the steamer entered the Wabash. The reason for attempting this winter trip was the urgency that the surveys should be completed at the

earliest day possible, in order to meet the requirements of the immigration that began to surge into eastern Wisconsin in 1835, and was expected largely to increase, as it did, in 1836. It was hoped when they started that they might be able to reach Williamsport or Lafayette by steamboat.

On the twenty-seventh Garret Vliet passed from Merom through Middletown to Terre Haute. The party and effects were assembled there on the twenty-eighth, and on the twenty-ninth the party proceeded to Newport—William Miller, of Terre Haute, having been employed to haul the outfit and luggage to Williamsport, where they arrived the last day of January or first of February. There Chauncey Atkins was employed with his team, for further progress, he also appearing to have furnished provisions on the way. On February 2 they proceeded from Williamsport to Parish's Grove, crossed the Iroquois River at Montgomery's on the third, the Kankakee at McKibbons' on the fourth, were at Blue Island on the sixth, and arrived at Chicago that day or the next. There, on the eighth, some additions were made to the supplies and the party resumed their journey, probably on the same day, and arrived in Milwaukee on the eleventh, having been twenty or twenty-one days on the way.

They stopped at Childs' [inn] until the seventeenth, when they left, probably for the field. The surveys, completed July 10, 1836, were executed in the following order:

Town 8, range 20, the present town of *Menomonee:*
begun March 1, 1836; completed March 14.
Town 7, range 21, the present town of *Wauwatosa:*
begun March 24, 1836; completed April 3.
Town 7, range 20, the present town of *Brookfield:*
begun April 5, 1836; completed April 17.
Town 7, range 19, the present town of *Pewaukee:*
begun April 18, 1836; completed April 30.
Town 7, range 18, the present town of *Delafield:*
begun May 3, 1836; completed May 15.
Town 9, range 19, the present town of *Richfield:*
begun May 7, 1836; completed May 15,
"by Judge Burt."[2]
Town 9, range 20, the present town of *Germantown:*
begun May 19, 1836; completed May 30.

[2] Judge Alvin Burt was a prominent United States surveyor of the time—the same, I think, who was afterward the inventor of Burt's solar compass.

Town 8, range 19, the present town of *Lisbon:*
begun June 2, 1836; completed June 13.
Town 8, range 18, the present town of *Merton:*
begun June 14, 1836; completed June 26.
Town 9, range 18, the present town of *Erin:*
begun June 29, 1836; completed July 10.

On the twenty-first of June, before the completion of these surveys, Mr. Vliet entered into an agreement with Samuel Frazey and Samuel Spivey, under which the latter undertook to "chop and clear 13-¼ acres" in the west half of the northwest quarter of section 20, township 7, range 22—the title to which Mr. Vliet had previously acquired, together with that to the east half of the northeast quarter of section 19, at a cost of $1600—all of which subsequently became the home farm. It lies between Ninth and Sixteenth streets, and extends from a little north of Walnut Street to North Avenue in the city of Milwaukee. This thirteen and a quarter acres consisted of a square ten acres in the southwest corner of the tract in which it lies, and an oblong piece adjoining the north side of this, five chains north and south and six and a half chains east and west, and extending two and a half chains farther east than the ten acres. The oblong piece at the north was intended to embrace the site of the future dwelling house. The adjoining ten acres, in the southeast corner of the tract, had been chopped over, the previous winter, for steamboat wood; it was, in the main, a black-ash swamp, inaccessible for summer chopping. These are believed to have been the first clearings in that part of the present city limits of Milwaukee lying west of Ninth Street and north of Walnut Street. Beyond was an unbroken forest.

Having completed the government surveys on the tenth of July, as before stated, Mr. Vliet left Milwaukee on the fourteenth on his return trip to Cincinnati, to report to the surveyor general and to rejoin his family. His route and mode of travel were as follows: on the "ship" *Julia Palmer* from Milwaukee to Chicago, and thence by stage to Michigan City, Indiana, July 17-18; South Bend, July 19; Logansport, July 20; Indianapolis, July 22; Richmond, Indiana, July 24; Eaton and Hamilton, Ohio, July 25; and thence to Cincinnati on canal packet boat—probably arriving

on the twenty-sixth of July. His memorandum book shows that the expense of this trip was thirty-three dollars.

On August 13, 1836, he sold to E. H. Lytle, of Cincinnati, the homestead farm of one hundred and sixty acres hereinbefore described, by contract, for sixteen thousand dollars, to be paid for in four equal annual installments, the first payable on the first of December, 1836, and the last on the first of December, 1839, with an additional one thousand dollars on the last date in lieu of all interest. A memorandum elsewhere in his little book shows that: "A Buchan [Buchanan?] Com. Merchant Water Street west of Main takes int. with E. H. L. [Lytle]."

Early in October following, he with G. W. Harrison entered into a contract with the surveyor general to survey the towns of Fort Madison and Burlington in the county of Des Moines; Belleview, Dubuque, and Peru in the county of Dubuque; and Mineral Point in the county of Iowa, in Wisconsin Territory, under the act of Congress of July 2, 1836. The special instructions of the surveyor general bear the date of October 9, 1836.

Consequently on the seventeenth of October he boarded the steamer *Rienzi* for St. Louis, arriving there probably on the twenty-third. About the time of leaving Cincinnati he made a memorandum of a "deed, 15th Feby 1836," from Thomas J. Payne to George Cannon, conveying a lot of land in St. Louis, fronting twenty-seven feet on the east side of Main Street and extending eighty feet along the south side of Florida Street, for the consideration of five hundred and forty dollars. It might be interesting to some one curious in such matters, to ascertain the present value of that lot. On the twenty-fourth he left St. Louis on the steamer *Philadelphia* for Peoria, Illinois, was there on the twenty-seventh, and proceeded thence by stage, arriving at Chicago on the twenty-ninth, and at Milwaukee on the thirty-first. The fare from Chicago to Milwaukee was $7.50, expenses $3.00; the entire trip from Cincinnati to Milwaukee cost $56.50. While in Milwaukee at this time he was offered sixteen thousand dollars for one-half of his intended farm, but could not accept, on account of the contract with Mr. Lytle.

After arranging some business matters in Milwaukee and employing Anthony D. Wisner and Aldridge C. Streight, trusted

assistants, to accompany him (probably on foot), he started November 4 from Milwaukee for Mineral Point, on horseback, to begin the surveys named in his contract. His route was by way of Prairie Village (now Waukesha), November 4; Meeker's, on Honey Creek, on the fifth; St. John's, at Rock River, on the sixth; Collins' Diggings, on the seventh; Blue Mounds, on the eighth. He reached Mineral Point at two o'clock on the ninth. The expenses of the trip were $10.00, not including those of Wisner and Streight. From Mineral Point he wrote to his family that he would be at home on or before the seventeenth of December.

By November 21 he had completed the survey of Mineral Point and settled his bills, including the payment of his assistants. On the twenty-second he started for Dubuque, taking Wisner and Streight with him. They arrived in Dubuque on the twenty-fifth. On the twenty-seventh they with Mr. Harrison, the associate of Vliet in the contract, were at Peru, one of the towns embraced in the contract, some six or eight miles above Dubuque. It was then, probably, fully determined to suspend the surveys until spring, for they returned to Dubuque and Mr. Vliet prepared for his homeward trip—still on horseback.

He left Dubuque November 29 and proceeded to Galena, Illinois. The next day he resumed his journey, his route being by way of Dixon's Ferry, December 1; Ottawa, December 4; Danville, Illinois, December 8-9; Crawfordsville, December 11; Indianapolis, December 13; Rushville, December 14; Connersville, December 15; Liberty, Indiana, December 16; and Hamilton and Springdale, Ohio, December 17. He arrived at Cincinnati on December 18, 1836—one day behind the time he had fixed in his letter from Mineral Point. The expenses of this trip were $39.06.

On his return he spoke of this winter trip on horseback as one of the most tedious of his life and sufficiently dangerous to be a source of anxiety, especially when crossing the prairies of Illinois. Settlements had not then extended onto the prairies, but were confined to the margins of groves where wood and water could be had. The roads were in some cases mere trails, liable to be obliterated by snow. Cases of freezing to death were not infrequent by reason of parties getting lost on the prairies, or becoming benumbed on the road. His stop for a day at Danville was

probably for the double purpose of recuperation and of visiting the Brazeltons, some of whom he had met in Milwaukee, and who, not long after, came to reside in the town of Granville.

At the time of his return the approaching great financial revulsion of 1837 was "casting its shadow before." Whether from this cause or some other, the land contract with Mr. Lytle fell through (I think it was from this cause). Several years later he seriously considered an offer to buy the property at forty dollars per acre. Had the sale to Mr. Lytle been consummated, it was the intention of my father to make his home on the southeast quarter of section 25, township 7, range 21, on which he had made a preëmption claim. This tract is now known as Merrill Park, Milwaukee.

On March 16, 1837, he entered into an individual contract with the surveyor general for the completion of the survey of the six townships in Iowa and southwest Wisconsin, before mentioned. The special instructions of the surveyor general, Robert T. Lytle, are dated March 21, 1837.

Here my data cease and the following is entirely from personal recollection. About the twenty-third of March, 1837, he started on the steamer *Avalanche*—I accompanying—for St. Louis en route to Dubuque to resume the surveys. The *Avalanche* was a new boat, intended to outstrip all her predecessors. She ran over the falls at Louisville instead of through the canal. She took fire two or three times before we reached Cairo—to the consternation of the passengers. As we approached Cairo, the weather grew so hot that passengers divested themselves of coats and took shelter on the shady side of the boat outside of the cabin. Between Cairo and St. Louis the Missouri shore of the Mississippi consists largely of very high cliffs. Where valleys come down between them the passengers were on the lookout for buffalo, but none were seen. We had a passenger on board from the city of Washington—quite a politician and a wag. As we were passing one of the highest of these cliffs a fellow passenger inquired of him: "Mac, if you were up there, and a band of Indians on the other side, in pursuit of your scalp, what would you do?"

Mac answered slowly and thoughtfully: "I think I should compromise." This was in the days of the "Great Compromiser," Henry Clay, and not long after an ineffectual effort to compromise with "Old Hickory" on the United States Bank question. Just before starting on this trip I had seen ex-President Jackson on the portico of the home of Surveyor General Robert T. Lytle, where that graceful and eloquent orator introduced the venerable, white-haired statesman to the assemblage in front of the house, as being "like his great predecessor, Washington, 'first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen.' " He was on his way home after the inauguration of his successor, Martin Van Buren.

At St. Louis we promptly boarded another steamer for Dubuque. There I met a boy of about my own age—I was nearing fifteen—and we at once became intimate. He, like myself, was on his first voyage and full of curiosity. We were out early and late, to see all that was to be seen, aboard and ashore. The mornings and evenings had grown chilly. On the evening of March 31 we were approaching "Marion City," one of the famous paper towns of 1836, and he and I planned some pranks to "April Fool" the passengers the next morning. But, when morning came I was suffering from a severe attack of chills and fever and was confined to my berth; so the sport did not come off. The next night I was tortured by gamblers, who smoked and played cards in front of my berth, and close to it, nearly or quite all night. I was too diffident to ask them to go elsewhere.

At Rock Island Rapids our steamer ran upon the rocks in mid-stream, so that she could not be extricated. In consequence we had to be transferred to another steamer, also in the stream, but some two hundred yards away. The air was now cold; there was snow on Rock Island said to be six inches deep. Much anxiety was expressed as to the effect of the transfer on me; but I was taken from my berth and, wrapped in my father's "lion skin" overcoat (a heavy, very long napped wool coating of the time), made the trip in a yawl boat very comfortably. The air was refreshing and I improved steadily from that time, so that when we arrived at Dubuque the disease had left me; but I was

too much weakened to take part in the work for which I had accompanied my father.

But, at the then last session of Congress a bill had been passed placing the survey of the remaining towns under the control of a local board of commissioners, instead of the surveyor general. It soon transpired that this board had different plans from those embraced in the special instructions of the surveyor general to my father. This placed him in a dilemma; he could not serve two masters giving conflicting orders. The board solved the matter by employing another surveyor, to whom he yielded the work. Some years later Congress passed an act indemnifying my father for his outlay.

I returned home by the route on which we had come. My father went across the country to Milwaukee; and, when navigation on the lakes was well opened, proceeded by steamer to Cleveland, Ohio, thence on an Ohio canal packet boat to Portsmouth on the Ohio River, and thence by steamer to Cincinnati. This trip was made in order to test the feasibility of that route for the removal of his family and effects to Milwaukee. His choice lay between this and some one of the other three routes mentioned in this narrative: overland, from Cincinnati, by team, or by steamer to the head of navigation on the Wabash or Illinois rivers, respectively, and thence by team. All these he had tried.

The lake route was chosen for comfort in traveling and for being probably the most economical and expeditious; for superior facilities for taking in supplies—nearly all of these had then to be imported into Wisconsin; and especially on account of my mother,[3] who was then and had been for several years an invalid, and was unequal to the fatigue of so long a journey by wagon or carriage, as would be necessary on either of the other routes.

So, on August 23, 1837, father left Cincinnati with his family and effects—including a generous amount of supplies, among which were ten barrels of pork, to which twenty barrels of flour were added at Akron, Ohio—and going by the reverse of the route last traveled by him, arrived in Milwaukee Bay, on the steamer

[3] Rebecca Vliet, née Frazey, born at Cincinnati, Ohio, August 23, 1805; died at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, January 6, 1890.

James Madison, Captain McFadyen, on the evening of September 5, 1837, and went ashore the next morning.

This article is not intended to heroize its subject. He was not an aspirant for distinction, but took pride in being one of those who pushed out into the wilderness to reclaim it and to lay there the foundations for a future state, to be admitted in due time into an indissoluble union of states and thus to add another star to the flag of the nation. Of course, and very properly, his prime object was to better his own condition and to provide for the current and subsequent welfare of his family. But the pioneers of Wisconsin did not go into the wilderness to settle down as recluses and adapt themselves to the conditions that nature provided. They went with an expectancy of the future and with a reasonable foresight of coming events as they actually occurred—though he would have been considered, and would have been, a wild dreamer, who should have predicted the extent of the change that has been made and the rapidity with which it has been effected. It has been beyond all reasonable expectation, because of new elements introduced into the problem which were then not conceived of, or, if conceived of, the energy of which was little understood by any one.

The experiences related are to no great extent exceptional; for while Garret Vliet was pursuing his way, other pioneers were manifesting similar activity along the lines they had chosen, or into which they had fallen.

JOHN WILSON, A SAUK COUNTY PIONEER

MRS. MARY J. ATWOOD

John Wilson[1] was born at Glasgow, Scotland, in 1794. After he had completed his common school education at the age of fourteen, he was sent to the grammar school. His father, who died when John was a small lad, had held some city office and this gave his mother the right to send him, free of expense, to this school.

One night, when seventeen or eighteen years old, he was on the street with some kindred spirits and saw men out impressing seamen. The boys followed and went on board the ship which, much to their consternation, immediately set sail. John went to the captain, but he could not stop to let them off. He promised him, however, to send word back to his mother, by the first chance, to let her know where he was. While they were at sea they heard that Great Britain and the United States were at war, but they never met the enemy. On the ship, he spent his spare time in drawing with charcoal everything he saw, as he had been in the habit of doing at home. One of the sailors, who was an artist, pleased with his drawings, showed him how to use paint and brush. This was the beginning of his painting pictures. When he returned home, he found that his mother had died during his absence and that now he had to earn his own living. An old neighbor offered him the chance to learn the cooper trade, which he was glad to accept.

