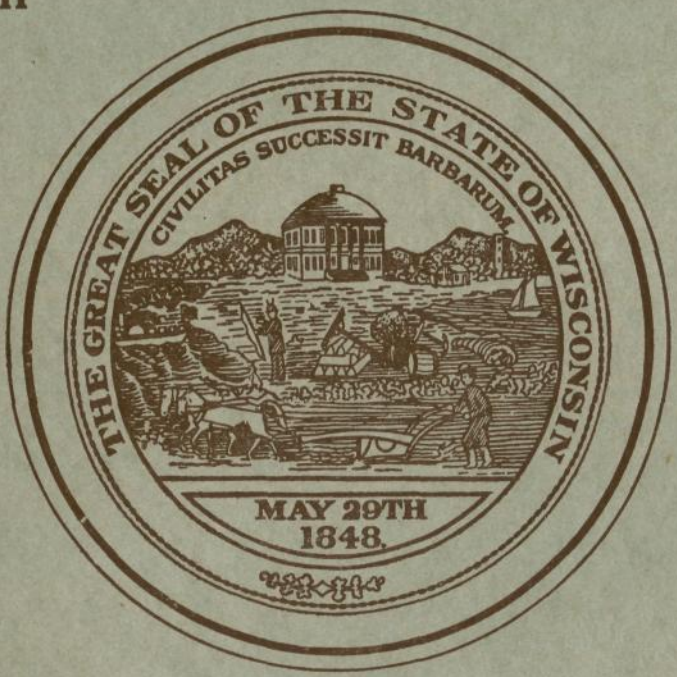
THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

MARCH 1928



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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 cooperation; 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 116 E. Main St., Evansville, 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 116 E. Main St., Evansville, Wisconsin, or the office of the State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

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THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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

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MEMOIRS OF A PIONEER COUNTY EDITOR

JOSEPH CARMAN COVER[1]

The Cover [Kō'ver] family migrated from Prussia to Maryland in 1754, and settled at Fredericktown—now Frederick City—forty-five miles west of Baltimore and the same distance from Washington. In 1802 grandfather removed to Fayette County, western Pennsylvania, and opened a farm which he bought from the Indians and the state.

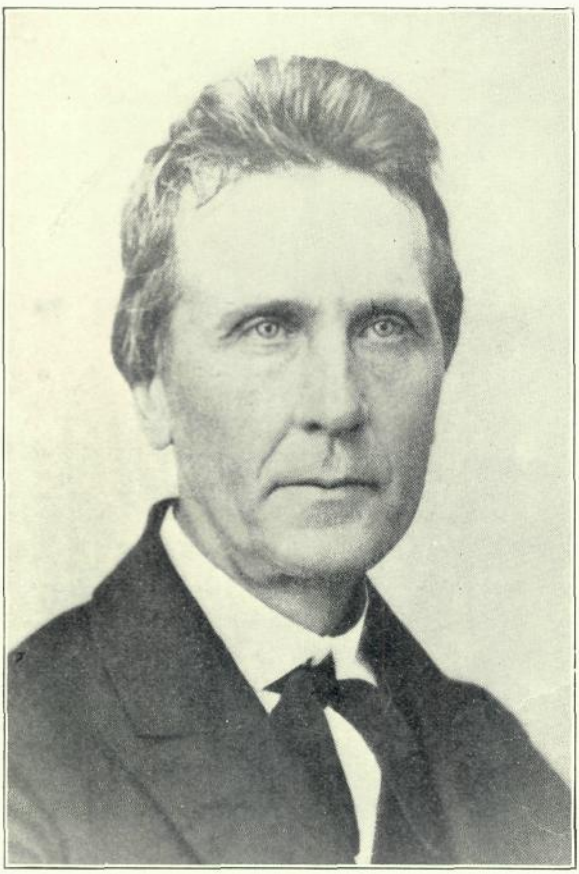
On my mother's side, my grandmother's maiden name was Margaret Coleman; grandfather's name was Joseph Carman. They migrated from England in the year 1740. The Coleman family were half Welsh, half German—the name being German. They were a stout people; so were the Carmans. All the men appear to have served in the Revolutionary War. On my father's side my grandfather and his two brothers were in the same war; the former had also been at Braddock's defeat in the French and Indian War. Grandfather Carman was in the battle of Brandywine and Germantown, under Washington. He was a wheelwright and a farmer; some of the family were blacksmiths, one a tailor, and one a woolen manufacturer. My mother was the only child of Joseph and Margaret Carman, her name being Mary. They lived on their farm near Smithfield, Pennsylvania, and were Baptists and very religious people. Brother John and I finally inherited the farm. I exchanged for his interest some land he and I inherited in Ohio; in 1845

[1] For sketch, see *post*, 860.

I sold it, preparatory to our removal to the West in April, 1846. Brother John moved onto the Ohio farm the same year.

In 1843 I became an avowed abolitionist, and as a consequence excessively unpopular if not despised and shunned by most of the community, my relatives not the least of my persecutors. I could procure no sort of employment, was welcome nowhere, so violent were the people in those days against abolitionists. At times I feared the mob, but never yielded my sentiments. Finding there would likely be no end to the rage, I thought best to sell out and remove so far west as to be able virtually to pass from existence and not be heard of. We got off in March, 1846, landed at Potosi April 12, and settled in Lancaster on the seventeenth of the same month, having steamboated all the way from Brownsville, Pennsylvania, to Potosi, Wisconsin, seven days on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. James F. Chapman and S. E. Lewis were the first men I met and got acquainted with. I soon found my abolitionism would not injure my standing very much in Wisconsin, though a few persons were very indignant. Within the ensuing year several of my old friends came from Pennsylvania to settle or find employment, but they soon departed for Green County, Wisconsin, where there was a Baptist settlement to attract them. Such my ancestry and early life; such my vicissitudes; such the reason why we came west.

When I settled in Lancaster I first taught school, then started a chair and paint shop, then for two or three years was a clerk at the courthouse offices; peddled books one summer, purchasing at Chicago; then in 1851 purchased the *Herald* office. By this time my abolitionism was no great obstacle, as the abolition voters of the county held by their votes the balance of power between the Whigs and the



JOSEPH CARMAN COVER

Democrats, and could elect the candidates of either party. Rather, we were catered to by both political parties, and it was said and generally believed that I controlled the entire abolition vote of the county and held the elections all in my own hands. This rather strengthened me with both parties, at least silenced their grunt against the abolitionists and the *Herald*. I did not say much in the paper on the slavery subject until 1854, when owing to the very general changes of opinion in the state and nation and the increase of anti-slavery opinions, chiefly on account of the fugitive slave laws and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, I felt fully warranted by public opinion in taking a bold, even an ultra anti-slavery stand; so that the *Herald* in those days was reckoned the chief antislavery paper of the state—even ranking Booth's Milwaukee *Free Democrat*. Upon the formation of the Republican party in 1855-1856 I was fully in favor, and at the first election in Grant County, after the organization in 1856, the county went Republican by four hundred majority after a severely contested canvass. The *Herald* then had seven hundred subscribers. When I purchased the paper in 1851 of J. L. Marsh, there were but two hundred and sixty subscribers. The first two years after my purchase I canvassed the county for subscribers and was very successful; upon the first enlargement from a six- to a seven-column paper it became popular, and the subsequent enlargement to an eight-column paper established it firmly among the people. I took for a partner in 1851 L. O. Shrader, a printer, who took charge of the printing. In 1854 he sold out his half-interest to N. C. Goldsmith, who was connected as the printer till 1860, when I purchased his interest; I am still the sole owner.[2]

[2] Mr. Cover remained the sole owner until January, 1869, when his son John became his partner in the enterprise. *Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1911), 356.

The *Herald* was started in 1843, but I cannot recall the several changes up to 1851 without referring to the printed records. The paper has from the first been identified with the physical, personal, and political history of the county and state, and in its columns under file may be found the only full records of all the important county events. A great many other newspapers have existed in the county for brief periods—at Potosi, Platteville, and Boscobel—but only the *Herald* has appeared regularly ever since its start in 1843.[8] The *Witness,* founded in 18[59] at Platteville by one Israel Sanderson, now owned by M. P. Rindlaub, is the only other paper promising enduring life. It is remarkable, the infatuation leading to the starting of so many papers, generally without the least promise or hope of reward! In looking back one discovers that demagogues or leaders of factions were the responsible sources of so many papers, all bankrupting their editors and proprietors, the demagogues slipping out as best they could, their promises going to the editors' accounts of profit and loss. Usually two or more papers in a county promote factions among parties, but the *Herald* always pursued a course which either discouraged or crushed out factions at their incipiency. And, with its very large circulation and usually the masses of people lending firm support, it never failed to carry the day over the many factions and schismatics.