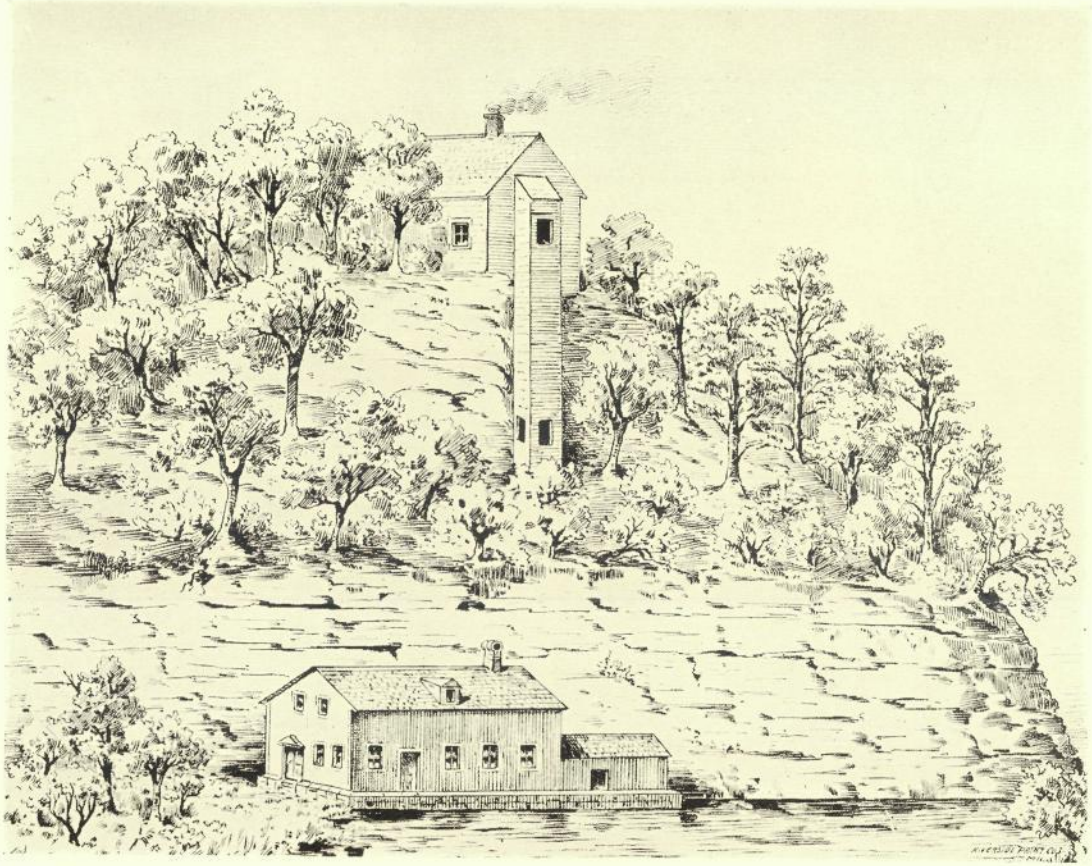
In 1832 he came to America with some companions, to join a Scotch settlement at Black Rock Dam, a suburb of Buffalo, New York. Here he met Janet Watt, whose husband died in 1833. Janet was left with three little girls, but no money, so she opened a boarding-house to earn a living for her family. John was one of the boarders and soon fell in love with his landlady. They were married in 1834 and joined the tide of immigration to Wisconsin by way of the Great Lakes. John wished the children

[1] This article supplements the notices of John Wilson in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, 207, 345-347, 356, 361.

to take his name when they came West, so they were always known as the Wilson girls. They landed at Green Bay and came by way of the Fox River to Fort Winnebago at Portage. He was put in charge of some men digging a canal to connect the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and stayed here through the winter. In the spring of 1835 he was engaged to come to Helena and make kegs for the shot at the Shot Tower, but did not remain any length of time as his wife was the only white woman and there was no school for the girls.

Robert McPherson, a Scotchman living at St. Louis, had to go East with his wife, who was sick, and he offered his home rent free and furnished to John, if he would come down there and look after his property during his absence. John accepted this offer and soon got work and the children went to school. He was here two years, until the return of Mr. McPherson. In the meantime C. C. Washburn had been writing to Wilson, offering a special inducement for his return to Helena. His wife said she would go back with him, if he would take up some land to make a home for her and the children. Her father had been a gardener and she enjoyed out-door life. He consented on condition that she should take charge and cultivate the land, as he knew nothing about farming.

They returned to Helena after the treaty of 1837 with the Winnebago Indians had been ratified and it was safe for settlers. He began at once to look for land, to please his wife. In the early fall of 1838 they found what they desired—high land well drained, woods, a creek, and meadow land. This place was near the mouth of the creek about three-fourths of a mile from the Wisconsin River and directly across from Helena, so he could easily come and go. He bought a government barge and hired men to clear some land for cultivation and get logs ready to build a house. In the spring of 1839 the house was built and Mrs. Wilson and family moved over into Sauk County in time to start a garden and get in a crop for the summer. John hired the help for her and spent his week-ends at home to see how things were prospering. He never took to farming and never could tell wheat from oats until the heads formed. His wife's word was the law on the farm, and any man who did not render prompt obedience to her command



ORIGINAL SHOT TOWER BUILDING

From a sketch by John Wilson, July, 1836

was discharged at once. They continued this life for some years, but John came to the conclusion that it was not the right way to live, so he built a cooper shop near the house and did his work there. The girls grew up and helped their mother. They took more land and raised a good deal of stock for their own use and to supply the new settlers. Their home was a place of entertainment for people passing through the country, and John always proved a delightful host, amusing them with his tales of travel. He attended the meetings of the settlers to protect their claims on the land and hired the men to work on the farm, but never took an interest in the farming. Sometimes the girls would coax him to go out and look at the fields when there was promise of a heavy crop. They would say, "Isn't that a fine sight, father?" and he would reply, "Ah, it is beautiful! Just look at the different shades of green and see how they blend as the wind ripples the surface of it! What is the grass?"

In 1850 and 1851 they received their certificates of title to the land, signed by the President. Now that they really owned the farm and it was yielding a good income, John thought that he might turn his cooper shop into a studio and take up the work he most enjoyed—painting pictures. He spent months upon a picture, not for profit, but for the pleasure it gave him to create a thing of beauty upon the canvas, and when finished to present it to some friend. Cyrus Woodman, who admired his paintings, often entered one in some art exhibit or at a county fair. He received a number of prizes. He had a large library for early times and was a well-read man. It was the custom of the family to gather about the fireplace in the long winter evenings and take turns in reading aloud some book on history or science while the others worked and listened. He took charge of the education of the girls, so they were more intelligent than most of the pioneer families. C. C. Washburn and Cyrus Woodman of Mineral Point used to delight in visiting him and having a good argument with "Uncle Johnny," as he was called. The early settlers often came to him for help in deciding their disputes.

Mrs. Wilson had great repute as a nurse and the neighbors would come miles for "Grandma Wilson," as they called her, when there was sickness in their families. The Indian women

had taught her the use of herbs and she gathered a fresh supply each year. She was a Scotch Presbyterian and no unnecessary work was done upon the Sabbath day. It was a day of rest for man and beast. Food was cooked on Saturday, and Sunday's dishes were washed on Monday morning. The Bible was the only book read, and quiet prevailed over the whole place.

John Wilson died December 1, 1866, aged seventy-two years, and Janet died December 1, 1870, aged seventy-four years. She became too feeble to stay on the farm and so the last two years of her life were spent with her daughter, Catherine Oertel, in Prairie du Sac, where she died. Both were buried in the cemetery near Spring Green. They belong in the list of the early pioneers of Wisconsin. John Wilson's family was one of the first families that settled in Sauk County. The creek that flowed through his land is still called Wilson's Creek.

SAWMILLING DAYS IN WINNECONNE

MRS. CHESTER W. SMITH

Winneconne was my home from 1877 to 1890, and for the first few years of that time was in its prime in the lumber trade. Four sawmills were running day and night in the busy season—those of Jones and Wellington, Sickles and Starks, Miller Brothers, and E. McNutt. The shrieks of the saws as they cut through the big logs, the whistles from mills, passenger boats, and tugs, and the slab wood which most people burned, never allowed one to forget that Winneconne was a sawmill village. Paulson and Pierson had a shipyard, where they built small boats and repaired others.

Winneconne's situation on the Wolf River made it a highway for logs from above Shawano on the river proper and its branch, the Little Wolf, to the Fox River, which it joined a short distance below Winneconne and from there through Lake Butte des Morts to Oshkosh. The logs were hauled from the camps where they were cut, and put into the river and floated down until they reached Bay Boom, about three miles above Winneconne. Many times these logs would get tangled up in the wheels of the passenger boats, but they never caused serious damage, though passengers were likely to grumble at the delay thus caused. I have an impression that once the *O. B. Reed* got mixed up with some logs, and had to stay all night between Winneconne and Tustin. At Bay Boom the logs were sorted out for each owner, and then made into rafts to be towed by the tugs to Oshkosh. What fussy, noisy, restless little things those tugs were. The *Badger, S. W. Hollister, Ajax, M. D. Moore,* and others were ahead, behind, up and down on each side of the rafts, whistling and responding to the call from the raftsmen, "Snub 'er," meaning to lower the growser and tighten the line connecting the raft with the tug. And those raftsmen with their long pike poles guiding the rafts, jumping from one rolling log to another! The bridge had to be kept open for the rafts, or rather the tugs, to go through—seemingly endless time if one was in a hurry to cross.

Often people would go up to Bay Boom for dinner, as the cooking was said to be so very good. I believe they always had custard pie and baked beans. The passenger boat *O. B. Reed* made daily trips between Tustin and Oshkosh. It was smaller than the other passenger boats—*Leander Choate, Tom Wall,* and *B. F. Carter*—but it was always on time; and its genial captain, Le Fevre, was an expert in getting passengers to go on his boat, even when one of the other boats was in sight, and going direct to Oshkosh. The trip to Oshkosh was pleasant if one did not mind the waves on Lake Butte des Morts when that lake happened to be rough. Nearly every Saturday the boat was crowded, as the Tustin people went to town to do their shopping. They always carried their lunch, which was eaten on the boat before it started on its return trip. And such nice looking lunches as they were—cream cake, rolls, fried chicken, cookies, and pickles! One day a woman who did not often miss the Saturday trip showed me a nice wooden rolling pin. "There," she said, "one of my neighbors has never had a rolling pin, and she has always borrowed mine; now I've bought one for her, and hope I can keep mine at home." The boats went through four bridges when they reached Oshkosh, before they landed. The river on each side was lined with mills, and there was room only for the boats to go through between the logs lined up on each side.

Of the many mill and factory owners in Oshkosh, some were Buckstaff and Edwards, J. L. Clark, McMillen, James Gould, Bray and Choate. All kinds of furniture, sash, doors, blinds, and caskets were made there. Philetus Sawyer's name stands first among those who worked up a trade in lumber. He, D. L. Libbey, James Jenkins, and William Wall were men who in the fifties bought pine land, built mills, and did much to improve the Wolf River, making it "the best driving stream in the Northwest."

Some of the large boats went up to New London on the Wolf proper, while others went up the Little Wolf to Fremont and Gill's Landing. The ride from Gill's Landing to Weyauwega was over a corduroy road which for roughness and jolting would take first prize. At Fremont for a time the bridge across the river was a toll bridge and the owner of the mill there refused to pay toll for his family, so they crossed the river in a row boat. At one

time I was on the *Leander Choate*, going to Weyauwega; as we lay at the landing at Fremont, the mill owner's wife came down the bank with a basket of lunch to carry to her husband, and got into her row boat. She pushed off from the bank, and the boat turned towards a pier of the bridge. As she raised an oar to push the boat clear, the oar slipped, the boat capsized, and she and the lunch were in the water. She clung to the boat as it turned, until some of the men on our boat unfastened a skiff lying near, rowed out to her, and towed her to the shore.

About 1890 dull times began, and there were quite a number of mysterious fires as people were leaving town. The rafts were fewer, and the mills were closed down. The Wellington mill was torn down and its lumber carried away. Finally all of the mills were closed, and rafts, tugs, and large passenger boats were seldom seen. Once in a while one of the large boats would bring an excursion from Oshkosh and Omro, and stop for a short time before going on "up the river." But times have changed, and now a raft would attract as much attention as an old-fashioned wood-burner locomotive. And each has been useful, and has been a good servant.

I am thankful that my sojourn in Winneconne was in the days of sawmills, rafts, and tugs; but I am also very thankful that I do not have to burn slab wood nowadays. I never want to see a slab again, for that wood was a trial both in blacking pots and kettles, and in burning out so quickly that one had to watch it constantly.

DOCUMENTS

ON THE PRESENTATION OF THE MACK PORTRAIT TO THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The evening of May 24, 1924, a considerable number of friends came together in the Society's museum to attend the unveiling of the portrait of Curator John Given Davis Mack, whose demise was noticed in the March issue of this magazine. At the special request of the family and close friends of the deceased the occasion was entirely informal, and marked by a spontaneity of interest in the portrait itself. Charles F. Burgess, a former colleague and long-time friend of Mr. Mack, on that occasion spoke the following appropriate words.—EDITOR.

Of the many incidents which go to make up human life, one came to us a few weeks ago in the form of a tragedy depriving us suddenly of the companionship of a man whom we all loved. We choose to come to this Historical Library tonight, not in the selfishness of sorrow to grieve over our loss, but in a spirit of gratitude and rejoicing for the benefits which we have received through the service, the example, and the teachings of Professor Mack. Every one here knows that this man whose memory we wish to honor would disapprove of formality and ceremony, and this meeting of his friends and neighbors has been made to partake of the simplicity and informality which would comply with his wishes.

It would be repeating what you know, if I were to relate his progress from the time he came here, a young instructor, in 1893, until he left as state engineer in 1924. During his thirty years' life in Madison he achieved notable success as a teacher; he added marked distinction to his engineering profession; he served our state patriotically and unselfishly. Although burdened with duties, the carrying of which required more than ordinary ability and endurance, he took an active and helpful part in the affairs of many student and civic organizations.

During his twenty-five years of membership on the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, hundreds, yes thousands, of students have passed under his influence, and if these men engaged now in life's work could be brought together and asked this question, "Of the teachers you had in your school days, which ones do you think of with gratitude for their beneficial influence upon you?" a mighty shout would go up for "Johnny Mack."

A member of the class of 1915 writes in typical vein: " 'Johnny Mack,' as he was affectionately called by those who loved him, unstintingly gave of himself to the institution with which he was connected. He had the happy and rare faculty of estimating his young friends' potential possibilities and tactfully directing each willing one into that field of life's endeavor wherein success was most probable. All of us who have had the pleasure of working with 'Johnny Mack' feel that we have lost more than our teacher, for he was more the counsellor, confidant, and friend, than the official representative of a great institution which he so ably and unselfishly served."

Professor Mack took such sincere and personal interest in all those with whom he came in contact, looking for opportunities to help them, that when his physical body broke under the strain which his desire to serve placed upon it, he left an unwritten record of service which can scarcely be equaled in the history of Madison.

Many, many times during the past few weeks have little groups of his friends delighted in recounting interesting incidents of his eventful life; in giving reëxpression to words of wisdom which have fallen from his lips; in telling of the men in trouble whom he has helped, and of the young men whose lives he has influenced by opening the doors of greater opportunity to them. They tell of his genius in the encountering of problems of apparently insurmountable difficulty, and of analyzing them into simple elements so skillfully that the difficulties disappeared almost as by magic. I am justified in believing that the only adverse criticism which has been passed upon him is that he overlooked his personal interests in his desire to serve others.

It seems but as yesterday that I had the pleasure of a mid-day visit with Professor Mack, during which he revealed a striking

characteristic of his philosophy of life. So realistic is my memory of this incident that I feel justified in telling of it almost as a message from him to you. On being urged to seek mental and physical relaxation from the worries and trials of his daily tasks, he replied, "I have discovered a way of getting more fun and real enjoyment than any golf-player could possibly have, through a game of which few have discovered the fascination. You can make yourself happy by making others happy. It is a curious fact that men may trudge faithfully through daily routine for months and even for years without receiving evidence of appreciation, this being especially true of those engaged in public service. The game is played by offering a few words of praise and encouragement to those who are doing good work, and then watching for results. Opportunities for giving such words are offered every day if you will but look for them. A letter written to a railroad corporation, for example, commending a certain conductor for kindness to an aged passenger, will be passed from the president all the way down the line to the train men, spreading a trail of good will which lightens the daily toil. The trophies which I have received from playing this game are among my most valued possessions."

Thus did Professor Mack describe his recreation, and I know from personal observation that he followed this pastime assiduously. Those of us who might desire to erect an enduring monument to his memory have an opportunity of so doing by playing this game and recruiting other devotees to it.

The spontaneous desire to give tangible expression to our love for and admiration of him resulted in the suggestion of a fund for securing an oil portrait. Eighty letters were sent out announcing that small subscriptions would be welcomed, and over a hundred answers have been received, with subscriptions and offers of additional amounts if needed. Thus has the fund been over-subscribed, leaving with the committee the problem of making suitable appropriation of the surplus. These details of this unusual experience are presented to you only as indicating the universal heartfelt desire to pay a tribute to a great and good man.

While it is too much to expect of art to reflect from canvas the exact living and speaking picture of Professor Mack which is carried on the walls of our memory, by his art reënforced by his love and close friendship Mr. Morton Grenhagen has painted a picture.

As representing the many friends who have contributed to the fund, and the many more who have not had an opportunity to contribute, I have the honor to present to the Wisconsin State Historical Society this portrait of John Given Davis Mack.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE NORWEGIAN SETTLERS IN NORTH AMERICA[1]

TRANSLATED FROM THE NORSE BY KNUT GJERSET

As already known the first Norwegian settlers came twenty-one years ago from Stavanger in a sloop which they had purchased there, and in which they sailed across the Atlantic, visiting also the island of Madeira. These immigrants settled in the state of New York. A few of them are still found here and there in the country. One of them, Torstein Olsen Mjæva, settled at Koshkonong. The next immigrants, among whom were the student Rynning and Mons Knutson Otland, settled at Beaver Creek in Indiana, about the year 1837. Rynning, as well as most of the other settlers, died, as that region was very unhealthful. The survivors became so panic-stricken that they abandoned their lands and houses, and hastened away.

The next settlement was founded at Fox River of Illinois in the neighborhood of La Salle County, where a few of those who came from Stavanger with the sloop still live, among others Andre Gudmund Haugaas, high priest of the order of Melchizedek among the Mormons.[2] Later Norwegian immigrants settled at Jefferson Prairie. This settlement is located east of the town of Beloit, which is as yet very insignificant. But considering the rapid growth of towns here when they are well located, we may

[1] From a report by Consul General Adam Løvenskjold to the Norwegian government, October 15, 1847, describing his visit the preceding summer to the Norwegian settlements in the western districts of the United States. Printed in Bergen, Norway, 1848.

[2] As is well known, there are two orders among the Mormons: the order of Melchizedek, and that of Aron.

suppose that the newly founded town of Beloit, situated on the little river Piscatonica [Pecatonica], which flows into the Fox River just below it, will become in a few years an important trading center, especially since there is already some talk of building railways and canals by which Beloit will be brought into communication with Lake Michigan and the Mississippi.[3]

1839. Luther Valley, hitherto called Rock Prairie, west of Rock river, a few miles west of Beloit. The settlement numbers at present about two hundred families from Numedal, Hallingdal and Land, and consists partly of clearing-land, and partly of prairie with groves here and there. The soil is rich, but water is partly wanting. Small brooks are found in a few places, but most of the settlers have to dig wells to the depth of twenty to forty feet. Many well-to-do people are found in this settlement. As usual there are only log houses; but those who have settled on the prairie dwell, to a large extent, in sod huts almost under ground, with only the roof projecting above the surface.

1839. Koshkonong Prairie stretches northwest from Lake Koshkonong to about eight or ten miles from Madison. This settlement is the largest in Wisconsin, and numbers about four or five hundred families from Telemarken, Voss, and Numedal. It consists mostly of prairie with a little timber. Only a few Norwegians live on the prairies, which are mostly inhabited by Irish and Americans. The Norwegians have bought their land in such places that they have a little of the timber which fringes the prairies—that is, clearing-land. At present even those who live on the prairies are not in want of fuel, as there is still government land, where they can cut as much wood as they need. But when this land is sold, there may be dearth of fuel, though the Norwegians claim that they need only to plant trees, which in six or eight years will be large enough for both fuel and building material. The tree which grows so fast is called Louis-wood, and resembles the locust. The soil is very fertile, but according to the statements of experienced and reliable people it will not be long before the soil must be carefully tilled and fertilized. On the

[3] This refers to the practically abandoned scheme of the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal, and to the then active plans of the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad Company, chartered in 1847.

prairies the soil is not so deep as many have claimed, and below it, in many places, there is limestone, which some of the Norwegians have begun to quarry for the erection of houses. Others, who live near Madison, burn lime from it, which they sell there, and from which they derive a considerable income. Water is partly wanting here also, so that people have to dig wells from twenty to a hundred and fifty feet deep before they can get good water.

1839. Rock River, west of Beloit, numbers about fifty families, chiefly from Numedal. The soil is said to be fertile.

1840. Muskego, about twenty miles southwest of Milwaukee, on Lake Muskego, numbers about two hundred families from Telemarken and Voss. The settlement has the reputation of being unhealthful, as there are many lakes and large swamps. Some of the settlers live on timber land covering a region of sandy hills. Some government land is found here, but few wish to buy it, as it consists chiefly of swamps.

1840. Hamilton, or Wiota. South of Mineral Point, about fifty miles southwest of Madison, there is now a little settlement of about ten or twelve families from Voss and Sogn.

1841. Pine Lake, on Pine Lake, and Nashotah, north of Deerfield, number about thirty families from different districts in Norway. Unonius from Sweden was the first settler. He is now the clergyman in the settlement. There is some timber and clearing-land, and the soil is fertile. In 1842 some Swedes settled here. Some of them are prospering, especially a couple of blacksmiths, but many of them are very poor.

1844. Ashippun, northwest of Pine Lake, about twenty miles northwest of Milwaukee, numbers about thirty families, mostly from Gjerpen in Sogn. This settlement consists exclusively of densely wooded areas, the cultivation of which requires a great deal of labor, and as the settlement is new, only a small area is yet under cultivation. As I was personally acquainted in Norway with many of the settlers here, I had an opportunity to observe how quickly they have grown old in a few years, due, no doubt, to sickness and toil in a hot climate. But the homes here are cleaner and better than in most of the other settlements. Some varieties of wild fruit are found in the forests, especially good plums and cherries; also the maple tree, from the sap of which the settlers

make sugar, not only for their own use, but also for the market. This sugar has a fine taste, though it tastes different from ordinary sugar. Water is difficult to obtain, and is seldom found except at a depth of twenty to thirty feet.

1844 or 1843. Rock River, east of Watertown, a few miles west of Ashippun, numbers about fifty families from Modum, Sætisdal, and Gausdal in Gudbrandsdal.

1844 or 1843. Skaponong, five miles northeast of Whitewater, numbers twenty or thirty families from Voss and Telemarken.

1844. Heart Prairie, five miles southeast of Whitewater, numbers fifteen or sixteen families from Holden in Telemarken. The settlement consists of clearing-land and prairie.

1844. Long Prairie, in Illinois, numbers ten or fifteen families from Sogn and Telemarken.

1844. Sand-, or Spring Prairie, numbers fifty or sixty families from Sogn, Telemarken, and Voss.

Besides the settlements already mentioned some settlers from Numedal and other parts of Norway are found at Dodgeville and Mineral Point, forty miles southwest of Madison. Most of these settlers are working in the lead mines.

Blue Monts [Mounds], twenty-five miles west of Madison, numbers about eight or ten families from different districts.

Washington County, twenty miles south [north?] of Milwaukee, numbers seven or eight families.

It will accordingly be seen, by comparing the number of families in the different settlements, that there are about 1500 in all; and if we suppose that each family numbers five persons, there must be about 7500 people. To this total must also be added a number of Norwegians who live scattered partly in the country and partly in the towns throughout the western states; also a settlement of some size in southern Michigan. The immigrants go thither by steamboat from Buffalo to Chicago, and thence across Lake Michigan to Grand River, which they ascend for a distance of about thirty miles to the place where the settlement is located. Many Norwegians are also found in Chicago, Illinois, as well as in Indiana. The Norwegians in the western states of the United States may therefore be assumed to number about 10,000 or 12,000.

In matters pertaining to the church, conditions are unfortunately very complicated in the Norwegian settlements, and there is reason to believe that unless drastic measures are taken the Norwegian settlers will within a short time be lost to the Evangelical Lutheran Church. There are three ordained ministers: the Lutherans, Dietrichson and Clausen; and the Episcopalian, Unonius. Dietrichson resides at Koshkonong, which is his chief parish, to which are annexed Rock River, Watertown, Skaponong, near Whitewater, and Heart Prairie. He also conducts services at times in Muskego. Clausen resides in Luther Valley, his principal parish, to which are joined Rock River, Hamilton, Jefferson, Long Prairie, and Dodgeville, near Mineral Point. Unonius is the regularly established clergyman in Ashippun, to which is joined the Pine Lake settlement. The settlers in Muskego are at present negotiating with a theological graduate in Norway, whom they wish to call as their minister. On Koshkonong prairie there are two so-called churches, six miles apart. On the outside they resemble barns, but inside they present a neat and tasteful appearance. I attended religious service in one of these churches. Many people were assembled, and the service was conducted by Rev. Dietrichson in a very stately manner. Through devoted self-sacrifice he seems to have gathered a very devout congregation. The settlement has many upright and right-minded men who are actuated by the highest principles; but hitherto Rev. Dietrichson has not been able, in spite of the noble self-sacrifice attributed to him by the most upright part of the congregation, to establish that unity and order which is so necessary if the Christian church is to prosper. But it seems that this is not to be ascribed so much to any lack of good-will on the part of the people as a whole, but rather to a few wicked and intriguing persons in the settlement who from personal motives have resisted the pastor's earnest efforts to further the cause of religion. They have so far succeeded in their evil purpose that credulous people harbor a distinct ill-will against Rev. Dietrichson. But a more just and enlightened view prevails among the greater number, and the evil-minded have had to beat a retreat. Recognizing Dietrichson's earnest good-will the better part of the public must realize that it is due to his efforts that they now have two churches and

prevailing order in church affairs. Being conscious of this it would be desirable if the people would show Dietrichson due appreciation of his zeal by keeping the agreements which they have made with him. That this will be done I have good reason to believe, judging from statements made by many good and upright men in the congregation.

Luther Valley is undoubtedly the best organized settlement in Wisconsin, which is due chiefly to the energetic and sedate Rev. Clausen. The kind and humane manner in which this amiable young man associates with the people has won for him the love of all, and has made it very easy for him to carry through proposals and measures useful to the settlement. He has been able to bring about the organization of a permanent school, at the head of which stands the zealous and energetic Johannes Lauffen of Hvideso. A stone church is under construction and will be completed by fall. The schoolhouse, which is located close by, has hitherto been used as a church. Otherwise there is no church in any other colony except in Muskego. In Ashippun a church is under construction. Churchyards are found near the churches mentioned, but usually consecrated burial grounds are not found in the rural districts in America. People usually bury their dead wherever they please, so that even in a place in so close proximity to New York as Long Island, one can see here and there limewashed stones indicating that some one lies buried there, and each farmer usually has a burial ground on his own farm. In the Norwegian settlements are found members of nearly every religious sect in America. One Elling Eielsen travels about and officiates at so-called religious services conducted at night either by himself or by his wife. In regard to the prevailing sentiment among the people I have found it to differ much, depending upon their economic well-being or the condition of their health. Any misfortune with respect to either of these makes them complain and wish that they were again in Norway; on the other hand, any little success will make them praise their new country very highly. When I visited the Norwegian settlements this summer, the condition of the public health was very good, and as a result general contentment prevailed among the settlers. But many told with a shudder what they had experienced

of sickness last year, making, of course, comparisons with the good health which they had always enjoyed in Norway.

The degree of economic well-being among the settlers varies greatly. Some are quite well-to-do, others are very poor. With regard to the latter I ought to add that their poverty is due either to lack of systematic effort or to sickness. Few if any of the immigrants escape the fever, the so-called fever and ague, and although this disease seldom terminates fatally, it is nevertheless a great hardship for the poor settlers, as it not only hinders them in their farm work, but leaves them for long periods in such a weakened condition that they are unfit for labor. Furthermore, persons who have had this illness are usually subject to new attacks from it every year. Last year the suffering among the immigrants in Wisconsin is said to have been great. In many homes the husband, wife, and children were all in bed, no one being able to help the other. One can readily understand how welcome in such a home was a kind-hearted neighbor who had the good fortune to be immune to the disease. The settlers' worst enemy is the ague; and especially in the towns traces are still found of another enemy, intemperance, so dangerous in this climate. The older people who have come to America have had much to contend with ever since they came here. Everything is so different from that to which they were accustomed: language, climate, tools and implements, even the way in which the work is done. When the immigrants come hither, they are almost compelled to learn anew the use of the simplest tools, as these are so different from those to which they have been accustomed. Some have been so patriotic that they have tried to retain their Norwegian tools and implements, but they have soon found it to their advantage to follow American customs. This is more difficult for older men, but the younger adapt themselves to the new conditions very rapidly. In the towns one meets many Norwegian laboring people, and as a rule they are well satisfied because of the high wages, which vary from seventy-five cents to a dollar a day. But when one considers that they have to pay fifty cents a day for board and lodging, there is a great reduction in their income, the balance being usually spent for clothes. In the country districts the wages are usually lower, and as a rule it is

difficult to receive payment in money, and if laboring people have to accept produce, one can easily understand what will be the result. Those who know a trade can earn good wages, but even if they know a trade quite well, they will have to learn it over again, when they come here.

We need not attach much importance to statements of older settlers that they can never forget their native land, and that they earnestly desire to return thither, since such expressions may be ascribed to a momentary patriotic feeling awakened by seeing some one from their old home. But utterance of more weight I heard from many older and respectable persons, who told me privately that if they had known that they would have to endure all the hardships which they have suffered in America, they would never have left their native land, that many a time during the first years here they wished that they could have returned to Norway, that they cursed the persons who through glowing accounts led them to come here. They stated that if they had had any opportunity to return, they would gladly have availed themselves of it; but since their resources were exhausted, circumstances compelled them to stay here. Now that they had become better acquainted with conditions, they had learned to bear their fate patiently, hoping that their children would be able to live in better economic circumstances. For their own part they felt that they had gained nothing by exchanging Norway for America.

A man from the district of Bergen, Norway, came last spring with his wife and six children, going to Illinois, where he intended to settle. A couple of weeks ago he came to New York with his family on his return to Norway. He said that he would count himself fortunate when he again reached his native land, although most of his means would be used on the expensive trips back and forth. A well-to-do man living in Wisconsin, who could derive no advantage from describing conditions worse than they really are, told me recently in New York while on a trip back to Norway, that during all the years he had lived in America he had never known of so much discontent as this fall, although he was unable to state the reason for it.

Taxes in Wisconsin are still quite insignificant—only about one dollar and fifty cents on eighty acres of land together with two days' road-work a year. It is probable, however, that the taxes will increase when Wisconsin becomes a state. The salaries of the governor and other public officers are still paid by the federal government. The amount of road work will also be increased when, because of the growth of the population, it becomes necessary to build new roads. In politics the Norwegian settlers have no part, possibly due to the fact that they are as yet unacquainted with the English language and American life. But it is partly due also to their general ignorance, because of which they are called "Norwegian Indians" by the Americans. They have never yet served as jurymen, neither is there any evidence to show that a Norwegian has ever won a suit at law against an American. It made a deep impression on the Norwegians when a man who had deliberately shot another escaped unpunished. Only once so far have they taken any interest in political affairs. This was last year in connection with the ratification of the new constitution, which they opposed.