It is no vain presumption to affirm that the *Herald* incipiently organized, conducted, and firmly established the Republican party in the county. The incipient organization is well remembered by the old citizens as having been effected more through boldness and the commanding course of the *Herald* than from popular conviction as to Republican principles. The old party leaders, except on the Demo-

[8] Except for a lapse from April until June, 1849. *Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files,* 356.

cratic side, stubbornly held back until after the election results of 1856, since which time they have cooperated. But they refused, except in a few cases, to exert open influence for the new organization, and passively allowed the *Herald* to bear the responsibilities. At the county convention of that year were reckoned twelve hundred, and the only leading men present, so far as I can remember, were Judge Cole, J. T. Mills, J. Allen Barber, N. W. Kendall, and the *Herald* editor. The convention being a mass meeting and surprisingly large, the leaders became slightly more cooperating, but always with an "if"—conditional on the thing proving a success. The *Herald* was warm in its advocacy of the new organization, and its editorials were constantly designed in view of educating the people in antislavery. The opposition cry was abolition—and the charge rung that it was only abolitionism under disguise. This had to be met by the *Herald* with arguments that were sound, striking, and logical. In fact the *Herald* had to shape and frame the very words and phrases to be used by the people, who, until a recent date, had given the pending issue but little attention. Abolition was still unpopular among large numbers who preferred to vote any other than the Democratic ticket. They had to be reconciled by being schooled in Republican sentiments. Many of the people, not a few irreconcilable toward Democracy, were from the South, and their prejudices the more excusable; notwithstanding, they generally became at once the avowed and boldest Republicans. The miners, then by their numbers and intelligence very influential, generally with promptness came out Republicans; also the better class of farmers, mechanics, and business men, thus leaving Democracy scant with its leaders and ignorant classes. There was the greatest and most unexpected shifting about of party men. Hundreds who had always been

Whigs voted the Democratic ticket, and still more hundreds of Democrats became Republicans at the first opportunity.

The eve of election came, and the excitement still increased; Democratic confidence was still unshaken, and Republicans—to allay all doubts—went to work with greater vigor. Democratic candidates took to canvassing and returned with gloomy faces. Republican candidates came in from their canvassing with fair hopes, if not a certainty of winning. The excitement was extreme in Lancaster, and betting ran high—the Democratic confidence being rather the greater, and the betters consequently the stronger on that side. By this time I felt confident of our triumph, being perhaps the best posted, through wider and more reliable means of information. I well knew that if the thing failed the blame would be charged to the *Herald,* the party leaders generally having either openly discouraged or by their apathy shown a want of confidence in the new party's ability to carry the county. I may also remark that they appeared but little governed by the principles involved, and seemed to look only to the policy and expediency of the organization, the opposition to anything like abolitionism being so general, and the new party, if not in sympathy with that element, being certainly in cooperation with it, and the open abolitionists everywhere the strong champions of Republican organization. But the mass of public sentiment was in advance of the party leaders, and was governed far more by principle than by policy. To this I confided and appealed by columns of weekly editorials, chiefly short articles but carefully prepared, and by striking off editions of the *Herald* greatly above what were necessary to supply subscribers. These were gratuitously distributed by our candidates, who reported them as exerting great influence in out-of-the-way parts of the county, where newspapers were rarely seen.

Five to six hundred such extras for gratuitous use were printed weekly during the canvass, entirely at my own expense, this expenditure with others necessary amounting to several hundred dollars, in which no one shared. The candidates were chiefly poor men; and in those days the party leaders were devoted rather to the profits than to the losses of party affairs and elections.

There was no canvassing by political speakers that fall, on either side. The Potosi *Republican,* then edited by J. W. Seaton, was but mildly Democratic. It made no severe attacks upon the new party, and but feebly replied to only a few *Herald* editorials. The Platteville paper was lukewarm; the editor being a Whig, and professing unchangeable devotion to his venerated party now in a state of dissolution, he appeared slightly cross and occasionally indulged in a fling at the new party. He voted the Republican ticket that year, although he held on to his passive position in his paper, with which he soon dissolved connection for its failure to pay expenses. The Potosi *Republican,* also seeing the hopelessness of ever restoring Grant County to Democracy, was abandoned; and for a long time the *Herald* had the entire field. Its enlargement soon followed. But this is anticipating events.

Election day came. It was a middling day for the people to turn out, and there was a very general attendance at the polls. Candor and firmness were prominent signs worn in the faces of the voting masses; and the demagogue politicians were able to effect but very little by their cries of abolitionism, negro equality, amalgamation, etc. Perhaps but few men changed their sentiments on the election day. There were, however, much excited discussion and a great deal of electioneering. Fathers and sons in many cases separated and old party affiliations were scarcely perceptible,

as none of the usual party principles were discussed or involved. Party names and appeals had but little influence with voters. Firm men of both the old national parties were about to bolt their respective parties for the first time in their lives; and to abandon one's party is often a serious thing, next in degree of seriousness to deserting one's family. We met at the polls that day many unexpected disciples of the new faith, men with whom we have ever since cooperated with pleasure. They were men of moral conviction and principle, earnest and conscientious. In our country it is this class who govern rather than the political leaders, especially when the country is under a cloud or in deep trouble. At such times the politicians withdraw into passive quarters and await events to watch for a majority side to appear, by which they hope to profit. But the true men come forth boldly, take the party helm and, without thought as to majorities or aught else except duty to God and country, steer political affairs in a right direction. And it was right here precisely wherein the Republican party got the advantage at its outset; the best and truest men of the middle classes espoused it and took it in charge. The exceptions were rare indeed, and among those governed rather by bigotry and deep prejudice than by patriotic duty and moral conviction. To the earnest, patriotic man, opposition to the extension of slavery was at once viewed as a sacred right and duty. To the bigoted man it meant abolition, amalgamation, and negro equality. And upon this difference of views and the shades of candor and bigotry the party lines were fixed on that memorable day to last during a decade of years—perhaps through the nineteenth century. That day initiated principles for the government of the country consistent with Christianity, humanity, and conscience—though such principles subsequently were made the pretext for a terrible war to de-

stroy the United States Constitution and government. The principles however prevailed, though they had to be maintained by a million lives and thousands of millions of treasure. Perhaps it was consistent with Nature's laws that the violence done to the black race during a century could be compensated or atoned for only by the blood of our people and the sweat of a generation to pay the public war debt. History at least would uniformly warrant such conclusions in every case of the bondage of an inferior by a superior race. Modern history however affords feeble exceptions, though in the case of Spain and Cuba, the slavery question being at the bottom of the war troubles, history has still another illustration to offer.

The leading men of the middle classes on that day foresaw not the results, or but feebly foresaw them, for the South was even then threatening appeal to arms, and the northern Democracy was crouching beneath its southern lion. Even that day it required bravery of heart to be a firm Republican. Peace was offered only conditionally that slavery should be recognized as national, freedom only as sectional; and subsequently under Buchanan the further condition of peace was added and established by Supreme Court decree, that slavery should be and was lawful under the Constitution in all the states and territories, and to this the northern people were required to submit. The people appealed to the ballot box on that day, and subsequently in 1860 their appeal was won by Lincoln's election.