The regular price on the land which still belongs to the government in the western territories is a dollar and twenty-five cents an acre. As a result settlers who arrive are able to procure large tracts at a small cost. But the difficulty lies in cultivating and fencing the new land. To hire people to do this is too expensive, since this costs about ten dollars per acre, besides the outlay connected with fencing. This latter expense is a heavy burden for the settlers, especially for those living on the prairies. In order to comply with the law, so that compensation may be collected for damages done by stray cattle, the fences must be constructed with six rails of a thickness of four inches, with a space of four inches between the rails. For fencing forty acres four thousand rails are required, costing from two to three dollars a hundred, so that the fence on forty acres will cost from eighty to a hundred dollars, and often still more. Even these expensive fences do not render the fields secure against oxen, as these are able with great skill to destroy fences, almost as if it had been done by human hands. Sticks are not used here in fencing, one split rail being laid on top of the other. This makes the fence run

zigzag and gives it a peculiar appearance. But around a larger area more land is wasted in this way than in Norway, where sticks are used. Because of this costly fencing the cultivation of land is very expensive, and most of the Norwegian settlers have only ten to forty acres under cultivation, since, as a rule, they are unable to hire help. As they must do their own work, their progress will depend largely on whether they can preserve their health during the first years after their arrival. But in this respect conditions are often very bad. Cleared or cultivated land is sold by speculators for five to ten dollars per acre, but experience shows that those who buy such land will be financially ruined. On the whole, it appears that those who come here with means are the least successful, and that in a few years they lose everything, as they do not know how to use their means in the right way. Horses are seldom seen among the Norwegians, who usually cultivate their farms with oxen. The settlers either own one or two yoke of oxen themselves, or they borrow them from their neighbors; but they seek as soon as possible to get possession of these animals. Oxen have been found to be more useful than horses in the breaking of new land, as much because of their great strength as because they are better able to walk in difficult places. Another reason why oxen are preferred is that the Norwegian settlers do not raise hay. What little they happen to have consists of fine sedges and rushes cut along the edges of sloughs where such grass grows. In the winter they feed their cattle extensively on straw, corn-stalk and corn. In nearly all settlements the cattle remain outdoors the greater part of the time all winter. There is not a green meadow in all Wisconsin, with the exception of the prairies, which could not be mowed. As they are not fenced, the cattle graze on them continually. Since only a small area is fenced, the keeping of cattle, hogs, and sheep costs nothing in summer, but as fences are extended the grazing for cattle will be reduced, until every one here, as in Europe, will be limited to his own property for the keeping of his herd; and the large number of hogs, now kept by all farmers, will be greatly reduced.

The Norwegian settlers usually raise wheat, corn, and potatoes, but as yet only a few raise more than they need for their

own households. Some have begun to raise a little flax. Some, but very few, devote themselves to the raising of sheep, which in time may yield a good income, when factories and manufacture are well established in Wisconsin, as the raw wool in its natural state can be exchanged at the woolen mills for half its weigh in woolen fabrics. Since in the process of clearing the forests and clearing land the biggest stumps are left standing, the grainfields have a peculiar appearance. Where grain has been raised one year, tall weeds will grow the next, looking almost like ferns and brush, so that those fields look very unsightly. Some Norwegian settlers sell some produce like butter, cheese, and eggs, but these products are not in great demand among the Americans, who usually do not regard the Norwegians as very cleanly. It also struck me that many of the settlers had brought with them their native and habitual squalor, though this can be said chiefly of the settlers from the mountain districts of Norway. As we know, the Norwegian settlers in Wisconsin live in small log cabins of only one room, in which they live, cook, and sleep, in genuine chalet manner, for with anything else it can not be compared. One finds on a shelf under the roof of the low cabin milk, butter, and cheese, which naturally evaporate and corrupt the air. Such an arrangement, unpleasant enough even in the cold North, becomes unbearable in so warm a climate as this, not to mention its bad effect upon the general health. The Norwegian settlers did not profit much by the high grain prices of last year. In the first place they had very little to sell, and in the second place they had to sell what they had early in the fall before the prices advanced very much. The grain raised in the western districts of the union is used almost wholly in the eastern states. The grain which is to be shipped across the sea must be machine dried, and as th is is not the case with grain raised in the western districts, it is sure to get musty in transit across the Atlantic. Wild game is found almost everywhere in Wisconsin. There are some deer, but they decrease in number as the land is settled, which is the case also with the prairie-chickens. Quails are also found. These resemble our *hjerper*. They have the same swift flight, but are not so big. In the woods are found several species of large squirrels, which are very palatable. Ducks and wild doves are

also found in large numbers in Wisconsin. In the woods are found grouse and partridges, which look like our *agerhøns*, or *raphøns*. As yet the Norwegian settlers pay little attention to hunting, because they have no time; but they have learned here what they hardly understood at home, to make use of wild game. The rabbit is also found. Of harmful animals there are few in Wisconsin. In some places, especially where there are large sloughs, there are poisonous snakes, but they are reduced in number year by year, as the land is being cultivated. Their worst enemy is the hog, and as the settlers keep large numbers of hogs because it costs but little to feed them in the summer, and as these run loose everywhere, they devour the snakes wherever found. Wolves are few, and do but little damage, as they are very small. The worst pest for the grainfields is the prairie gopher, which is not larger than a rat, brown with black stripes, and dwells in the ground and in hollow trees. Swarms of these animals are found everywhere.

From what has been stated it will be seen that the condition of the Norwegians in America in general is not so bad as many describe it, but it is far from being as good as others would have us believe. Some complain already that liberty here is not as great as they had expected, either in one respect or another. Some who dwell in settlements which are quite well populated are saying that they intend to move farther into the country, as their cattle are hampered by the fences of their neighbors.

RECOLLECTIONS OF LIFE IN EARLY WISCONSIN[1]

AMHERST WILLOUGHBY KELLOGG

That was a memorable winter. A deep snow fell in October followed soon by a storm of sleet; after this came severe cold, which resulted in a heavy crust strong enough to bear a man, but which deer leaping along would cut through, and so many deer were killed with clubs in the hands of men and youth who could outrun them. The rain and sleet falling in the country roads and freezing made good skating all over the prairie which surrounded the Seminary, and I eagerly took advantage of the skating as

[1] The first installment appeared in the June issue of this magazine.

much as lessons permitted. In November father and mother came with a double team and cutter to visit us, and the week was a happy one. Professor Catlin, a tall, slight, smoothfaced, well-groomed, kindly married man, had charge of the ancient languages department; Professor Samuel M. Fellows, an unmarried, genial, attractive, lovable fellow, taught the English and mathematics; while Principal Pinckney, also a bachelor, taught mental and moral philosophy and rhetoric. Miss R. R. Carr, whose initials, according to fancy, or regard, or mischief, were interpreted Rail-Road, Real-Respectable, Right-Royal, was preceptress and taught modern languages and music. But to detract from her mature lady-like charms, her father was in charge of the steward's department, for which the feeling is generally that it might be improved, though my remembrance is that there was little or no complaint about the food and table service at the "Old Sandstone." Among the students that term were Andrew Jackson Farwell, brother of John V. and Charles B. of the great dry-goods firm at Chicago; Andrew M. Hitt and his sister, who afterward became Mrs. Pinckney, cousins of Robert R. Hitt, so long and prominently a Congressman from Illinois; James Beveridge and John L. Beveridge, his brother, afterward governor of Illinois, and Miss Judson, who married him; her sister and two brothers, children of the Reverend Philo Judson, the first agent and promoter of Northwestern University at Evanston; Luke Kimball, who rose to be a prominent attorney in Chicago; L. D. Norton, later owner and operator of a flouring mill at Lockport, Illinois, and member of the Chicago board of trade; Julia ——, who married George W. Prickett, a leading real estate dealer in Chicago whose son is a physician there now, and her sister Letitia—and many others whose names do not come to mind. All these were boarders except the Judsons, whose father was then financial agent of the Seminary, and the Hitts, who lived on farms adjoining the town.

At the Christmas vacation my brother and I, by invitation of Jackson, spent a week at the Farwell home at Light House Point some ten miles away, a typical Methodist farmer's home, where we made the acquaintance of John V. and Charles, who came home for Christmas, and where we had one jolly sleigh-ride

to a singing school near by, in a big four-horse sleigh, sitting on the straw and covered with buffalo robes, a lively crowd of boys and girls.

We returned New Year's eve to find the seminary in the midst of a great revival. Professor Pinckney had been preaching with tremendous power, assisted by Presiding Elder John T. Mitchell, the Reverend Philo Judson and wife, and the Reverend Thomas Hitt, a superannuate living near, until the whole town as well as the Seminary was all ablaze. The meetings were held in the Seminary chapel. At the service Sunday night (January 1, '43), after a searching sermon by Professor Pinckney, while seekers were flocking to the altar, Jackson Farwell came to me and urged me to go forward. I replied, "I'll go if my brother will." He then went to him with the message and soon we were both kneeling with many others at the altar. R. O. found peace and rest that night, but it was several days later in a little meeting in one of the students' rooms that I felt joy in my soul. The revival was so far-reaching that only two or three students of both sexes held out against it and many in the town were converted. The weekly class meetings held in students' rooms were not mere formal relations of experience, but were self-revealing and soul-strengthening seasons of communing together. We were all aglow with the joy of the new life which manifested itself in closer friendships, higher ideals, and better studying.

That year the snow lasted till April. Father sent his team for us and we went home on runners, though we barely kept ahead of the melting road bed. We went back for the summer term, and I took with me my first frock coat, a brown broadcloth which mother had procured from Joseph Cary, a leading tailor, by working for him; by this means she had raised most of the money to pay our bills at the Seminary. Memories of that summer are somewhat dim, but they include a Saturday tramp to Pine Woods, a strip of woodland about a mile to the west and three miles wide, separating two prairies, where I, in leading a group of girls and boys through a thicket, came very near planting my foot upon the centre of a two-foot coil of a big blow-snake, missing only by a hard jump as he raised his head and hissed at me, calling to the others to halt while he crawled

off into the brush. We had an enjoyable supper of biscuit and honey at good, motherly Sister Judson's, who told us vividly of an early experience of Elder Hooper Crews, in substance as follows: One of his early appointments was Springfield, Illinois. On arrival, after a brief survey, he was strongly impressed that he must begin a "protracted meeting" at once, and accordingly announced the first service for the next Sunday morning at six o'clock. In the meantime some people asked if he hadn't been hasty, and doubts began to throng in, for it was in the midst of harvest and most of his flock were farmers. Saturday night came, and it was then too late to recall the meeting. He decided to take the case to the Lord, who he thought had inspired the call; so he went to his chamber and prayed all night that the power from on high might come upon the effort; and as the morning dawned and grew, while still on his knees, he looked out and was scarcely surprised to see the teams loaded with people flocking in from every direction and people gathering at the church, with the result of a great congregation continuing to come and the greatest revival of his life at this seeming inopportune time. I had the story confirmed afterward by the Elder himself, with whom and his charming wife I had an inspiring acquaintance.

At another time an invitation from Andrew Hitt and his sister for an afternoon at their father's farm resulted in a delightful experience. The father and mother were Virginians of the best type, whose hospitality in its over-abundant table provision and its easy familiar charm of conversation was wonderfully inspiring to the two Wisconsin boys. Another gathering of boys, including one of the Hitts, was at a nearby brick-kiln during its firing one night, where the accompaniments were ears of corn from Elder Hitt's field, roasted at the kiln fire, and watermelons from his patch in ample supply.

One evening in the late fall, at the twilight hour, as I passed down the stairs, I met on the landing a gentleman who in a kindly, fatherly way put his hand on my head and said, "I am your pastor from home." He proved to be the Reverend James Mitchell, of whom we had heard in letters from home, on a visit to his brother, the Reverend John T. Mitchell, then presiding

elder of Chicago District, but living at Mount Morris, and afterward for eight years one of the book agents of the Methodist book concern at Cincinnati. These two, with a brother, Frank, were all Methodist preachers, sons of Samuel Mitchell, a Virginia pioneer who settled very early at Platteville.

James was my boyish beau-ideal of a preacher and man. He was six feet tall, of a majestic presence, with full dark hair, a smooth-shaven smiling face and a gentle courtesy even to the children—and an eloquent preacher withal. One of his attractions for me as I later came to know him, was an eagerness to go hunting with us boys, when he would take his rifle and shoot the eye out of a squirrel in the top of the tallest tree, or kill them without mutilation by shooting just under them and knocking them off, to be killed by the fall, and do it so modestly, accompanied with stories of hunting experiences, which made our two or three hunts together a real fascination.

The next year father's wood selling to steamboats was spoiled by the building of piers into the lake, and by other competition, and mother was threatened with consumption and must have treatment. Under such conditions father decided, and even mother consented, that we could not go back to the Seminary that year. But Professor Pinckney wanted us to go on and graduate and came to the rescue with the proposal that he would pay the bills and take our personal notes for the amount, which offer we were glad, even flattered, to accept, and so in the spring of '45 we found ourselves studying away for another six months. This year a cousin of Professor S. M. Fellows, whose initials were S. N., took his place, while Samuel went to teach the school at Kellogg's Corners by request of Uncle Field; and after a few years S. N. went to the University of Iowa, where he was a prominent professor for many years until his death. Also a very charming, cultivated, sweet and lovable little woman, Miss Russell, took the teaching place and preceptorship of Miss Carr. To add to our enjoyment of the season, a dear cousin, Susan, the eldest daughter of the Reverend Uncle Julius, came as a student on the ladies' side. My memory of it, though somewhat indistinct, is of a delightful summer, and the "Old Sand-

stone," as the Seminary was widely called, has ever had a warm place in heart and memory.

During the notable presidential campaign of 1844, when Henry Clay was the Whig candidate and James K. Polk the Democratic one, John Hogan, a small freckle-faced sandy-haired Irishman but a prominent attorney and noted stump-speaker from St. Louis, came to Mount Morris in the interest of Clay, and I can hear yet his peculiar penetrating tone as he cried out, "Who is James K. Polk; who ever heard of him?" and I recall with what amazement and disappointment we students heard the election reports that even Pennsylvania had gone Democratic and Polk's election was assured. Neither in this nor the election of 1840 had Wisconsin any vote, yet I recall that the slogan of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" with its log-cabin and hard-cider attachments had its echoes in Milwaukee. And I recall seeing at a considerable distance on the deck of a steamboat (I think the *Nile*), the round face, mutton-chop whiskers and bald head of Martin Van Buren as he passed up the river, my first view of a president, or ex-president, as he must have been then.

Soon after the coming to Milwaukee in the fall of 1843, of the Reverend James Mitchell, our new church became packed to overflowing and it was evident that a larger place of worship was needed; and as times had begun to improve, the preacher and people set out to secure it. That was the day of the "war of the sides" (not all gone even yet) and a subscription was started with the agreement that the side which made the largest subscription should have the new church; the West Side fairly won and a location was made on the northwest corner of West Water Street and Spring Street [now Grand Avenue] where the Caswell Block now stands, as near the East Side as possible. The building that was erected was of brick, 45 by 90, facing West Water Street, with four stores below fronting on Spring Street. The church rooms were reached by a broad flight of steps on the outside, and comprised a vestibule with a class room on each side, over which was a gallery, and an auditorium with six hundred sittings. My father was the contractor and builder of this as of the first church. It was dedicated by the Reverend W. M. D. Ryan, brought from Chicago for the occasion. At Conference following the dedication

Brother Mitchell was made presiding elder and the Reverend F. A. Savage, also from Virginia, appointed preacher in charge. Without the commanding presence and courtly manners of his predecessor he was a good preacher and the difference was fully made good, as is often the case, by the charm in character and the labor of his saintly wife.

But, alas for all, early the next summer Sister Savage suddenly died on a Friday afternoon. This was before the day of the telegraph, and so at daylight Saturday I was mounted on an Indian pony for a ride of thirty miles to Kellogg's Corners to get Uncle Field to preach the funeral sermon Sunday morning. I did not return with him, but mother told me the church was crowded and the people greatly moved by uncle's fitting tribute to Sister Savage's saintly character as he spoke from the text Revelation 7 : 13-14: "What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they. . . . These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." At Conference held in the latter part of July, 1845, Brother Savage was removed, and James Mitchell was made presiding elder of Chicago District.