I had been one of the early Abolitionists, having in the year 1844 voted for James G. Birney for President—that party's vote then numbering in all the states but sixty thousand. Four years preceding, the Abolitionists had cast an aggregate vote of but six thousand. My sentiments were now, if not popular, rather in my favor for the first time,

and I felt as one no longer under the tyrannic power of public opinion. The masses, though not radically of my political faith, were fast on their way in that direction, and I knew that consistency would lead them to it unconditionally. The *Herald* therefore became one of the boldest organs in the Northwest, and most outspoken for abolition. The Milwaukee *Free Democrat* and Sholes's paper, the Waukesha *Freeman,* were its only rivals. But perhaps half the newspapers of the state lent a mild or friendly support to the Republican party. If I remember rightly the state went Republican that fall, as did Grant County; its neighboring counties all however going Democratic, as also those adjacent to it in Illinois and Iowa. Grant was now the only Republican county in the western part of the state, though Iowa and Richland soon gave small majorities occasionally on the Republican side. The newspapers and leading men who acquiesced did so but mildly indeed, and their very mildness and practice of apologizing for ultraism, their constant denial of many of the logical issues involved with abolition, made them sources of great party weakness, giving the Democratic papers and leaders superior advantages in the news and personal discussions. To beg the question, or apologize, or stop to explain always shows weakness; while boldness of assertion, even in the wrong, strengthens the opposing side. This only can explain why the counties bordering on Grant were then, and are to this day, but feebly if at all Republican. Their leading papers and men had to offer too many explanations and apologies. And instead of assuming the aggressive they took the defensive side in their dealings with the Democracy, often stopping to deny the charges of abolition, negro equality, and amalgamation. And the same was for some years true of our leading newspapers and men of the state, with rare exceptions, such exceptions the old pioneers of

antislavery. Years of party drill and of frequent party defeat in doubtful sections had to be endured until our party chiefs were duly educated in the whole law of legitimate Republicanism, and moral principles schooled so indelibly into them as to be ineradicable. Even in Grant County, men holding public office were long years undergoing the Republican training before they could face the Democratic music so intently sung, until its force died away during the war. . .

As an editor and writer of political and personal editorials, I had a prominent individuality in style and method of treatment. It was not copied or imitated from any other, and appeared to be peculiar to my nature. It was original and modified only from motives to please. I possessed such motives, though not to an extent causing me to compromise principle. I aimed to please, satisfy, and carry with me the masses of *Herald* readers, with very little trimming to win the favors of party leaders and leading men. Such thought me an indifferent friend to them, and one who stood in his own light. Such was my course from the first, and I became known as an editor independent of the party leaders, not connected with any ring, faction, or set of men. The confidence of the masses was won and thereafter easily held. The *Herald* circulation increased at about the average rate of one hundred per year, up to its seventh hundred. Soon after the organization of the Republican party it ran up to twelve hundred. The party leaders now took to a warm support of the *Herald,* giving me undeserved credit. I was not an able political organizer; besides, I rather despised the arts and small tricks to which our then party leaders had a habit of resorting. Knowing my weakness, I held off from party interference in office matters, but published convention actions and lent mild support to the candidates. The sole aim was to publish a popular but very independent organ—in-

dustrial, educational, and progressive, rather than political. Mining and agriculture received much editorial attention; and the schools and teachers were held up with prominence. The moral enterprises were especially encouraged, and reforms in business, industry, and markets were prominent subjects for editorial writing. My weekly editorials frequently footed up six to eight columns, besides the many contributions by mail (the *Herald* being lively, many were disposed to help make it livelier).

During election seasons, of course, the *Herald* columns became strongly political, and I gave almost exclusive attention to writing political editorials, it being only during impending elections that the reading masses will read politics. These editorials were usually numerous and short, under rather bold headings to attract notice. I gave but little attention to local and state politics, but aimed to educate the people in the national party policies and principles, shaping all my articles, however, so as to be recognized as my own. The motive was this: to satisfy my readers that the *Herald* articles were my own, and that I was sound; really my motive was to make my articles the most attractive, strongest, and entertaining to the people for the purpose of making them politically firm and unwavering. There is much indeed in knowing the man whose editorials one reads. . . .

Early during my editorial experience many or all of the hardest and most unprincipled political leaders left for California. The event delighted and favored me in all conceivable respects. Their moral influence was bad, yet being old residents they possessed much influence. At the elections they usually monopolized the candidacies, and the people could not well help themselves. The mining influence was centered in the populous localities, and this was easily assembled. The politicians, chiefly gamblers and "good fel-

lows" at the saloons, controlled the miners, and such were about the only voters they cared to please by their pretended friendships; the miners controlled the conventions and that was enough, and the small politicians managed the miners and that was better—while it lasted. California ended it for Grant County, and that was enough for me. A new era opened at once; the farmers and leading village men at once took to attending the conventions, and for about the first time as a rule fairly good, moral, and responsible men were nominated and elected to fill the offices. This began in 1852, and ever since the offices have been well and respectably filled.

Political partyism now began to show itself with great force, and for two or three years the elections were hotly contested on party grounds. Parties were so evenly balanced that neither could count with certainty on a majority. The one hundred and twenty-five Abolitionists in the county could and did usually decide between the parties, by voting a ticket of the best men made up from both party tickets. At one or two elections I managed this third-party vote with entire success and satisfaction. And as the "d——d small faction," as it was called, possessed some vitality and threatened to grow, I felt confident of continuous power at elections. In the year 1854 it rose to four hundred and alarmed the opposing party chiefs. These reserves of a righteous cause were well scattered over the county, yet were accessible to the *Herald* influence. It was truly surprising, the favor of party leaders toward the *Herald* on special occasions. And the influence of the third party was well calculated to hold both parties to their good behavior and to a decent respect for antislavery men. So stood matters up to the time of the abandonment of the Whig organization, and the organization of the Republican party, which was the best fortune for the *Herald* and its editor.

From 1851 to 1856 business and especially farm profits were at a low stand. Six to seven hundred farmers and miners had gone from Grant County to California in 1851; many small farms were seen abandoned or in weeds; mining was not half carried on as it had been; and some of the villages soon appeared greatly suffering from abandonment and idle dwellings, closed stores, and deserted shops. But in 1856 the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad was building and in the fall was completed through to Prairie du Chien. Muscoda, a village in collapse, revived; Boscobel was founded and at once became a great market; the north part of the county all along the line of railroad settled rapidly; and the Fennimore, Montfort and Patch Grove prairies were at once settled and made into fine farms. Boscobel very soon became one of our most populous villages; and, settled by so many who were strangers to one another, among them the usual number of political aspirants, adventurers in pursuit of any business whether honest or dishonest, pettifogging lawyers, sharpers, and demagogues, it had continuous troubles for two or three years. But the worst characters were soon discarded and left for new fields of adventure, and the best citizens became prominent and took the lead. The general effect of the new settlements at the north, these being entirely agricultural and commercial, was very great in county matters and upon business and industrial interests, at least as far south as Lancaster. The profits of trade and languishing industry at once revived, produce brought paying prices, labor was in good demand, and the losses from California migration were more than made good. The voting population greatly increased, and it proved to be chiefly Republican. The several river markets also, about the same time, rose to importance, Prairie du Chien especially, Bridgeport however taking much of the Grant County trade.

The several towns farther south—Beetown, Potosi, and Platteville—were slower about their revival, but by 1860 Platteville had quite recovered, and also Hazel Green. Private enterprise had made Cassville a fair market, and Glen Haven and Bloomington appeared as new and flourishing towns. The county settlements and population were now well balanced and evenly distributed, there being no unsettled parts and none over-settled. Above thirty organized towns were soon in existence, all except two or three reliably Republican. The *Herald* circulation followed fully apace with the population in the new settlements. Its columns are elaborately historical of the changes of the times. . . .

Since they have come to mind, I must observe several of my rules in conducting newspaper discussions, personal articles, and the like. I preferred to be the assailing party, never the defensive, just as in political matters. I never stopped to explain or offer apology, even when such appeared to be due. To explain or apologize is to confess one's errors or weaknesses, and it is better to confess no such thing in a hot discussion. The defensive is the weak, half-whipped side; the aggressive the stronger, where there is a premium for adroitness and wide room for display and invention. Readers are the more easily carried captive by the aggressive or positive side of an issue. In all cases even the defensive, if such be necessary, should be so shaped by a writer as to appear an aggressive attitude.

I always tried to avoid assault upon private life and conduct, or the weak conduct of men. Rather, I aimed to conceal the personal weaknesses of men, even when strong positions were invited by exposure. The reason was that I always tried to avoid personal wound-giving, and generally by such avoidance I rather won a sure pledge of future gratefulness and friendship. To uncover an antagonist's nakedness

during his fit of inebriacy is a mortal and lasting offense; to cover it up, a favor to be repaid with compound interest. In hot personal conflicts I always thus merited my antagonist's thanks for being a gentlemanly and honorable disputant and a magnanimous competitor. The points at issue bounded the discussion on my part, however extreme my challenge of interests and motives. I ridiculed his positions with power, but never his person or his former record if a bad one.

With political antagonists I dealt respectfully, tenderly —as if they were unfortunate and entitled to my sympathies. With party principles and party organizations I dealt mercilessly. The reason was, you may say all sorts of severe things against principles and organizations of men and no offense is taken, but when you attack the individual members by name and hold them up for censure and abuse, you give deep personal offense not to be excused or forgotten. By this practice I always kept on the best of terms with Democratic leaders and candidates. They felt grateful toward me for concealing their weakness, which if exposed would very often have quite ruined them.

It became at times, for the good and safety and unity of the party, my clear duty to deal with extreme severity toward some of our own men and their action. In a majority party there are sure to arise factious men and factions. These must be put down, else there can be no party unity and regularity. Their triumph is disorganizing, their suppression a necessity to save the union. There must be power to enforce unity in a majority party, especially when the majority is great as in Grant County. This work must be in charge of the chief party paper editor. The newspapers next below in grade usually sympathize with or advocate the factions movers, division for a share of the spoils being their motive. In such cases of party necessity I always acted promptly and

with all the power I could command, after efforts at conciliation had been made. My aim in every such case was to carry with me the great masses of voters, in which I do not remember to have failed in any instance. Herein consisted my distinguishing power as an editor and my valuable service to the Republican party in the county. Very often factions appeared on the very eve of success; when the *Herald* by its promptness and power reversed the engine, effected a reaction, and carried the day for the party unity.

In some rare cases it really became an equal necessity for a chief county editor to oppose a regular candidate of his own party. Such candidate may, subsequent to his nomination, be discovered to be an impostor, and if elected a sure calamity to the party. In such case of course the second-grade editors advocate the regular candidate's election—from motive to win the spoils, of course. It is regarded as a serious thing for the chief editor to bolt a regular party candidate. He must often charge upon party bolting as a party crime, and it is very demoralizing indeed for him to be guilty of the sin. But he must boldly pitch in, make no concessions or explanations, expose the man with energy and power, assume the responsibilities, and aim to win the day by his defeat. He may or may not advocate the opposing candidate; if he be a good, safe man it will be right to lend him open support. This being a seldom but one of the most difficult duties of a chief county editor, his reputation is largely involved; if he loses the election and his antagonist wins, his power and reputation suffer very much. The people blame him, and the triumphing candidate and friends crow lustily. For the time he is over-deservingly popular—the editor under par. But if the editor carries the day his fortune and that of his paper are made, their prestige being established above the ability of factions to lower them.

Bad men may not thereafter seek nominations, as the editor may defeat and ruin them. Several times during my quarter-century of editorial life I felt compelled to oppose regular nominations, and for the party good in every case. In all such departures, if my memory mistake not, I was supported by the people who voted according to the *Herald*. The like compelled county and district conventions to use care in making their nominations. It compelled healthfulness generally.

It is highly impolitic for an editor to boast, claim public favor, or manifest a crowing spirit upon his great success in such and other cases. He has done but his duty; the people will not forget it, will credit and honor him long years after, and so far as in their power pension him for life. But if he appear vainly puffed up, crow over his successes, and take on airs, it were better he had lost the battle. I have always assumed that when an editor does but his duty he had better claim no extra allowance. Triumphing "extras" with displayed or drooping cocks and the like emblems of victory or defeat are exceedingly offensive to very sensitive people of all parties and should be dispensed with. An editor, if he feel himself to possess influence with the people, should avoid using it, except there be an occasion when the party good actually requires. It should never be exerted for any of his own aspirations or selfish ends. It is sure to arouse jealousies that will floor him.

Editors should by all means avoid candidacy and office seeking. I can hardly imagine a case when this rule may be safely ignored. The offices are usually worth but little, and one sacrifices much by being absent from his paper, perhaps at Madison, watching and hatching over a small office. As to official influence, there is actually nothing in it that pays one in any sense. Many editors come down by aspiring for office.

Puffing is an art requiring much sound judgment indeed. An editor who puffs anything and everybody forfeits all his influence, and his praise counts for nothing at all. Excessive puffing shows that an editor can be had to lie for a trifle, and that his words, editorials, and paper are but little more reliable than his puffs. The inference is sound. Candor is a jewel, especially for an editor who presumes to advise, guide, and educate his readers. If he betray them for advertisement money, they may not turn upon him at once; they will do that which is worse—charge him with a want of candor, with being windy and irresponsible, and not overblessed with conscientiousness. Puffing prominent citizens, officials, speculators, and rich men is very common, even with leading editors, and the people tolerate it very well. The masses are in the habit of doing the same thing themselves, and doubtless are pleased to read the names of such in print, and what they are doing. But even in this there is danger of saying too much or of untruthful noticing. Uniformly flattering notices of public men are damaging to them and virtually acknowledge editorial servitude. It shows the editor wears a collar. The constant puffing of rich citizens and speculators naturally suggests the question, how much was the cost.

The bepraisement by editorials of every article advertised, and the cheapness vouched for, is most inexcusable. To state the fact that a thing is advertised, where and by whom, is right. It can mislead no one. But to follow up with reckless lying by claiming unknown excellencies, improbable cheapness, and unknown virtues for a drug or a patent machine deservedly brings the editor into contempt. Honorable advertisers never solicit the like. The puffing of traveling quack doctors and their bogus curatives, of transient speculators of all kinds, and of quack medicines, new

and unknown machines, etc., is perhaps still more degrading for an editor. It makes his newspaper no more respected than an advertising almanac or a public showbill. Truths when printed are not respected as such; the statements of fact are doubted; the very rabble regret they ever learned to read when such papers fall into their hands.

Persons and things of unquestioned merit it was always my delight to puff, and never with any view to profit—except for readers. It is actually refreshing and a panacea to the soul to sing or puff a good thing and useful into favor. In Rome the practice was to send heralds into the streets to sing the virtues of favored wares at the markets, their uses and prices, and it was a punishable offense to misrepresent them. Editors should be governed by moral principles in their puffing practice. This would be sufficient. Moral law should govern editors in all things.

Unexpected editorial notices may frequently appear with credit to an editor. A young mechanic, poor and struggling for a start, is seen to possess merits, yet he is being neglected. Just write and insert for his benefit a good notice—not merely a puff, but one that recites his mechanical excellencies and why his work should receive attention and patronage. He never asked for the notice, will thank you for it in his heart, and finally it will be most generously paid for.

An editor must be a spirited, progressive, and well posted man, and he must advocate the several moral reforms—temperance included. Some of the reforms run into extremes. Perhaps woman's rights is one of these; yet women have rights; such rights should be protected and greatly extended. More rights should be extended to them than they now possess. They should have more power, more of a voice in many directions, more industrial avenues opened for them, more privileges allowed them, more respect encouraged, a

better education, etc.; finally, perhaps, suffrage. No editor can afford to attack or sneer at women, nor discount them on account of their weakness. The weaker the person or party, the feebler his position and power, the more assailed by low characters—the greater becomes the duty of the editor to defend such feeble party. In the struggles of the weak, and the attacks of the strong against the feeble, the rich against the poor, the mighty against the ignoble, the editor must arm himself and array his paper on the side of the feeble. He must aid to raise up the weak, must encourage the poor and oppressed, must sympathize with those who cannot afford to support newspapers. Editors must often be against their patrons and on the side of the feeble in mind, pocket, and power.

Every indecent allusion or fling at virtue, every take-off on women, every small innuendo calculated to please the vulgar rabble should be excluded from a newspaper. This insures for the paper a welcome in families. Fathers and mothers welcome it. It becomes a treasure of wisdom, good morals, and respectability. Immoral items please the rabble, but their support of a newspaper never pays—is a damage. The doggery support of a newspaper means only that the paper is low, vulgar, and vicious. All indecent advertisements should be excluded, whatever the inducements to insert them. Such shams, swindlings, and impositions as lotteries, prize-offering schemes, etc., should be frequently denounced and the people warned against them.

But there is no end, and I have said enough. An editor's duties may be summed up briefly: He must be brave enough very often to say "No," generous enough to say "Yes" in the right. He must be manly, truthful, and firm—very firm, indeed. He must be devoted to public affairs, because the people look to him for information as to what is going on.

He must have no confidants; should certainly avoid courthouse rings. His patrons may be largely the county officers. If so, they must understand that such patronage is not extended as a condition that favors of any kind shall be granted at elections or in conventions. Editors are extremely liable to be caught in these courthouse ring traps, it being or appearing very often to be their interest to keep certain men in office. He should keep free from them, and affiliate and cooperate on the side of the people against such rings.