Those were the days of the fierce antislavery controversy which in the years 1844–45 split the Methodist Episcopal Church into the Church North and South, and prepared the way later for secession in the nation, but there was then no power of armed coercion to prevent the calamity. James Mitchell's wife's father, a slaveholder in Virginia, had made his daughter a wedding present of two slave girls, family servants in the home, and they followed the Mitchell family fortunes into the free territory of Illinois and Wisconsin. As the times grew hot and the lines tightly drawn, the Conference called Mitchell to account for permitting his wife to hold her servants, and refusing to emancipate them against their wish, and after a hot controversy at one session suspended him, and at the next he, fearing a threatened expulsion, withdrew from the church and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and was made a presiding elder in Arkansas. The last I heard of him was as a colonel in the Confederate army in Missouri, whose soldiers had captured Woolsey Washburn, a family friend of ours, a Union man, and brought

him to the colonel for disposal. Mitchell asked him, "Are you a relative of Father Ebenezer Washburn [one of the pioneer heroes of New York and Connecticut Methodism], whom I knew in Wisconsin?" "Only his son," was the reply. After a moment's thought the colonel said, "Well, you can go. Set him free."

Father gave up his wood business this year.[2] Taking one of his scows he put a pile-driver on one end, and using his team attached to the sweeps of a windlass for power to lift the heavy weight, began the building of docks on the river banks, which he continued for some years until he had built many of the docks on the Milwaukee and Menomonee rivers.

In September, 1845, the Reverend Abraham Hanson came as pastor to the new church; he was a small, fine featured, youthful Englishman, whose calm dignified demeanor gave a sense of reposeful strength, as of one dwelling on the heights, while his soul-lighted face bespoke one to be trusted and loved at sight. His sermons were of the deep rich truths of the spiritual life, and his style a refined and classic English; thus he was a rare preacher and beloved as a man. Having no children, he and his wife were invited to make their home with Lindsey Ward, then living in a large brick house on Milwaukee Street, whose wife was a member of the church. The next year the Reverend Mr. Hanson was stationed at Southport, and while there was chosen by the government United States minister to Liberia, where he served his term with marked efficiency, and soon after returning was taken to his heavenly home, leaving behind him a fragrant memory.

My first experience as a wage earner came while still a growing boy almost sixteen, when father secured for me a position in Alanson Sweet's then new red warehouse at the foot of East Water Street. On its main floor were three large office rooms, and the rest was used for general storage and forwarding goods, while the second and third stories were divided into bins for storing grain, chiefly wheat, and the fourth story was used for hoisting and distributing the grain by spouts into the bins below; the power

[2] See this magazine for June, 1924, page 489.

for hoisting was a horse attached to a sweep. Alanson's brother, Richard M. Sweet, had charge of the grain department, including the buying from farmers' wagons as they came and stood on the streets with untied bags for the buyer's inspection. After the wheat was bargained for, the farmers drove to the warehouse and emptied their bags into receptacles along the sides whence the wheat went into the cellar and thence was elevated to the fourth story and spouted into the bins. Mr. Lane (Long Lane commonly called for his extreme height) had charge of the forwarding and storage, and John Webb was the very competent bookkeeper and cashier; my duties consisted in starting and stopping the horse, in changing the spouts, and in using a big shovel-scoop to prevent the clogging of the wheat and giving it right direction. One day the wheat piled up in a great mass on the floor and I mounted the heap with my scoop to change it, when suddenly some one opened the spout into the bin below and I was sucked down into the flowing stream, and would have been drowned in the wheat had not my cries been heard and the flow shut off; as it was it was a close call and a warning lesson. My memory is that I slept in the warehouse in a room fixed up for the hostler and me, and took my meals at a tavern on Walker's Point located at the northeast corner of Ferry and Lake streets where many farmers were wont to put up. My relations with all the persons connected with the warehouse were pleasant, especially with Mr. Webb, but when the wheat buying season was over my occupation was gone. The last I remember of Alanson Sweet is of standing in a great crowd on the bluff at the lake watching fireworks at some celebration, when the stick of a rocket came down upon his nose and split it open, marking him for life. Richard Sweet went to Chicago, and Mr. Lane became a prominent South Side official.

The spring of '46 brought radical changes. Uncle Field and family moved back East, and were first stationed at White Plains in New York. They took with them my brother, who thereupon entered Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, the mother of the many Wesleyans in the country. I gave up studying and began as a boy helper in Fred Wardner's store on East Water Street near Huron, between Farwell and Cary's hardware store on the north, and U. H. Person's grocery on the

south. Wardner's was a general store, wholesale and retail, and so general that it was claimed to have everything a customer could want, including dry-goods, groceries, hardware, crockery, drugs and medicines, paints and oils, wines and liquors, sash, doors and blinds, window-glass and putty, in short everything that is accounted merchandise except books and stationery; and I as the youngest clerk was the drudge whose work was chiefly to grind sugar, make putty, and water the whisky, which I did by pumping two gallons from every barrel and replacing them by so much water. My first task set me by Mr. Wardner himself was to carry on my arms a large lot of sash up three pairs of stairs. I had suggested using the hoist, but he said no, it would bruise the sash; so after working some three or four hours on the pile, on which scarce an impression had been made, Joe, the porter, who had been to see a vessel launched, came to my help and though told what the proprietor had said, piled the sash on a rope and using the hoist managed to get it in before dark with much less bruising than the hand method. This porter was a German, Joseph Phillips, who was later mayor of Milwaukee, and the organizer of a large insurance firm.

My next job, as I was found good at figures, was to revise and correct the inventory of stock just taken, and I now recall how tired I would get sitting all day on a hard stool at a little desk, going over the long sheets. My wages the first year, as contracted by father, were to be $75 and board at Mr. Wardner's home then on the southwest corner of Oneida and Jefferson streets, but before the year closed they were voluntarily advanced to $100. I have often wondered how father ever permitted me to accept a position in a store in which the custom was, when a customer, if a man, had made almost any purchase, was taken to the cellar for a treat to whisky, wine, or gin or brandy as he chose; and I remember that once father after a purchase, as I suppose to test me, asked to go to the cellar for a treat, choosing wine, but when he found that I would not join him, had the wine poured back into the cask. My bashfulness in waiting upon lady customers, as whenever one came in I felt like sinking behind the counter and getting out of sight, is a surprise to me, after my experiences in

school and church and seminary, but it was real and took me some time and will power to overcome.

One of my duties, which came oftener than I enjoyed, was to tramp up to a point on the bluff well up towards North Point, where the store had a shanty used as a powder magazine, and lug down in my arms a twenty-five-pound can of rifle or blasting powder, and you may imagine that the load became very heavy before reaching the store, even with some stops to rest.

I soon learned enough of the German language to know the names of goods, and to be able to trade with those who did not speak English, of whom there were many in those days, and because of this and my blonde complexion I was often taken for a native Deutcher. The next winter, after my time of cellar work was over, and when Joe and I had become salesmen, and we had a new Irish porter, there came a heavy fall of snow, and after the porter and I had cleaned the walk and also the walks around the home without grumbling, we were set to clean off the roof of the store. This was a big job and when the porter protested that he was not hired to shovel snow, and at the risk of discharge I joined in the protest, rather to our surprise some transients were hired to do the job. Also I shall never forget Mrs. Wardner's ever-ready kindness, and the happy acquaintance with her father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Otis Tiffany, also the parents of George A. Tiffany, of prominence then and later in California.

At the end of the second year I was promoted to be bookkeeper and cashier at a salary of $600 and board. Among my duties was the payment of cash checks for loads of grain purchased from farmers by warehouses and sent to the store for pay, our object being to sell some goods to the farmers; not infrequently a barrel or two of salt had been sold the farmer to be deducted from the check with notice thereon. One night at dusk a man brought such a slip and I unwittingly paid the full sum without noticing the deduction for the barrel of salt till I turned to put the check away, and then the man was just closing the front door. I called and ran after him but he had disappeared and could not be found, and I had to stand the $2.50 loss. At another time my cash was short some $60, and after going over and over all transactions it was nowhere to be found. Mr. Wardner stayed until near midnight,

when at last he broke out with, "You have taken it." This was too much and I almost lost control of my temper, but keeping cool I said, "You know better, sir, and you must take back that charge or you must prove it"; and seeing my strong feeling and thrill, he finally confessed that he had taken it himself just to test me, as we two had the only keys to the money drawer.

When I first was employed Mr. Wardner's brother Charles was cashier and with him I had always pleasant relations and felt his appreciation of my work. Charles went to Minnesota and an older brother Frank took his place for a short time and with him I got on nicely. During all this time I slept in the store with a bed under the counter; and the hours of work were very long, beginning at seven o'clock and seldom ending before ten at night and often later.

Saturday nights I went home, often walking the three miles after ten o'clock, and always finding mother waiting for me. Once the Point bridge was open for repairs and I had four miles to go in the mud via the Menomonee roadway, arriving at midnight and still found mother wondering and waiting with a lunch ready. At another time when goods came in a large consignment from New York, whither Mr. Wardner went twice a year to buy, and we clerks were all working to get them ready for sale by comparing with purchase bills and marking them, as we opened the door the sun streamed in to prove it was morning ere we stopped.

At the session of Conference held in Galena, August, 1846, the Reverend W. M. D. Ryan was appointed to Milwaukee station. He was a big broad breezy man, a striking contrast to the gentle scholarly Hanson; elegantly dressed and having a large circular broadcloth cloak with a wide velvet collar and a full breadth of velvet down either front, a big ebony gold-headed cane, all made impressive by a quick masterful movement, he would affect any community as he did ours by the feeling that here was one who brings things to pass, and he did. His fame had preceded him for his two years at Clark Street church, Chicago, and with his fiery eloquence he drew large congregations whom he influenced to adopt the southern customs of kneeling at prayer and joining heartily in the singing; and by his shrewd business

tact he put the finances on a good business foundation. But the colder type of our northern Methodism was not congenial and after nine months his friends in Baltimore, whence he had come, procured his return thither, where and at Philadelphia and Washington too his ministry held front rank. The Reverend Francis M. Mills, quite a different type of man, was sent from the Baltimore Conference to fill out his year, and was continued for the next. Of slender physique and quiet almost reserved manner, though thoughtful and scholarly, his preaching was in such striking contrast with his predecessor's that he did not hold the congregations, and while quite insistent on the Baltimore forms of service, lacked the magnetism to secure their continuance, and he left at the end of the conference year a somewhat discouraged church.

It was in April, 1846, that John H. Van Dyke, a young lawyer from Detroit, came to Milwaukee and at once connected himself with the Methodist Church. He was a great accession. Coming in the prime of young manhood, of sturdy Knickerbocker ancestry, a graduate of Marshall College in Pennsylvania, he soon built up a successful legal practice, with Norman J. Emmons as a partner, chiefly in commercial and admiralty law. At first he was a class leader and Sunday-school superintendent, and in later years president of the board of trustees. He has freely given of his time, legal ability, and means to the good of the church and the larger interests of Methodism in the city and state. Never too busy to consult with the preacher or elder, he has taken large part in every forward movement of the churches, and by wise counsel, large and stimulating gifts, has been a widely recognized force for righteousness in the community as well as the church.

In 1847 there came into the church members of four prominent families, all of whom have rendered very effective service, viz: James Seville and wife, Henry Seiler and family, Mrs. Calista Follansbee, and Mrs. Emma Sercomb, wife of Mr. Sercomb of the firm of Turton and Sercomb of the Eagle Foundry. James Seville the first year was clerk for Turton and Sercomb, but the next year he organized the firm Decker and Seville, Mill Supplies, which could fit out a complete grist or sawmill, and which grew

into the Reliance Iron Works, and that into E. P. Allis and Company's great establishment. Brother Seville was an active faithful worker in the church, for some time Sunday-school superintendent, and many years recording steward; and his wife, a sweet little woman though quiet, was ever reliable. Henry Seiler had charge, as an expert, of the burrstone department of the Mill Supply Company, and in church work was a great and famed class leader for many years, and his wife and daughters were also first-class workers. Mrs. Follansbee, undemonstrative, but one of the saints, was the wife of Alanson Follansbee, who came from Chicago and established the first public bakery, where later he was the first to produce aerated bread and in his business made a fortune; though not a member of the church he was a liberal contributor and charitable to all good causes.

At the General Conference held in Pittsburg, May, 1848, Wisconsin Conference was set off from Rock River Conference, and at its first session at Southport in July, the Reverend James E. Wilson was appointed to Milwaukee. He was a brother of Honorable William Duane Wilson, prominent in Iowa politics, a true Irish gentleman, of impressive personal appearance, tall, large, but not stout, with heavy dark hair, and smooth-shaven face, sparkling eyes, ever wearing a smile, having a manly dignity with a genuine humility befitting his calling. He moved men by a rare racial eloquence, and won them by a deep spiritual life and a true devotion to his Master's cause. His wife, too, was a gifted true helpmate. Under their ministry a gracious revival came to our church during the first winter. In the spring one of those strange cases of conscientious differences among brethren, over the now seemingly trivial question as to which should have the use of the church Sunday afternoon, the Sunday-school or a long established prayer-meeting, resulted in a bitterness of feeling and a split in the church. Father sided with Brother Seville and the Sunday-school and it was given the church, whereupon Brother Bailey and several others, mostly English folk, withdrew and organized a Wesleyan Church on the East Side. Brother Wilson kept on in the even tenor of his way, was returned the second year, promoted another blessed revival the next winter, and at the end of the year was removed by the then two-year time limit.

It was sometime during these years that I was initiated into the Order of the Rechabites, which besides its total-abstinence pledge had its grip and password like other secret orders, and like them its claim of special brotherly care of its own, and the close intimate fellowship of the initiated. My experience in this secret order, in the monotony of the ritual, the triviality of signs and grips, and the lack of any closer brotherhood than we find in the church, the fact that it took one night in the week, of which there never seemed enough, and that so many members of secret orders were wont to make them take the place of a church, and perchance also the notorious Morgan incident among the Masons, which occurred about that time, so prejudiced me against secret orders that I have never joined another, and have been content to find in my church my intimates.

But an experience with a fellow clerk strongly confirmed my total-abstinence principles. One S. C. Colvin, a first-class salesman and a good fellow with fine business ability, was given a position in the store and gave real promise of exceptional success, but after some months of good behavior he went off on a spree, and his wife came to me to find him and get him home. By taking the round of the saloons I at last found him and helped him home; he remained sober, and our best salesman for a time, but again came word that he was off, and again I helped him home, and this at last happened so often that the bar-tenders as soon as I came in would say, "He is not here," and I would look farther. Finally he was discharged, leaving a lovely wife and charming daughter without means of support. It was a sad case, revealing to what depth the drink habit brings its victims.

In the spring of '47 there was great excitement over the state constitution which a convention had framed after sitting from October 5 to December 16 the fall before; public meetings were held in which there were free fights, opposing chairmen, and high-handed proceedings that threatened the peace of the town; also torch-light processions conducted by the friends and opponents of the constitution's adoption. One evening the two processions met right in front of our store and I witnessed from the store door the free fight which took place; both sides used their torch sticks for weapons, or any club they could find, and be-

labored each other till heads were broken and clothes stripped off. I saw Long Smith, a building contractor, laid out flat by a blow on the head, and J. R. Treat, a 300-pound blacksmith, crawl under a wagon near by to escape the crush, and many wounded were carried into the hotel opposite before the processions separated and passed on to their separate quarters. The excitement continued, maintained by the pro- and anticonstitution parties with meetings, processions and newspaper denunciations until the election day in April, when the antis won by a good majority, chiefly because of a hard money clause, and for the want of sufficient exemptions in the proposed constitution. The next legislature provided for another convention which prepared a new constitution. This without a similar excitement was submitted to the people and quietly adopted at an election held March 13, 1848. It was ratified by the legislature, and became the instrument under which Wisconsin was admitted to the union and has flourished ever since.[3]

Mr. Wardner was one of the merchants who bought most of his goods on long time, sheeting and sugar on thirty to sixty days, but others on six months, and he was often slow in payment at that. Once a representative of a large dry-goods house in New York, whose bill was long past due, called and receiving only a small payment, told him plainly and quite sharply that the firm must have more prompt payment or he would be refused credit entirely, and though he had not improved, I was quite surprised that on his next trip to New York the purchases from that firm were larger than ever, but at stiff prices, as I found later, thus paying in price for the slow payment.