PIONEER AND POLITICAL REMINISCENCES[1]

NILS P. HAUGEN

SEEKING AN EDUCATION

I had not during all these years abandoned a desire to acquire some further education. I loved to read and had read all the books of our family's limited library—not many, but more than those of any neighbor. I had as a boy read the Bible aloud of evenings from Genesis to Revelations, including the Apocrypha, and most of it more than once. I had saved a little money and had invested it in a quarter-section of land.

A young man recently graduated from the theological department of the University of Christiania came to America in 1856 and was called to the pastorate of the Lutheran Church of our settlement. This was the Reverend Lauritz Larsen. He adapted himself without hesitation to his unfamiliar surroundings, something an educated European frequently if not generally failed to do. Mr. Larsen became popular in the settlement. But he remained there only a couple of years, being called as an associate professor to Concordia College, the German theological seminary at St. Louis. Later he became the head of Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. He was enterprising and active, and had much to do with the creation of that school. There was probably not another person in the country at the time who possessed his peculiar fitness for that position, which he filled so admirably to the end of his active life.

[1] The first installment of these reminiscences appeared in the December, 1927, issue of this magazine.

In the summer of 1868 Professor Larsen visited his old parishioners and called on my parents. Addressing himself to me he inquired why I could not come to Decorah. While that matter may have suggested itself, it had never before been put to me so squarely. I apologized for my unpreparedness, which he brushed aside with the assurance that I would average with the majority of the new students of the institution. I was then nineteen and had not finished what is now known as the grades. We knew nothing of "grades" in our district school. The result, however, was that I entered Luther College the following September. The full course was six years, the first two years being in fact preparatory to the college course proper. The classes bore the Latin numbers *Sexta* to *Prima;* the *Sextas* were the beginners. I took the general course, not having any definite profession in view. I was not then or at any time urged to prepare for the ministry. The course of studies was largely linguistic, and much attention was paid to the classics. It was the continental European method. Norwegian and English naturally predominated, but German and Latin were also pursued the first year; and students were required to translate into Norwegian or English, generally the former, Norwegian being used exclusively in the churches of the Norwegian settlements at the time and it seemed to be taken for granted that it always would be. Mathematics, history, and other college studies had a share in the program, but most attention was devoted to the languages. It was an excellent training in grammar. I must have more than held my own, for at the end of the year I was the only one of a class of forty-five who was advanced over the succeeding class year; so that at the beginning of the college year in 1869 I entered *Quarta,* which may be considered the first college year proper. Greek and algebra were then added to

the studies. With two exceptions the faculty were men educated at and graduates of the university of Norway. The exceptions were Professor Schmidt, a German divine; and an attorney of Decorah, Mr. Bergh, who specialized in English and mathematics. They were all capable men and devoted to the duties assigned to them. Professor Larsen had a remarkable faculty for teaching ancient and European history generally. His memory of events and the relations of the different dynastic families was exceptional. He did not lack in the heroic, and was a great admirer of Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Gustavus Adolphus, Charles the Twelfth, and other hero warriors. I think he did not have any admiration for Napoleon; considered him "the scourge of Europe." Perhaps Ludwig's *Napoleon* is more impartial and just. I acknowledge with respect and gratitude my indebtedness to Luther College for whatever education I may afterwards have achieved. It laid the foundation. The study of languages was to me very interesting. I believe to some extent with Goethe: "Er kennt keine Sprache, der nur seine eigne kennt" ("He knows no language, who knows only his own").

The purpose of Luther College was to give primary education to young men who might later study for the Lutheran ministry. As I did not intend to enter the ministry I did not return to Decorah in the fall of 1870, but entered what was called Hinckley's Military Academy at River Falls, largely because I wanted to get more closely in touch with English educational methods, as I had teaching in mind, temporarily at least, and did not know whether my acquirements would secure me the necessary certificate. I think "Military" was in the title of the school, but cannot account for the word except that at one time Mr. Hinckley had for a short period been a cadet at West Point. It was a board-

ing school for young men; coeducational, however, the young ladies living in private homes. Most of the students were aspiring to sufficient education to teach in the common schools. Among them were a few who afterwards acquired some prominence. William Lauder was for many years judge of one of the district courts in North Dakota and now lives at Wahpeton in that state. Edgar Willard Nye—later known all over the country as "Bill Nye"—and his brother Frank were among the students. Frank is now judge of the district court of Minneapolis. He has served as prosecuting attorney, and also as member of Congress from the Minneapolis district, an able lawyer, level-headed and popular. He was also for one year a member of the Wisconsin legislature as assemblyman from Polk County. He is a better public speaker in the general acceptance of the term than was his brother Ed. Ed, as we knew him, was always quaint and humorous. The Nye boys were raised on a farm about five miles northeast of the city of River Falls, in the town of Kinnickinnick, St. Croix County, both splendid fellows and good comrades.

BILL NYE

It was some years later, after settling in Wyoming, that Ed took the pen name of "Bill Nye." While I was stenographer in the circuit court Edgar served as a juror one term in St. Croix County and we roomed together, thus renewing our former intimate relations. Both the brothers studied law in the offices of attorneys at Hudson. While Frank became a good lawyer, Ed did not seem to take to legal studies. After reading law a year with Baker and Spooner in Hudson he spent some time in the office of Bingham and Jenkins, leading attorneys at Chippewa Falls. The humorous side of his character was developing, if not the legal.

His jokes were frequently at his own expense. It was humor rather than wit, for the latter sometimes stings. Along that line the following may be related: Court was in session at Durand. Ed appeared on the scene and requested me to ask the judge to appoint a committee of members of the bar to examine him, as he wanted to be admitted to practice. The committee was appointed and Ed examined in the usual manner of the times; but he failed. He continued his studies. One day in July a year or so later as I was driving out of the livery stable at River Falls to attend court, then about to meet in special session at Prescott, Ed hailed me and rode with me to Prescott. He was examined again but with the same result. He made the remark, "I am going to be examined in every county in the circuit." He did not, however, follow out that threat, but shortly thereafter moved to Laramie, Wyoming. There he developed his unusual aptitude as a humorist. It seems he also practiced law there. He must have sent me the local paper, the *Boomerang,* in which he gave an account of his experience as an attorney. After stating that he hired an office over the livery stable, he went on to say that he hung out his shingle and began to practice law, "although I had been warned by the authorities in Wisconsin not to undertake such a thing."

River Falls had before the Hinckley Academy a high school now known as the "Old Seminary," which to some extent furnished teachers to the neighboring common schools. It was thus at an early date a little educational center. Hinckley himself had only a mediocre education, but he had two excellent assistants, Mr. Cady and Mr. Baker, both graduates of eastern institutions. Mr. Baker was until recently, and may be yet, principal of one of the high schools in St. Paul. Mr. Cady served as county superintendent in Pierce County; afterwards entered the ministry in the

Methodist Church; moved to Illinois; and died some years ago, being at the time presiding elder of his district. I read Sallust's "Conspiracy of Cataline" in Latin with Mr. Cady and also some Latin poetry, and found him a proficient and interesting teacher. These early educational institutions at River Falls no doubt had their influence in securing for it the location of the state normal school.

After a few months at the Academy I hesitatingly met with the superintendent of the county, Charles Smith, to secure the necessary credentials to teach. I did not feel too confident, and by the looks on his face I was not reassured. He may have been disappointed in finding only one applicant, or in finding that one, for he remarked that there were more teachers than schools in the county already. I came back with the remark that I had the school and all I asked of him was an examination. We went together to the schoolhouse of the place, but having failed to get the key made our entry through a window, dragging our long bodies into the room. He was six feet four, beating me by three inches. He was my senior by ten years. My examination proving entirely satisfactory, we formed a friendship that continued until his death about ten years ago. He was judge of the superior court of Douglas County at the time of his death.