In the spring of 1849 John D. Gardiner, who had been a dry-goods merchant in Sag Harbor, at the end of Long Island, came to Milwaukee and bought out Mr. Wardner's stock of dry-goods and groceries, and took the lease of the store and continued those departments of the business. He changed the system of bookkeeping from single entry to double entry, though retaining me as bookkeeper while he taught me the new method. He bought his

[3] Volumes xxvi, xxvii, and xxviii of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, called respectively *The Movement for Statehood, The Convention of 1846*, and *The Struggle over Ratification*, discuss the subject of the making of a constitution for Wisconsin.

goods for cash or on very short time, and thus I found what a very considerable difference there was in the cost of goods so purchased as against those bought on long time, and the advantage which could be given to customers by this method, which more than compensated for the treating system, abandoned for want of the liquor he did not keep. Mr. Gardiner bought from one Jacks, a carpenter builder, a modest story and a half house on Jackson Street next door to Elisha Eldred's, which then stood where the Y. W. C. A. building now stands; and in due time Mrs. Gardiner, a charming little woman, came, with whom I was given a very pleasant boarding place. Among the clerks in Mr. Gardiner's store during my two years with him were his brother Ezra L. H. Gardiner, who was afterwards city comptroller, and Charles C. Brown, who went to Kenosha, and after a time became cashier of the First National Bank, and a man of prominence.

In the summer of '49 I had one of the most pleasant experiences of my life. Having secured leave of absence, I took the steamer *Niagara* for a trip around the lakes to Buffalo. The weather was fine, and I recall vividly as we neared Mackinac, leaning over the rail and seeing in the clear smooth water at the depth of thirty to forty feet large fish swimming near the bottom. Of our stop at Mackinac, my remembrance is hazy, only I recall the fort on the hill, after passing a long stretch of pine forests on the shore, and on the dock a bunch of blanketed Indians with their squaws selling fish to the steward of the steamer, who later served them up in fine form at table. Hazy too is the rest of the trip, but at Buffalo I spent a day and night in calling upon a Mrs. Coe, who had been at Sister Austin's in Milwaukee, and was then visiting at Honorable James S. Wadsworth's of Buffalo (father I think, of the present Congressman of the same name from New York State) whose hospitality was delightfully cordial.

A sleeper via New York Central, a breakfast at Albany, and a ride through the Highlands and West Point, beside the beautiful Hudson River, brought me to New York City and to Uncle Julius Field's, then preacher in charge at old Norfolk Street church, where after three years of separation I met my brother, who was on his six-weeks senior vacation before graduation. A

couple of weeks visiting and sight-seeing in and around New York, including picnics to High-Bridge, then just finished, and to Coney Island, a bare sand bank with moderate rollers coursing in, giving a grateful bath and swim, proved an enjoyable experience, especially as several whom we met hailed us as comers from the wild west with its buffalo and Indians.

Then we took train to Amenia for a visit to mother's aunt [Clara Howe] Dean and her sons; there we hired a horse and buggy and drove over the hills and down through the Hoosatonic valley and up to our old birthplace at Goshen, Connecticut; and visited there Uncles Philo and Birdsey Howe and Cousin Philo Cummings, renewing old acquaintances and reviving memories of early days for the first and last time. Thence we went to Boston for a visit to John Collins, an old Goshen friend whose wife was a Washburn, whom we called Uncle John and Aunt Eliza, as our two families of cousins did. With their help and that of their two daughters, Frances and Gertrude, we had a good time visiting the many places of interest, some of which were Boston Common with its old elm under which Jesse Lee preached his first Methodist sermon, when no other place was open to his new message, the State House and Beacon Hill beyond it, old Park Street Church and King's Chapel, Old South Church and Paul Revere's belfry, Fanueil Hall with its gallery and portraits, Cambridge with its Harvard College, and Mount Auburn Cemetery with historic graves and monuments, whence on the way back were the Revere Hotel and Young's Coffee house, Jordan and Marsh's great store, and two wholesale dry-goods houses which had sold my store their goods, with picnics to Salem with its witcheries, and Nahant with its bluff and wide view of old ocean. At that time Uncle Collins had a factory for making dolls' heads, whose employees were young women several of whom boarded at his home, and some of them with his girls accompanied us on the picnics. One of them was a specially attractive one, Mary Ingraham by name, who afterward became the beloved wife of Gilbert Haven, D.D., so long prominent in Methodism as editor of *Zion's Herald*, the Methodist weekly of Boston and New England. He was elected bishop at the General Conference in Brooklyn in 1872, and his residence appointed at

Atlanta, Georgia, where he had the wise foresight to secure 450 acres of land near the city, as a site for Clark University for Freedmen, with its Warren Hall for the boys and Christman Hall for the girls, and industrial schools for both sexes; and also Gammon Theological Seminary. These institutions have greatly helped in the uplift of the colored race. It was he too who started the movement for the founding of Boston University at the Hub. His son is now one of the secretaries of the American Bible Society, and his daughter is the wife of Bishop Wilbur F. Thirkield.

Frances Collins soon after was married to the Reverend William S. Studley, valedictorian of my brother's class at Wesleyan, who became a noted Methodist preacher in Boston, Brooklyn, and Evanston. We heard Theodore Parker, and the great Universalist Dr. E. H. Chapin, and among the Methodist churches attended the one at the north end (now the Morgan Memorial), the so-called fashionable Tremont Street Church, and the Sailors Home, where we heard "Father Taylor," the famous sailor preacher known to sailors all around the world for his thrilling eloquence, moving his hearers to tears and laughter, who in one sermon so vividly set forth a storm at sea that some sailors jumped to their feet and shouted, "Take to the lifeboats." From Boston we journeyed to Springfield and visited its rifle factory, thence to Hartford, taking in there its park and statehouse, Dr. Bushnell's old church and S. S. Scranton and Company's Subscription Book Publishing Company; then to Middletown, the seat of the mother Wesleyan University, whose beautiful setting has been an inspiration to so many lives. Set on a lofty table-land, with its fine Portland sandstone buildings facing a broad campus fronting on High Street of noble elms, overlooking the city and the broad swift-flowing Connecticut River, and with a great sweep of view over the opposite Portland hills stretching away to the east and south, and with Indian Ridge and its notable cemetery reaching out to the west, it has a truly magnificent outlook. Renewed fellowship with my brother and contact with the student life and with the professors made the week of Commencement a joy and an inspiration. Of the faculty I distinctly recall the president, massive Dr. Stephen Olin,

whose frame, six feet two in height and correspondingly large, crowned by a leonine head, gave an impression of great strength of body and brain, while his genial smile and cordial manners unveiled a gentle spirit, and his Commencement sermon (two hours and thirty-eight minutes long, yet with no trace of weariness in himself or the audience) revealed a depth of thought and a grandeur of soul, combined with a force and grace of expression which showed him to be deserving his reputation as a great man and preacher. His text was, "I have written unto you young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one," and it was a sermon long to be remembered. The professor of mathematics was William Augustus Smith, author of college textbooks, for some years president, and father of Augustus L. Smith, for a long time connected with the Fox River and Green Bay Canal Company at Appleton, who married Governor William R. Taylor's daughter; another son, Perry B. Smith, was a professor for a time and later a leading construction engineer; and a daughter, Miss A. Smith, was professor at Wells College, New York, for many years. I remember also old Professor John Johnston, whose chemistry was a classic, and who first in this country liquefied carbonic acid gas.

During the week we visited the Warner Hammer Factory at a small village seven miles from Middletown, whose proprietor was a distant Howe connection, and also met at Commencement Chauncey Shaffer, an alumnus of Wesleyan, a prominent Methodist lawyer of New York, who at one time handled the great Jumel case involving title to a considerable tract on the Heights in the city, whose wife was a particular friend of Aunt Field, and with both of whom we attended Mrs. Phoebe Palmer's Tuesday meetings for the promotion of holiness, which were so notable in the city and were attended by people of all denominations and widely affected the churches. Our route home was via New York, Buffalo, and a steamer trip around the lakes, made specially enjoyable by good company.

Returning from this vacation trip I took up my work in the store, and after a few weeks at home my brother began his notably successful work as professor of ancient languages at the opening

of Lawrence Institute at Appleton, which blossomed into Lawrence University, and is now known as Lawrence College, Methodism's only school of college rank in Wisconsin.

About this time one of the older clerks in the store, who had not long before come from the East, wanted to go back, and offered to sell me his cloak for less than the first cost of the velvet upon it; it was a big circular black broadcloth, wool-lined, with a velvet collar full-width and full-width of velvet down each front inside, a cloak reaching nearly to my ankles; it was such a bargain and such a swell garment that I could not resist, and so bought it and for some winters wore it with a swinging swell that was rather beyond my condition in life, but not really beyond a very genteel appearance in a young gentleman.

In the spring of 1850 Mr. Gardiner's mother came to visit him. Her name was Mary L. Gardiner. She was a poet and brought with her a volume of her poems which I, a boarder, naturally was privileged to read. This I did with an appreciative response, resulting in a friendly fellowship. Having had acquaintance and correspondence with several of the noted poets of the time, and herself a charming conversationalist, it was a joy to visit with her. The "L" of her name stood for L'Hommedieu, and she was a near relative of a prominent man of Cincinnati by that name connected with the Hamilton and Dayton Railroad. She brought with her a daughter Elizabeth, a young woman of more than usual attractiveness, with somewhat of her mother's poetry in her soul, who also added to the brightness of the family life. With the mother, the daughter, and Mrs. John D. Gardiner ready for a game of backgammon I had frequent chances for a game, while Mr. Gardiner himself taught me chess but not so that I could hold my own except semi-occasionally. After a couple of months' visit the mother returned to Sag Harbor, but the daughter remained.

At the session of Wisconsin Conference held at Beloit in June, 1850, the Reverend Elihu Springer was appointed presiding elder of Milwaukee District and the Reverend Wesson G. Miller pastor of Spring Street station. Brother Miller had entered the ministry as a youth from Ripon, had steadily advanced in his charges till he came to Milwaukee. He was one of those wise,

sane, sweet-spirited men, who meet men cordially and attract them, good thoughtful preachers, without extraordinary power in the pulpit, but good all-around workers who conserve and promote all the interests of the church. Early in the year the seceding Wesleyans disintegrated, most of them returning to the mother church and the rest joining the New Methodist society on the south side, the beginning of Asbury Church. Because of this new Walker's Point society our church took the name Spring Street Church. During the winter a gracious revival blest the church.

In the spring of 1851 occurred the notorious Leahy riot. Mr. Leahy, then a minister of the Protestant Methodist church, but who had been a monk, having spent several years in a monastery, and later being converted to Protestantism, came to Milwaukee proposing to give a course of lectures in a public hall disclosing and denouncing the secrets of the Catholic monasteries and of the confessional. On the intervening Sabbath he preached, by invitation, in the Presbyterian Church in the morning, giving some idea of his plans, and in the Congregational Church in the afternoon, and was announced for Spring Street Methodist in the evening. The house was crowded; after the customary opening services, as he began speaking, a crowd of strange men pressed through the front doors, pushed up the aisles, and at a given signal made a rush for the speaker. Comprehending the situation the pastor, Brother Miller, ordered the assailants back and directed the brethren to prevent their advance. A big stone hurled at his head just missed it and crashed against the wall. The crowd from without, armed with clubs and canes, pushed steadily on, while L. S. Kellogg (my father) and William Lee headed the unarmed members who determinedly held them back. A blow from a heavy club glanced off Brother Kellogg's head and seriously lamed his shoulder, and Brother Lee's hand and forearm were crippled, and others were severely bruised. At this moment Dr. W. W. Lake, a physician and local preacher, who was inside the altar rail, drew a revolver and ordered the leaders of the mob back, who at sight of the revolver retreated and led out their forces. In the meantime the audience was in wild confusion, the women and men striving to get out; but egress by the doors was

stopped by the inrushing rioters, and many scared men and women were helped out the windows by the aid of piled-up dry-goods boxes, wagons and ladders. At this work of getting a wagon and boxes and helping folks out I assisted, while others were crowded to the walls in terror until the rioters withdrew and quiet was restored, when members conducted the speaker safely to his hotel near by. The city was rocked with excitement through the night. Early the next morning a mass meeting was held in the church to denounce the attack upon freedom of speech, rather than a plot against the church, as the people widely interpreted the riot. Brother Kellogg with the blood stanched and his head bound up was able to appear at the meeting and voiced the widespread sentiment as he resolutely said, "Our fathers fought for freedom both civil and religious, and if we have to fight the battle over again I am ready, and willing that my blood shall be the first to flow." Reverend Leahy was protected in a mass meeting in a church and another in a public square, and went on his way, and the city paid $150 to repair the damages upon the church.

The summer of '51 will long be known as the second and severe cholera year in Milwaukee. Of this Pastor Miller writes: "It was affirmed that the mortality reached even as high a figure as fifty a day for several days together. To attend six funerals a day and to visit twice that number of sick persons was not an unusual experience. To meet a well man at a burial one day and to attend his funeral the next or the day following was not an infrequent occurrence." Presiding Elder Springer was attacked at Oconomowoc at three o'clock in the morning of the twenty-second of August, and though medical aid was called at once, he died at six o'clock in the evening before his wife could reach him from Milwaukee. He was a strong and useful man, much beloved, and a great concourse attended his funeral the next Sabbath in Spring Street Church. Elder Springer was the father of two preachers of Wisconsin Conference—Isaac, who later went to Michigan, and John M., who went to Illinois, and was grandfather of the Reverend John M. Springer, now missionary in Africa. His place on the district was filled by the Reverend Isaac M. Leihy, who had been serving as pastor at Beloit.

(*To be continued*)

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The study which follows was written by Robert Wild, a prominent Milwaukee lawyer and a curator of this Society. The theme is interesting on its own account, but the main significance of the article to our readers lies in its revelation of the crucial value of private letters for the determination of moot points in history. It is on that account we are glad to present the article to our readers in the section reserved for editorial comment.

Incidentally, Mr. Wild's article shows how a keen man's inference based perhaps partly on mere rumor, as in the case of Mr. Seward when he charged complicity between the President and the Supreme Court with reference to the Dred Scott decision, may penetrate directly to the fact. Political history presents many instances of similar import, together with many others in which inferences and suppositions went wide of the mark. In either case, the contemporaneous written document, be it a letter or something else, is the final testimony.

"ROGER AND JAMES"

In his inaugural address, speaking of the power of the people of a territory to form and regulate their domestic institutions (i. e. slavery) in their own way, President James Buchanan said:

> A difference of opinion has arisen in regard to the point of time when the people of a Territory shall decide this question for themselves. This is, happily, a matter of but little practical importance. Besides, it is a judicial question, which legitimately belongs to the Supreme Court of the United States, before whom it is now pending, and will, it is understood, be speedily and finally settled. To their decision, in common with all good citizens, I shall cheerfully submit, whatever this may be.

Two days thereafter the Dred Scott decision was handed down. It had been argued February 11-14, 1856, and re-argued December 15-18, 1856. About one year later (March 3, 1858) Seward made his famous speech in the

Senate, in which he charged that before coming into office Buchanan approached, or was approached by, the Supreme Court, that there was a coalition between the executive and judicial departments, and that whisperings had been carried on between the President and Chief Justice Roger A. Taney.