After a year spent partly in teaching, I returned to Luther College in the autumn of 1871. A few months after the opening of that school year I received a letter from Mr. Smith saying that he had recommended me as teacher to the officers of one of the best country schools in the county, a purely American district near the city of Prescott, and asking me to consider it seriously; compensation forty-five dollars a month, which was about the peak of compensation for country teachers at the time. I submitted the matter to the president, Professor Larsen, who urged me to continue my

studies and complimented me on my progress. But the lure of the forty-five dollars per month and the attractiveness of the district, with which I was quite familiar, were too great and I said that I did not think of entering the ministry in any event. Professor Larsen said that the Lutheran Church would in a few years have several educational institutions, and he considered me, in view of my progress, as well fitted to head one of them. That was complimentary, but the prospect remote. I had not forgotten Mr. Smith's suggestion that I study law. So I severed my connection with "Luther" and did not see the old college again until 1903. It has been an excellent institution for its purpose; its system of education thorough and discipline kindly but efficient for the students' best welfare. I want to add that they STUDIED. They also had sufficient time for healthy recreation and sports, and have furnished very successful baseball teams. I taught four months in the school secured through Mr. Smith, and the district in which I had formerly taught was kind enough to put off its term until the end of that time, when I went without interruption into that, thus teaching continuously for seven months. Mr. Smith taught in Clifton Hollow, an adjoining district, and we frequently met and discussed plans for the future.

Having determined to take up law, I consulted Baker and Spooner, leading attorneys at Hudson, as to the best school to attend. They recommended the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. The Wisconsin University law department was then in its infancy, while Michigan, with Thomas M. Cooley, then chief justice of the state supreme court, at the head, had a high standing throughout the country. So in the fall of 1872 I went there together with two companions, also teachers from Pierce County, and took up the study of law, beginning naturally with Cooley's

Blackstone and Kent's *Commentaries.* The law faculty consisted of Judge Cooley as head, Judge Campbell, also of the supreme court, and two practicing attorneys from Detroit—Kent and Walker—as assistants. The instruction during the first year was in the form of lectures, the quizzing being reserved for the second or senior year. When Chief Justice Winslow of our supreme court published *The Story of a Great Court,* in which he spoke in highest terms of his predecessor, Chief Justice Dixon, I took occasion to say to him that in his lectures to the class Judge Cooley in quoting one of Dixon's decisions referred to him as one of the greatest jurists of the United States; at this Judge Winslow seemed very much pleased. Judge Cooley had a wonderful memory and as a rule lectured without referring to notes, frequently citing volume and page of decisions, not only of the court of which he was a member, but of the federal courts and those of other states. We did not take much part in the social life of the University, but devoted ourselves to study. By way of diversion some of us took up shorthand, and by practice in taking notes from the lectures became reasonably proficient. The class of which I was a member—one hundred and twenty-six in number—graduated in the spring of 1874; many of us went to Detroit and were admitted to practice in the courts of Michigan, and then separated to all parts of the Union. Students came to Michigan from all sections, and veterans on both sides of the conflict of ten years before met and in friendly converse spoke of taking part on opposite sides in the same battles. This I witnessed personally.

During the winter preceding graduation I had frequent correspondence with Mr. Smith, then practicing law at Prescott. He had a better opinion of River Falls as a growing town and had been in conference with Mr. Morse—who was

the editor of the River Falls *Journal* and practiced law on the side, principally in justice court—with reference to forming a partnership and taking me into the firm. I had no definite plans, except possibly teaching in case of necessity, and fell in with the suggestion. We thus became residents of the prosperous little city and hung out our "shingle." Mr. Smith and I lived at the Commercial Hotel, where we ate at the same table, slept in the same bed, and played croquet in the back yard on summer evenings.

I had no intention other than to pursue the study and practice of law. But the legislature had during its recent session enacted a law authorizing the appointment of a shorthand reporter in the Eighth Circuit, then presided over by Judge H. L. Humphrey of Hudson. It was a new departure in that part of the state. Previously the judge had taken copious notes of testimony during trials, with frequent interruptions which delayed the proceedings. The firm of Morse, Smith, and Haugen was not crowded with a "cloud of clients," as Mr. Hayden of Eau Claire said about his office. My funds were running low. Judge Humphrey was approached by Mr. Smith and I was appointed to the newly created position, in which I continued for seven years, principally in the Eighth Circuit, but in addition for a part of the time also in the Eleventh, which embraced the northern part of the state bordering on Lake Superior, and on the south taking in Polk and Barron counties. The pay was seven dollars a day for actual attendance, leaving less than five dollars after paying hotel and traveling expenses. After a few years it was raised to ten dollars. Attorneys and court had to adjust themselves to the new method. A murder case, the State *vs.* Long, was one of the first cases I reported. It was tried in Chippewa County, Wheeler and Marshall defending. After an all-day trial and examination of witnes-

ses, Mr. Wheeler asked me if I could let him have a transcript of the evidence in the morning. I had to tell him that it would take several days to make the transcript. Mr. Wheeler was a very adroit and clever attorney in jury trials, far more so than his partner, who served with distinction for many years as judge of the state supreme court. It was no doubt a happy combination, Wheeler for the facts, Marshall for the law.

I naturally became well acquainted with the members of the bar. Besides the firm mentioned, there was Bingham and Jenkins, also of Chippewa Falls. Bartlett and Hayden, and Meggett and Teall were the two leading law firms of Eau Claire; E. B. Bundy, and the firm of Hunt and Freeman, at Menomonie; Hudson had Baker and Spooner, and Wilson and Glover. Wilson later practiced in St. Paul, I think as a partner of Cushman K. Davis, governor of Minnesota and later United States Senator. There were of course other good attorneys in the circuit, but the firms mentioned were somewhat outstanding in their practice.

Judge Humphrey had been on the bench for a number of years, and had the confidence of bar, people, and jurors. He had a great faculty for remembering faces and names, and could call a man by name and locate him if he had once served as a juror in his court. Our relations were always pleasant. But Judge Humphrey had political aspirations and was elected a member of Congress in 1876, in which capacity he served three terms. He succeeded Jeremiah M. Rusk, who also had served three terms, which seem to have been silently agreed upon as the length of service in Congress in that district.

In January, 1877, a bar convention met at Baldwin to name a candidate to succeed Judge Humphrey. Many candidates were suggested: H. C. Baker of Hudson, S. J.

White of Prescott, Bundy of Menomonie, Bailey of Eau Claire, and Clough also of Hudson and formerly, when residing at Superior, judge of the Eleventh Circuit. It was a harmonious gathering in spite of the numerous candidates, and resulted in the nomination of Mr. Bundy. Bundy was well known as a Democrat, and the district being overwhelmingly Republic it was not surprising that the cry should go out that the judge ought to be a Republican. H. E. Houghton of Durand, who was in every way a capable and respectable attorney, but who had not participated in the convention, listened to the tempting call and announced himself a candidate. It was naturally claimed that the people and not the bar should have the naming of the judge. This was alluring; but what are attorneys save agents of clients? And who are better qualified to judge of the qualifications for the judgeship? I took an active part in the campaign for Mr. Bundy, having been a supporter in his nomination. The bar generally stood by him, and his election by a large majority emphasized the view that judicial officers should not be chosen on partisan lines—a practice which has prevailed in Wisconsin.

Judge Bundy served the circuit for many years, and made an admirable and impartial judge. He continued a Democrat, but that certainly did not show itself on the bench. I continued as reporter, and we formed a close and permanent friendship. That he had the kindest feeling towards me he evidenced in my later political life. I have every reason for believing that he always voted for me, probably the only exception he made in the ticket. While I was a member of Congress and he was still on the bench, he once wrote me that he was anxious to improve his financial condition and proposed that he resign or not stand for reëlection, and that we form a partnership in the law practice at

the end of my then term. He served as judge nineteen years. Relations between him and Mr. Houghton remained pleasant and cordial as formerly. Houghton served in the state senate, and later removed to Spokane, Washington, where he died.

Among the members of the bar during my service in court, many men of ability and eminence appeared. But as a keen lawyer, forgetting himself in the interest of his client, diligent and fearless, I do not think there was anyone in the state who excelled John C. Spooner before he entered politics and when he devoted himself exclusively to his practice. I have seen him appear against former Chief Justice Dixon, William F. Vilas, Senator Davis of St. Paul, and other attorneys of the very highest standing, and he always held his own; he knew his case, was ready with authorities, and never surprised. Judge Dixon was at one time defending the city of Hudson in a personal injury case and was somewhat annoyed when Spooner sprung some of his own decisions on him as to the admission of evidence. In that case, in transcribing the evidence I wrote "black" fracture instead of "oblique" fracture. Colonel Spooner called my attention to it—the only mistake, so far as I recollect, called to my attention during my service as reporter. But the outline "blk" was the same for both words, according to Graham. It has been stated by observers that after serving as Senator, Spooner showed in court a self-consciousness which had not appeared in his earlier career at the bar. He evidently felt that the public was watching him and, perhaps unconsciously, did not forget the "galleries." He was a ready and effective speaker at the bar and before the public.

POLITICAL LIFE

I had at this time no intention of entering politics, or ambition to do so. I did intend, as soon as my economic condi-

JOHN COIT SPOONER

tion warranted, to resign as court reporter (as I did later) and devote myself to the practice of law. It was a surprise to me when Dr. A. D. Andrews, then state senator, a leading and, I may say, *the* leading citizen of River Falls, said to me one day in the approaching campaign of 1878: "Haugen, we are going to nominate you for the assembly." I replied, "Doctor, I do not want it, and can't afford to give up my reporting to go to the assembly. It would interfere with my work." I also said that I would not spend one cent to secure a nomination. He replied that that would not be necessary; that the session of the legislature would come at a time when there were very few sessions of court, and that there would be no difficulty to secure leave of absence to attend them. The interview was ended by his requesting me to attend the county convention. This I did, and was nominated without any effort on my part. During the day some friends, candidates for county offices, came to me and urged me to see some of the delegates, "or we will all be defeated." I said to them, "I am not a candidate, and they need not nominate me if they don't want to." I was more ambitious to become a fairly good lawyer than a mediocre politician. A session or two in the legislature is not, however, to be considered as lost time to a young attorney. It gives him an inside view of legislation not to be spurned. The county was strongly Republican, and a nomination was equivalent to an election. I had naturally as reporter acquired a large acquaintance in the county, where I had lived from the time I was six years old. It had become somewhat a custom to give a man two terms in the legislature, so I was nominated and elected the next year as a matter of course. I was followed by my good friend and later partner, Franklin L. Gilson, who also served two years, the latter as speaker.

The service in the assembly was pleasant and agreeable, and not nearly so strenuous as reporting. There was a mutual good-fellowship regardless of partisanship or of that factional feeling of late apparently prevalent. I served on the committees of education and judiciary. The legislative houses were open to outsiders, and anyone could enter at any time. The members did not fear their own corruption and seek protection for their own honesty behind closed doors. David M. Kelly of Green Bay was the speaker during my first year in the assembly and was a model presiding officer, very precise and accurate in putting the questions before the house. Among the members were William E. Carter of Grant County, once nominated for attorney general and declining the nomination; John Brindley, also of Grant and for many years until his recent death county judge of La Crosse County; Joseph V. Quarles, later United States Senator; Atley Peterson, my successor as railroad commissioner in 1887, the heavyweight of the assembly; Richard J. Burdge of Rock, George G. Cox of Iowa, and many others; now all gone, but good, reliable public servants and personal friends. As I look back on the membership in 1879 and 1880, old Father Time seems to have taken them all; I know of no one now living, although there may be.

The first year of my service the legislature adjourned about the last of March, and the second year the very early days of April; in fact, nearly all the members went home before the spring election and did not return. But the session was continuous while it lasted, evening sessions being general. The state was in a stage of development; much special legislation was sought and considered. Besides, we had in 1879 a long and bitter contest over the election of a United States Senator. Matthew H. Carpenter had served in that capacity with distinction to himself and to the state,

but had been defeated in 1875 for a second term. His defeat was generally attributed to the fact that he had voted for an increase in the pay of Senators and Representatives from five thousand dollars a year to seven thousand five hundred dollars, the act to take effect immediately upon its passage—the so-called "back-pay steal" in the campaign of 1874. He had been nominated by the Republican members of the legislature in 1875, but a few members of the party bolted the nomination fairly won according to political usage and methods, and joined the Democratic members, with the result that Angus Cameron of La Crosse, a Republican, was elected as a compromise. The final election of Cameron by a majority of Democrats was generally credited to his Democratic partner, Joseph W. Losey, an able attorney and a leader in the Democratic party. What would our present self-styled Progressives answer to the charge that they have twice assisted in increasing their salary, first by fifty per cent and finally doubling it so that it is now ten thousand dollars a year, not even daring to go on record for their conviction, if such they had, but quietly favoring the "steal," as it was called in 1874? And what would be the popular vote on the subject, if submitted? Senator Carpenter voted openly and defended his action. Judging by the present defeat at the polls of the proposed increase of the pay of members of the legislature, which was certainly modest compared with the increase voted themselves by members of Congress, the only safe thing is the absolute silence observed by the latter, while they are bewailing the distress of the farmer, who is helpless as to his income and is taxed to pay their increased salaries.

The announced candidates for the senatorship in 1875 were Senator Carpenter, Senator Timothy O. Howe, standing for reëlection, and E. W. Keyes of Madison. Mr. Keyes had for many years been chairman of the Republican state

central committee and was quite generally known as "Boss Keyes." My early partner and editor, Mr. Morse, always referred to him by that title. He had been a force within the party and a generous distributor of patronage. During the preëlection campaign nothing was said, at least not in Pierce County, as to my preference on the senatorship. Coming out of the courthouse at Hudson one day, Colonel Spooner asked me how I felt on the question. I said that I was entirely uncommitted, but I felt that Carpenter had not been fairly treated four years before and was inclined to support him. Mr. Spooner certainly did not disagree with that sentiment at the time, but later during the contest he threw his influence to Keyes. He was the active attorney of the Omaha—then known as the West Wisconsin—Railway Company, not only in court proceedings but also before the legislature. Keyes was also a lobbyist, or representative, of railroads during legislative sessions, so it may be readily seen why the two had to work in harmony. The Omaha had a land grant and other interests that must be taken care of, and Spooner was as active and efficient before the legislature as he was before the courts. As far as my observation went, nothing was done by either that would justify criticism, and I am not using the term "lobbyist" in any objectionable sense. I do not recollect that Spooner approached me on the subject of the senatorship at Madison, although I suspected that Keyes had been assured through another source that when the time came he could rely on my vote. Senator Andrews was in the same position as myself, and we both voted from beginning to end in the caucuses for Carpenter. Twenty-five members became known as the "True to Matt" group, and I have a picture of them sent by Carpenter friends in commemoration of the struggle, which lasted, by caucusing every evening, for more than a

week and resulted in the nomination and election of our candidate. At the beginning the vote was rather evenly divided. Keyes was not known as an ardent reformer, and the "back-pay steal" battle cry could not be very effective in his behalf. Later he became involved in another three-cornered contest for the nomination for Congress, which resulted in the first nomination of Robert M. La Follette to that position. While unsuccessful when himself a candidate, Keyes was a power within the party and seemed to enjoy the game. He did not seem to harbor any lasting rancor when the fight was over, but stood by the party nominee loyally. Matt Carpenter died before his term expired. He was beyond question the most brilliant orator that Wisconsin has sent to either house of Congress, a leader at the bar at an early date, and one of the attorneys in the Barstow-Bashford contest for the governorship in 1856. In his *Life of Carpenter,* Frank Flower states that Carpenter withdrew from the case when it became apparent that his client's claim to the office was based on false returns from a couple of election districts in Dunn and Polk counties.

Charles L. Colby was a member of the assembly from Milwaukee in 1880. He was one of the two trustees of the Wisconsin Central Railroad, which had recently extended its road to Ashland, being aided in the enterprise by a liberal land grant, the lands thus given it having by legislation been exempted from taxation for ten years. The period of exemption expiring, Mr. Colby quite naturally asked that it be extended; this was probably one of his main purposes in coming to the legislature. The vote was close in the assembly, and the extension of the exemption was defeated by one vote on motion to reconsider, having passed by one vote the preceding day. It was creditable to the membership that the lines held so true, the motion to reconsider having been

made and defeated by a motion to adjourn. Mr. Colby was a ready debater and must be ranked with the leaders of the assembly in ability. I believe this was the last attempt to secure exemption from taxation of railroads in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin Central has never ranked with the better-paying roads of the state. Traffic does not move north and south; and, while there followed great developments in the mining region tributary to it, the haul was short and seasonal. In extending its line to St. Paul it met the rivalry of roads well established as to traffic.