Buchanan denounced Seward's charge as an "infamous and unfounded assertion."[1] Taney was so incensed that, as he told Tyler, his biographer, had Seward instead of Lincoln been inaugurated in 1861, he, the chief justice, would have refused to administer the oath of office.[2]

So much for the testimony of the witnesses. So far, the allegations and proofs amount to no more than conjecture. The standard historians, like Rhodes, Schouler, and Burgess, absolve Buchanan and Taney. On the other hand, we know from the statement of Buchanan's nephew and private secretary, that the inaugural address was composed at Buchanan's home at Wheatland, near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where the nephew had copied and recopied the drafts until the message was rounded out to the President-elect's satisfaction. It underwent no alteration after he came to Washington, except that he there inserted the clause quoted above. Buchanan came to Washington early on March 3, 1857. He was inaugurated March 4. The Dred Scott decision came on March 6.

This juxtaposition of facts and dates would seem to justify an inference that the addition was an announcement "prompted from high quarters."[3] Nevertheless, coincidence is not causation. Without further evidence, Seward's charge must be dismissed because of failure of proof. Such was the condition of the record up to 1910, and upon the basis of that record no positive finding of historical fact could be made. Rhodes, Schouler, and Burgess all wrote the volumes

[1] James Schouler, *History of the United States*, v, 377, note.
[2] James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States*, ii, 270.
[3] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1890), ii, 72, note.

above mentioned before 1910, and are, therefore, logically justified in their conclusions.

But in 1910, historians were obliged to reopen the case on account of newly discovered evidence. John Bassett Moore, the distinguished international lawyer, published volume ten of the *Works of James Buchanan*, the evidence contained in which, at pages 106-108, at once removed the question under consideration from the field of guess, conjecture, or inference, into that of conclusion, decision, and judgment. Reviewing Moore in the *American Historical Review*, volume xv, number 4, page 887, Professor MacDonald says: "In February, before his inauguration, he [Buchanan] had been privately informed by Justices Catron and Grier of the probable decision in the Dred Scott case."

To a lawyer, this is simply an astounding statement. But it is true. MacDonald implicates two associate justices. He does not go far enough. Not only were Catron and Grier implicated, but also Wayne, and Chief Justice Taney as well.

Rhodes says that the idea that either Buchanan or Taney would stoop from the etiquette of their high office cannot be entertained for a moment, and that with his lofty notions of what belonged to an independent judiciary, Taney would have no intercourse with the executive that could not brook the light of day. Schouler says that it is not to be supposed that any secret understanding existed between the executive and judiciary as to the actual judgment. Burgess says that both Buchanan and Taney were men of the highest personal and official integrity, possessing the most delicate sense of the requirements and proprieties of their great stations, and that it is almost certain that Seward's charge was an unfounded suspicion.

Let the record, as we now have it before us, speak for itself.

The following is the letter from Justice Catron:

Thursday, Feby. 19th [1857].

My Dear Sir:

The Dred Scott case has been before the Judges several times since last Saturday, and I think you may safely say in your Inaugural,

> "That the question involving the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise line is presented to the appropriate tribunal to decide; to wit, to the Supreme Court of the United States. It is due to its high and independent character to suppose that it will decide and settle a controversy which has so long and seriously agitated the country, and which must ultimately be decided by the Supreme Court. And until the case now before it, (on two arguments) presenting the direct question, is disposed of, I would deem it improper to express any opinion on the subject."

A majority of my Brethren will be forced up to this point by two dissentients.

Will you drop Grier a line, saying how necessary it is—& how good the opportunity is, to settle the agitation by an affirmative decision of the Supreme Court, the one way or the other. He ought not to occupy so doubtful a ground as the outside issue—that admitting the constitutionality of the Mo. Comp. line of 1820, still, as no domicil was acquired by the negro at Ft. Snelling, & he returned to Missouri he was not free. He has no doubt about the question on the main contest, but has been persuaded to take the smooth handle for the sake of repose.

Sincerely Yr. frd. J. Catron

To Mr. Buchanan

Whether this letter is a reply to one from Buchanan to Catron, I do not know. But Buchanan adopted Catron's suggestion and did "drop Grier a line," as appears from the following letter from Justice Grier:

Washington, Feby. 23d 1857.

My Dear Sir:

Your letter came to hand this morning. I have taken the liberty to shew it in confidence to our mutual friends Judge Wayne and the Chief Justice. We fully appreciate and concur in your views as to the desirableness at this time of having an expression of the opinion of the court on this troublesome question. With their concurrence, I will give you in confidence the history of the case before us, with the probable result. Owing to the sickness and absence of a member of the court, the case was not taken up in conference till lately. The first question which presented itself was the right of a negro to sue in the courts of the United States. A majority of the court were of the opinion that the

question did not arise on the pleadings and that we were compelled to give an opinion on the merits. After much discussion it was finally agreed that the merits of the case might be satisfactorily decided without giving an opinion on the question of the Missouri compromise; and the case was committed to Judge Nelson to write the opinion of the court affirming the judgment of the court below, but leaving both those difficult questions untouched. But it appeared that our brothers who dissented from the majority, especially Justice McLean, were determined to come out with a long and labored dissent, including their opinions & arguments on both the troublesome points, although not necessary to a decision of the case. In our opinion both the points are in the case and may be legitimately considered. Those who hold a different opinion from Messrs. McLean & Curtis on the powers of Congress & the validity of the compromise act feel compelled to express their opinions on the subject, Nelson & myself refusing to commit ourselves. A majority including all the judges south of Mason & Dixon's line agreeing in the result but not in their reasons—as the question will be thus forced upon us, I am anxious that it should not appear that the line of latitude should mark the line of division in the court. I feel also that the opinion of the majority will fail of much of its effect if founded on clashing & inconsistent arguments. On conversation with the chief justice I have agreed to concur with him. Brother Wayne & myself will also use our endeavors to get brothers Daniels & Campbell & Catron to do the same. So that if the question must be met, there will be an opinion of the court upon it, if possible, without the contradictory views which would weaken its force. But I fear some rather extreme views may be thrown out by some of our southern brethren. There will therefore be six if not seven (perhaps Nelson will remain neutral) who will decide the compromise law of 1820 to be of non-effect. But the opinions will not be delivered before Friday the 6th of March. We will not let any others of our brethren know any thing about the cause of our anxiety to produce this result, and though contrary to our usual practice, we have thought due to you to state to you in candor & confidence the real state of the matter.

Very truly yours,
D. GRIER.

Hon. James Buchanan.

P. S. It is the weak state of the Chief Justice's health which will postpone the opinion to that time.

It is a remarkable fact that what Buchanan inserted in his message either on the third or the fourth of March, was substantially what Catron had told him he might "safely say." Buchanan's letter was shown in confidence by Grier to Taney. In like confidence, with the concurrence of Taney, Grier, Wayne, and Catron, the Dred Scott decision was

disclosed to Buchanan eleven days before its official pronouncement. Seward was right when he charged that Buchanan had approached or had been approached by the Court, and that whisperings had been carried on between them. Verily, as Lincoln charged, "Roger and James understood one another."

Rhodes,[4] speaking of a later case equally famous, where it was charged that a "leak" had occurred, says: "The determination or *semble*, as the judges call it, is in the highest degree secret and confidential. A judge who should give an inkling of it would be unworthy of his place."

With this I agree.

[4] *History of the United States*, vi, 271.

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

During the three months' period ending July 10, 1924, there were nine additions to the membership of the State Historical Society. Four persons enrolled as life members: Dr. S. A. Barrett, Milwaukee; Henry Lockney, Waukesha; T. M. Nelson-Lewis, Watertown; Mrs. Peter Reiss, Sheboygan.

Five persons became annual members, as follows: Mrs. May L. Bauchle, Beloit; Arthur H. DuChateau, Green Bay; Bertha Feld, Watertown; Nathan J. Gould, Milwaukee; Alfred Schumann, La Crosse.

Frank L. Gilbert and James J. McDonald, both of Madison, changed their memberships from annual to life.

Judge E. Ray Stevens, president of the State Historical Society, called a special meeting of the executive committee of the Society for Saturday, June 7, in order to consider an emergency which had arisen in regard to a portion of the lands devised to the Society under the will of the late George B. Burrows. The affairs of the Ramsey Land Company, in which the Society, as successor to George B. Burrows, held shares, were liquidated, the Society coming into possession of most of the lands owned by the company. The call was responded to by a large proportion of the curators of the Society, and the business was concluded in a manner which promises to be highly advantageous to the Society's interests. Among those present from the state outside of Madison were Hans Anderson of Whitehall, J. H. A. Lacher of Waukesha, Lyman J. Nash of Manitowoc, Barton L. Parker of Green Bay, and William A. Titus of Fond du Lac.

Since the preparation of the last number of the magazine, volume one of *Town Studies* of the *Wisconsin Domesday Book* has issued from the press. This volume is in atlas form and the cover is ornamented with the first seal of the state, adopted in 1848, which is quite unlike the present state seal. The text deals with twenty-three selected towns from the southern part of the state (except Sevastopol in Door County), and contains sixty-five plats and maps on which the studies are based. The separate studies proceed from location, surface and drainage, types of soil and timber, to beginnings of settlement, conditions affecting the purchase of lands, and progress of farm making. They then take up the classification of farms according to area, the general and special productions, with the value of each. Then they discuss manufactures, villages, post offices, schools, and churches, and end with a description of population changes. Several of the studies are supplemented by articles from pioneers on the general and social histories of the towns. The appendix contains agricultural statistics compiled from the censuses of 1850 to 1920. The index lists not only the names mentioned in the text, but those shown on the plats of farms and farmers of 1860, giving

a complete directory of the farm owners of the selected towns for that date. The second volume of the series is now in process of preparation.

THE SHOLES MONUMENT

In this magazine for December, 1923, we called attention to the fiftieth anniversary of the invention of the typewriter and the fact that its inventor, C. Latham Sholes, was a Wisconsin pioneer. We are pleased to chronicle that since that time honor has been paid to this distinguished citizen by the erection of a monument at his grave in Forest Home Cemetery, Milwaukee. This monument, the work of a Pittsburgh artist, consists of a bronze tablet bearing in low relief a profile bust of Sholes. The tablet is fastened to a marble shaft, whereon the inscription reads: "Christopher Latham Sholes 1819-1890. Dedicated by the young men and women of America in grateful memory of one who materially aided in the world's progress." The erection of this monument was sponsored by the National Shorthand Reporters' Association under the leadership of Charles L. Weller, of La Porte, Indiana, an early associate of the inventor. The funds were raised by popular subscription. The unveiling took place June 7, and the act was performed by Lillian Sholes Fortier, the inventor's daughter, who was one of the earliest typists to utilize her father's machine. Addresses were delivered by Mr. Weller, Alan C. Reiley of the Remington Company, and Herbert Dore of the Reporters' Association. J. D. Strachan of the same association presided. A movement has been started to obtain Sholes's election to the National Hall of Fame; the mayor of Milwaukee has appointed a committee for that purpose.

NECROLOGY

William Henry Upham, who died July 2 at Marshfield, was the eighteenth governor of our state, and a man distinguished in military and business as well as in political circles. Of Massachusetts birth, young Upham enlisted as a boy soldier at Racine in the Second Wisconsin Infantry. Later he was appointed by Lincoln to a cadetship at West Point, under circumstances well remembered by those who followed General King's reminiscences in this magazine for March, 1922 (221-222). After graduating at West Point in 1866, Upham entered the Fifth United States Artillery as lieutenant, resigning therefrom in 1869. Thereafter he devoted himself to building up northern Wisconsin, and became a successful manufacturer at Marshfield. For many years he was a member of our Society and curator *ex officio* during his gubernatorial term, 1895-1896.

Harriet M. Wheeler, daughter of Leonard H. Wheeler, the eminent missionary to the Wisconsin Chippewa, died in April at her home in Beloit. She was a writer of short stories and author of two or three novels, into some of which she wove her childhood experiences among the Chippewa at Odanah.

ANNIVERSARIES AND PAGEANTS

At Appleton in April was produced, under the auspices of the Woman's Club, a pageant entitled "The Tale of the Fox," in which by allegory and dramatic action were interpreted the history and romance of the Fox River valley.

During the first week of June the River Falls Normal School celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. This was the fourth normal to be launched in Wisconsin, the first in the northern part of the state. The pageant, which was written and produced under the direction of the faculty members, recounted the entire history of the St. Croix valley from barbarism to civilization. Over five thousand people attended, and the cast consisted of more than five hundred. The acting was in pantomime, the poetic and appropriate lines being read by a herald. At the banquet on alumni day a number of the former faculty members were in attendance, notably former president J. Q. Emery of Madison.

A pageant without Indian scenes would be one lacking its most popular opportunity. The managers of the Langlade County pageant, given at Antigo June 12-14, were enterprising enough to secure the participation of Reginald Oshkosh, Neopit, and other Menominee tribesmen from the reservation in Shawano County. The scene in which Charles de Langlade, for whom the county is named, was shown taking part in Braddock's defeat, and the portions depicting the fur trading and logging days on Wolf River, were especially picturesque. The principal of the county normal school had charge of the historical scenes.

A Sheboygan County historical pageant, produced June 17 and 18 at Plymouth, depicted six scenes from the early history of the locality. The first, representing an Indian romance, introduced Father St. Cosme, who in 1698 voyaged along the Sheboygan County lake shore; the second episode, on the fur trade, brought in the historic characters of Jacques Vieau, William Farnsworth, and Marinette. The third scene represented the first white American advent, with the sawmill of Crocker and Paine; later in the same scene came Dutch and German immigrants to join the Yankees. The two following scenes were on local history, and the whole closed on the note of the Civil War, with enlistment and departure for the field.

Northland College at Ashland presented during commencement week a pageant of the institution's history, written and produced by the senior class.

The Fond du Lac County rural normal school wrote and acted a pageant on the history of Wisconsin, as part of its graduating exercises, June 20.

A pageant of Sauk County history was presented at Baraboo on the evening of June 25. One of the scenes represented the voyage of Jolliet

and Marquette; another, the advent of Count Haraszthy; and the final one, the World War.

Kaukauna is planning a pageant of its interesting history to be presented in August.

When Fort Atkinson high school graduated a large class of sixty-three seniors last June, they at the same time recalled the graduation of fifty years earlier, when J. Q. Emery was superintendent of the city schools. Mr. Emery was present and delivered a reminiscent address full of historical and personal interest. Mr. Emery was head of the school system at "the Fort" from 1873 to 1889.

CHURCH ANNIVERSARIES

The Methodist circuit riders were among the first religious pioneers to visit the lead mines, and one of the oldest churches in the state is that of this denomination, at Mineral Point, which celebrated in May its ninetieth anniversary. This church was organized before Wisconsin became a territory and when Mineral Point was merely a mining camp. The first regular minister was John Dew. The church was afterwards served by some of the most eminent preachers in the Northwest, and is still an active organization, with a fine church building.

Impressive ceremonies commemorated early in April the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the First Presbyterian Church of Beloit. Memorial windows in honor of pioneer members were dedicated and an anniversary pageant, called "The Builders," written by the pastor, was presented. Visitors were present from the neighboring churches of the Madison presbytery.

Seventy-five years of history were recalled when the Baptist Church at Berlin celebrated in the spring the anniversary of its founding. Berlin was then called Strongville, and this church was organized with thirteen charter members.

St. Mary's Catholic Church in Marytown, Fond du Lac County, was founded in 1849 and occupied a small log structure. July 2 its seventy-fifth anniversary was celebrated.

St. Joseph's Church at Richwood celebrated on June 29 the sixtieth anniversary of the laying of its first corner stone.

Emanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church at Brandon, Fond du Lac County, organized in 1874, observed its golden jubilee on May 18. Communicants numbering 8777 have been connected with this church during the fifty years of its existence.

At Hartford, on May 18, began a four-day celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of St. John's Evangelical Church, under the direction of the present pastor, who has been in charge for the last fifteen years.

At Waupaca, in June, the First Methodist Church commemorated its fiftieth anniversary, when several of its former pastors were present.

On June 24, St. John's Catholic Church of Waunakee gathered its friends for a jubilee celebration of its establishment in 1874, when nineteen German families came together to organize a new church by permission of the Reverend Archbishop Henni.

After recording the successful history of several of our state churches, we regret to chronicle that the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, built at Mount Pleasant, Racine County, in 1854, has recently been razed. Service was discontinued about eleven years ago, because of the removal or death of the old settlers who spoke the Welsh language.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Waukesha County Historical Society held its eighteenth annual meeting in Waukesha on May 17. Several papers on pioneer subjects were presented, and the gold medal donated by J. H. A. Lacher was awarded to Charlotte S. Reid, a senior in the Waukesha high school, for an essay on Cutler's Park. Honorable mention was made of the "History of Oconomowoc," by Elsie Zastrow. H. M. Youmans, retiring president, offered a medal for competition during the next year.

On Flag Day, June 14, the Fond du Lac County Historical Society united with the County Women's Club and the Elks Lodge in a joint pilgrimage to Calumet Harbor, where Senator Titus gave an interesting historical talk embracing the material published in our June magazine.

On the same day the Winnebago County Archeological and Historical Society gathered to the number of several hundred at the old pay ground on the south shore of Lake Poygan, where from 1836 to 1856 the Menominee Indians received their annuities. The speaker of the day was Louise Phelps Kellogg of our staff, who talked on the "French Régime in Winnebago County." Work is now in progress on the museum at the Sawyer Foundation, which will be opened to the public in the early autumn.

The first county courthouse and jail of Manitowoc County having been built seventy-five years ago, on the site familiarly known as County Hill, this circumstance was commemorated on June 29, when Judge Baensch, Ralph Plumb, County Attorney A. J. Schmitz, and Judge J. S. Anderson gave addresses. Mr. Baensch urged the purchase of this region for a county park.

LANDMARKS

On June 1, the first Wisconsin capitol and the land on which it stands, five miles east of Platteville, were formally transferred to the State Conservation Commission, to be administered as part of the state park system. The old capitol was the meeting place for early sessions of the legislature, but was abandoned in 1837, and in the later eighties was moved from its original location and used as a barn. In 1917 the legislature appointed a Belmont Capitol Commission, consisting of M. P. Rindlaub, of Platteville, John G. D. Mack, state chief

engineer, and Platt Whitman, to take steps to restore the building to its original site and preserve it for the state. Previous to this time, in 1910, the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs had purchased a lot forty by sixty feet, on which was placed a marker defining the exact location of the first capitol.

The exercises which marked the formal transfer were held on the grounds and were attended by hundreds of people who gathered from the surrounding country. After the invocation, by the Reverend Robert T. Merritt, Mr. Rindlaub, chairman of the Belmont Capitol Commission, read a paper in which he reviewed the period in Wisconsin history when the seat of the government was at Belmont, and told of the committee's work of which the day's celebration marked the culmination. A large flag, presented by Mrs. Hornbeck for the Woman's Relief Corp of Platteville, was raised by two overseas veterans of the World War, while a band played the "Star-Spangled Banner." Another feature of the program was the presentation by the Platteville G. A. R. of a cannon ball from the battle field of Vicksburg. This cannon ball is mounted on a stone pedestal on the capitol grounds. Honorable J. W. Murphy, of Platteville, on behalf of the G. A. R., spoke of the significance of the conflict in which the trophy had figured. The address of the day was delivered by Governor John J. Blaine, after which Mrs. H. S. Main, of Fort Atkinson, state chairman of the committee on history and landmarks of the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs, transferred the lot and tablet to the state, and Honorable Platt Whitman transferred the building. In the absence of State Conservation Commissioner Elmer S. Hall, Mr. C. L. Harrington accepted them. The program closed with benediction by the Reverend F. J. Lillis.

The day was an ideal one for an out-door celebration, and the crowds in attendance testified to the active interest which is being evinced by the citizens of the state toward matters pertaining to the history of our commonwealth.

The old building in which the first session of the supreme court was held is also still standing at Old Belmont. The State Bar Association plans to restore and mark this edifice.

In the June number of this magazine we noted the plans for the erection of tablets at Fort Winnebago by the Wau Bun Chapter of the D. A. R. at Portage. These tablets were dedicated on June 14 with appropriate ceremonies, and contain in addition to the inscriptions already mentioned, the names of the army officers who served at this frontier post.

The Plymouth chapter of the D. A. R. unveiled on Flag Day, at the intersection of Highways 23 and 57, a boulder marker to designate the Indian trail which later became the plank road between Sheboygan and Fond du Lac. Mrs. H. L. Gilman, a pioneer daughter of John E. Parrish, read the history of this old road, which was supplemented by

an address by J. A. Laack, of Plymouth. Honorable Paul T. Krez accepted the marker on behalf of the county historical society.

A bronze memorial tablet will soon be erected by the D. A. R. of Stevens Point, to mark the spot where George A. Stevens, the pioneer for whom the town was named, first landed in 1839.

Plans are under way for marking the site of the old fur trade post at Fond du Lac; also that, within the limits of the present city of Oshkosh, of the battle ground of 1728, where the invasion of the French army from Montreal was checked by Wisconsin Indians.

ACQUISITIONS

Mrs. R. M. Nazro, of Milwaukee, presented to the Society a letter dated 1779, written from Charleston, South Carolina, by Robert Gittins. Its interest relates to the commercial aspects of slavery.

Colonel Howard Greene forwarded recently an article written by a Rhode Island antiquarian, on John Clawson, a companion of Roger Williams; this is a study of some phases of Williams' character, and of the times in which he lived.

The famous Washington elm, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, under which General Washington assumed command of the American army in 1775, was blown down in a storm last November. The people of Cambridge presented a block of its wood to Governor Blaine as a memorial for this state. This block, about three feet in diameter and one foot in thickness, has fastened to it a copper plate explaining its significance. On this plate is likewise engraved a picture of the tree. The block has been sent to the State Historical Museum for permanent preservation.

HISTORICAL NOTES

The Mandabach National Druggists' Home was dedicated last June at Palmyra. This home has been founded for superannuated members of the Association of Drug Clerks, and the exercises marked the close of a three-day session of that association. Among other resolutions adopted were those urging law enforcement and opposition to prescribing narcotics. The property itself comprises more than fifty acres on Spring Lake, near which are the famous Palmyra mineral springs. The large brick building, although more than half a century old, is still in good condition and has been adapted to the needs of the home. Palmyra will become a druggists' Mecca.

At the commencement exercises in June the corner stone of a new chapel for Campion College was laid by the bishop of La Crosse, in the presence of a large audience. Copies of the local newspapers, college catalogues, and a document indicating the present state government were placed beneath the stone. The president of the college is the Reverend A. H. Rohde, S. J.

Apropos of the activities of the D. A. R. in marking Wisconsin historic sites, we note that one of the eighteen women who thirty-four years ago organized the national society still lives in Janesville. Mrs. Ada B. Kimberley is familiarly known as Wisconsin Daughters' "little grandmother." Governor Upham honored Mrs. Kimberley in 1895 with an appointment as delegate to the Atlanta Exposition. Her husband, Colonel Edwin O. Kimberley, was a picturesque figure of Civil War days, known as Wisconsin's soldier singer. It was he who first sang for General Sherman that now historic song, "Marching Through Georgia."

Lafayette County is proud of its courthouse, a structure of cut stone crowning an eminence in the city of Darlington. This building was presented to the county by its surveyor, Matthew Murphy, who was a well known pioneer of the early lead mining days. The planning and building of this courthouse fulfilled the ambition of his life, and it now stands as his monument. Within its hospitable walls are housed the interesting collections of the Lafayette County Historical Society.

With the increasing interest in highway development has come a desire for more knowledge of the early history of Wisconsin roads. Fred J. Rogers in the Crandon *Forest Republican* for May 22 gives an interesting account of the highway now designated as Number 55. It originated in the old military wagon road built by a land grant from the general government, and completed in 1872. Mr. Rogers follows this road from Shawano to the state line, indicating its scenic, archeologic, and historic associations.

The work of one of Wisconsin's most gifted artists, the late Helen F. Mears, was unveiled on May 13 at the Hall of Fame in New York City, being a portrait bust of Dr. William T. G. Morton, discoverer of surgical anaesthetics. A recent critic says: "It is necessary to see both the front and profile views of this bust in order to appreciate the subtlety and distinction with which the character of the doctor is given—not only his individual character but that of his period. His culture seems to be perpetuated in the flowing modeling of the head, making it one of the most valuable busts of the day."

The late Edgar E. Teller, of Milwaukee, spent his spare time in collecting geological, archeological, and natural history specimens. This collection, together with its library valued at $100,000, has been presented by his widow to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. Mr. Teller's interest was stimulated by his connection with the Wisconsin Natural History Society and its offspring the Wisconsin Archeological Society. Just north of Milwaukee is still preserved a group of mounds known as the Teller Indian Mounds.

The oldest state institution in Wisconsin is the Janesville School for the Blind, which in August was seventy-five years old. It was founded under private auspices, but in 1850 was taken over by the state and is considered one of the best managed institutions of the kind in the nation.

The state highway map published by the Wisconsin Highway Commission for 1924 contains a brief history of Wisconsin and an index to historic points therein. These two appendices have been revised and greatly improved since the issues of the map in preceding years, and they are now in the main correct guides to those interested in Wisconsin historical landmarks.

MUSEUM NOTES

Since the publication of the last issue of this magazine, the collections of the State Historical Museum have been enriched with many gifts from generous friends in Wisconsin and other states.

Mrs. Warner Taylor, of Madison, has donated a series of Babylonian clay tablets excavated at Drehem, Jokha, and Babylon. These bear dates from 2350 to 539 B. C. Professor W. S. Marshall, Madison, has given a Grecian seal and vase; Dr. Sydney Jackson, Madison, an Eskimo horn spoon; W. H. Kipp, Chicago, a large mahogany bowl made and used by the Indians of British Honduras; and Edward C. Volkert, Buffalo, Arkansas, a collection of stone implements from Indian, cliff dweller, and "stone worker" sites in the valleys and among the bluffs of the Buffalo River region. The "stone worker" implements are of special interest because they represent an until recently unknown aboriginal culture. A small silver loving cup which was given to the late Warren D. Parker by his friends at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904, is the gift to the museum of Mrs. W. D. Parker, Pasadena, California.

Other gifts are an invitation to the first anniversary party of the Citizens Guard, Fox Lake, dated February 22, 1861, donated by Mrs. Josephine Gallup Hunter, St. Paul, Minnesota; a diploma, lancet, stone mortar, and medical books belonging to Dr. Samuel Carman, 1814-1850, given by Dr. Edward Everett, Madison; a pocket-knife used by Henry Enos in 1833, donated by Henry E. Knapp, Menomonie; several inkstones from Japan, by Arthur Peabody, Madison; a bull-dog revolver by N. E. Hildreth, Madison; a collection of coifs and aprons worn in the Red Cross service, by Mrs. Mary L. Simpson, Milwaukee; "moonshine" labels, by L. B. Nagler, Madison; boys' and men's boots in use in the years 1870-1885, by the Bradley and Metcalf Company, Milwaukee; and a silk Lincoln and Hamlin campaign badge, by A. R. Goodell, Platteville.

A Wisconsin state flag purchased by the Society has also been added to the museum's treasures.

The attendance of classes from Wisconsin schools at the State Historical Museum during the month of May, was the largest that it has been during any month of the past nine years. In this large number of school visitors were members of rural, graded, and high schools from nearly every section of southern and central Wisconsin and a few from more distant points. As many as six or more classes sometimes came in a single day, and often the small museum force was fairly over-

whelmed in its efforts to conduct them through the collections and have them make the most of their visit.

On Sunday evening, June 22, Mr. Brown, chief of the museum, gave a talk before one hundred and fifty members of the Wisconsin Boys and Girls Farm Clubs in the picnic grove on the University grounds. These young people, coming from nearly every county in the state, were in Madison attending the annual short course offered by the University in coöperation with the United States Department of Agriculture. On Tuesday, June 24, they visited the museum in a body, being conducted therein by Mr. Brown and Ruth Johnson.

On Thursday evening, June 26, Mr. Brown conducted an excursion on Lake Mendota for the visiting members of the National Honorary Art Fraternity, delivering a talk on local Indian and pioneer history.

The April, 1924, issue of the *Wisconsin Archeologist* contained a report by Vetal Winn, of Milwaukee, on the Indian mounds and former village sites and trails of the Minocqua Lake region in Vilas and Oneida counties. This report is based on researches and investigations conducted by him in the years 1921-23. Mr. Winn's report is supplemented by an article, "Additional Notes on Vilas and Oneida Counties," by Charles E. Brown, secretary of the Wisconsin Archeological Society. The state society has already published similar reports on the Indian history and landmarks of many of the counties of the state.

The University summer session program of the State Historical Museum consisted this year in three or more special historical exhibits during each week of the six weeks of the course; also in the conducting, by appointment, of classes of students from different departments through the museum halls, the giving of talks and lectures in the museum auditorium, in University halls, and on the campus. The museum authorities again conducted the annual historical steamboat excursion on Lake Mendota, the annual evening folklore meeting on the Upper Campus, and several hikes to points of historical interest about the other lakes of the Madison chain. For these occasions historical leaflets were prepared for distribution to students, among which were *Campus Landmarks* and *Historical Lake Mendota*. Students from the journalism, art, library, history, home economics and other summer session courses made daily visits to the museum, seeking inspiration and assistance.

In the Nakoma Country Club, one of the four country clubs of Madison, we have a unique example of a club which in its organization, its sports, and other recreations is making the greatest possible use of the rich store of local Indian folklore and history. Its grounds, several hundred acres in extent, beautifully located on the meadow and hill lands at the western end of Lake Wingra, occupy an old Winnebago Indian camp ground. Its clubhouse, located on "Wigwam Hill," is known as "Medicine Lodge." The fairways of its temporary golf course bear such names as "Many Scalps," "Eagle Feather," "Man Eater,"

and "Pappoose." The greens, hazards, and other features of its permanent eighteen-hole course, now in process of completion, are reproductions of Wisconsin Indian earthworks and symbols. Its permanent clubhouse, now being designed by the noted Wisconsin architect Frank Lloyd Wright, will be aboriginal American in its character, in every exterior and interior decorative detail. Meetings of the membership of the Nakoma club are designated as "tribal councils" or as "council fires," and its members as "warriors." The active golfers' organization of the club is the "War Bundle Society," which takes its name from the resemblance of the player's caddy bag to the sacred war bundles of the Wisconsin redmen. To become a member a player must attain a certain degree of perfection in the sport. *Moccasin Tracks*, the official paper of the Nakoma club, brings to its members a periodical account of all the social affairs, sports, and other activities of the organization.

The Black Hawk Country Club, another Madison organization, is preserving on its grounds on the Lake Mendota shore some fine examples of prehistoric Indian effigy and other mounds. These are soon to be marked with tablets.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Joseph Schafer ("Know-Nothingism in Wisconsin") describes in this article an almost forgotten political bias, which has some affiliation with present-day conditions.

Samuel M. Pedrick ("Early Days of Ripon College") is a lawyer of Ripon who has been a member of our board of curators since 1915.

Mabel V. Hansen ("The Swedish Settlement on Pine Lake") is editor of the *Hartland News*. The paper herein published was first presented to the Waukesha County Historical Society.

William A. Titus ("Historic Spots in Wisconsin: The Venerable La Pointe Region"). Senator Titus writes: "In this series of articles, I do not presume to add greatly to present knowledge of the subjects, but rather to bring together in readable form and thus popularize some widely scattered and more or less technical source books and documents covering Wisconsin history."

John B. Vliet ("An Early Wisconsin Surveyor") sent us this article for our files some years ago. He was then living at East Sound, Washington.

Mrs. Mary J. Atwood ("John Wilson, a Sauk County Pioneer"), whose home is at Prairie du Sac, is the granddaughter of Mrs. Janet Wilson.

Mrs. Chester A. Smith, née Clara Daggett ("Sawmilling Days in Winneconne") is the descendant of Joab Daggett, a Revolutionary soldier, whose journal she has presented to us. Her present home is at Portage.