William E. Smith was governor, Hans B. Warner secretary of state, and Richard Guenther state treasurer during my legislative service. After the Civil War paper money—and there was no other—was at a discount, falling at one time below fifty per cent. Deflation was slow. No metal money in circulation. Small change was "shinplaster." I think it was in 1873 that President Grant in his message advising the return to the gold basis said: "The way to resume is to resume." The Resumption Act was passed, but did not provide for going into full effect until January, 1879. Mr. Guenther, the state treasurer, had provided himself with gold currency to celebrate the event by paying the members of the legislature, or at least offering to do so, in gold on their assembling in January that year. But knowing that we could have gold, paper was as a rule preferred. The pay at the time was three hundred and fifty dollars per annum. After the passage of the Resumption Act in 1873 the paper money began to rise and reached par some time before 1879. The inflation at that time had been an inflation of the value of gold, while the inflation following the World War seems to have been that of property, and may be slower and more difficult of adjustment, whether economically or by legisla-

tion. Doctors and quacks are proposing remedies, with the race at present seemingly in favor of the quacks.

Hans B. Warner of Pierce County had been elected secretary of state in 1877 and was serving his second term. Two terms were something of an established rule. To pass the honors around was the method of caucuses and conventions. Perhaps it kept government and officials in closer touch with and more responsive to the public demand.

Except for the senatorial election in 1879 there was no particular excitement during either session of my service. Perhaps I should mention, however, the so-called Oshkosh steam wagon. In 1875 the legislature had passed an act offering a bonus of ten thousand dollars for the invention and construction of a steam motor that would be a practical substitute for horse power on the highway and on the farm. A wagon was constructed at Oshkosh and was driven by its own power to Madison during the winter of 1879, the owner thereupon claiming the award. My recollection is that it took the machine some three or four days to make the trip from Oshkosh. It was on exhibition for the benefit of the legislators, and I had a ride in it around the Capitol Park and perhaps out State Street. It was a slow-moving affair, and it was quite evident that while it did operate its own weight it was not a substitute for horse power. William Wall, a member of the legislature from Oshkosh, had introduced the bill and worked faithfully to secure its passage. A compromise was finally arrived at and the inventor was paid five thousand dollars.

Another incident of note—I think in the session of 1880—was the stringing of a wire from the Capitol to the University, over which wire people were able to talk to one another. This was the first telephone in Madison. Ladies—among them my wife—tried the instrument, and they would turn

and giggle and laugh when they heard the voice at the other end.

Lobbyists were always on hand at the legislative sessions, but the danger of corruption was not even suggested. During my nearly thirty years of public service I cannot point to a single instance where I thought a public official was corruptly influenced. He may have been unduly influenced and swayed, but I have never thought "bought," as is often charged.

Franklin L. Gilson followed me in the assembly. He was a brother of Judge N. S. Gilson, circuit judge of the Fond du Lac circuit and later for many years chairman of the State Tax Commission during my membership in that body. I had continued to serve as court reporter, but never abandoned the idea of following the profession of law, for which I had prepared. The duties of reporter were also in the line of that preparation. The circuit had been changed during the years. Judge Henry D. Barron had become judge of the upper district, taking in Chippewa, Barron, and Polk on the south. I served with him a couple of years in addition to serving in the Eighth. Barron had been in politics for many years, but could not be said to hold a prominent position at the bar. He had served in the assembly eight years, had been a state senator, and had held one of the auditorships of the Treasury Department at Washington for a time; he was speaker of the assembly during his last years in that body. He was an all-round politician and kept up his political interests after going on the bench. Through him I first became interested in the State Historical Society, of which he was a life member. I resigned my position in his court about 1879. After the election of Mr. Gilson to the assembly in 1880 he and I agreed to go into partnership, he to move to River Falls when he re-

turned from Madison. This plan was carried out, and I sent my resignation to Judge Bundy, receiving from him a very friendly and appreciative letter in reply, expressing regret at the breaking off of our close relationship of several years' standing. Judge Bundy was a man of sterling integrity, well versed in the law. He was not of the oratorical style, but rather hesitating in his speech, sometimes "back-stitching," as stenographers would say. On one occasion I had taken in shorthand his charge to the jury, and the attorney for the losing party was making a motion for a new trial, basing it in part on the charge. He read a part of the charge which the judge did not recognize, when I asked to be allowed to read it. I read it as the judge had given it, and he said, "Yes, that is the way I said it, but that is different from the way you [the attorney] read it."

HANS B. WARNER

Hans B. Warner had been county clerk of Pierce County for many years before he became secretary of state. His family came to the town of Martell a few weeks later than my father, and took up land in the hardwood belt. His father was Peder Peterson, and the rest of the children went by the name of Peterson. Hans became a member of the family of Judson Warner, an American, and after quite a number of years—in fact, after serving in the army—was legally adopted by Warner, thus becoming legally entitled to the name under which he had enlisted. He was a good-natured and popular official, but with only a meager common-school education. He became to some extent at least a political protegé of Mr. Keyes, and was encouraged to become a candidate for governor in 1881. Mr. Keyes was no doubt anxious to reëstablish himself after his defeat for the senatorship in 1879, and here was Mr. Warner, an ex-soldier,

wounded in the war, a Scandinavian by birth, and a popular official. But there was another ex-soldier in the field: Jeremiah M. Rusk of Vernon County, who had served three terms in Congress. As to education, the two ranked somewhat alike. Rusk was a robust old fellow, with an abundance of common sense, whole-hearted and sincere. There was no blot on the escutcheon of either; both were men of good character. It was the age of the veteran in politics. Pierce County was naturally for Warner, and Mr. Gilson and I were both sent as delegates to the state convention at Madison on September 20. On reaching Elroy the evening before, we received the information that President Garfield had died that day, the nineteenth. Both Mr. Gilson and I had attended the national convention at Chicago in 1880 when Garfield was nominated after a week of contention between the three hundred and five solid phalanx for Grant and the bitter opposition led by Blaine forces. I have preserved in my diary a record of each vote as taken, and it shows that thirty-six ballots were taken before a nomination was reached.

But to return to the state convention in 1881. Mr. Warner showed considerable strength, but the forces of General Rusk were massed and solid, and resulted in his nomination after several ballots. It had become a matter of political policy to recognize different nationalities in making up the ticket. Mr. Warner had probably mainly for that reason been placed on the ticket when first nominated. He was now defeated. There were aspirants for recognition, among them our old friend Halle Steensland of Madison for state treasurer. During an intermission in the meeting William E. Carter of Grant, with whom I had served in the assembly, came to me and said that they would nominate me for railroad commissioner, that office having been made elec-

tive during the preceding session of the legislature. As my name had not been mentioned by anyone or anywhere, so far as I knew, for any state office, the suggestion came as a surprise. I told Mr. Carter that I was not a candidate and could not answer him until I had talked over the matter with Mr. Warner. This I did, together with Mr. Gilson. Hans Warner was a good fellow and said, as he naturally would, that even though he had been defeated for the nomination for governor, there was no reason why I should decline the nomination for the office suggested. The nomination of Edward McFetridge for treasurer and Ernst Timme for secretary of state had left the office of railroad commissioner open. The upshot of it was that I was nominated without any previous effort on my part, in somewhat the same manner as my first nomination for the assembly. My support of Senator Carpenter in 1879 undoubtedly contributed mainly in giving me the nomination. Mr. Warner had had the support of Mr. Keyes and friends in seeking the governorship; but the party management had gone out of Madison with the defeat of Keyes, and the headquarters of the central committee had gone to Milwaukee, with Edward Sanderson as chairman and Henry C. Payne as secretary, the latter remaining in active management of party affairs for many years. The ticket was made up as follows: for governor, Jeremiah M. Rusk of Vernon; lieutenant governor, Sam S. Fifield of Ashland; secretary of state, Ernst G. Timme of Kenosha; treasurer, Edward McFetridge of Dodge; attorney general, Leander F. Frisby of Washington; state superintendent, Robert Graham of Winnebago; railroad commissioner, Nils P. Haugen of Pierce; insurance commissioner, Philip Spooner of Dane. All were elected, and we formed a harmonious official family, working well together for the general and not merely party welfare. Governor

Rusk was a heroic figure physically and of good metal mentally. His lack of education was more than compensated for by his sterling good common sense and courage to take responsibility when occasion demanded. Timme had served in the Sixth Wisconsin and had lost a hand. His predecessor, Warner, had also been wounded in the hand in service and had lost the forefinger.

I could not claim any particular qualification for the office to which I was elected, but I studied the statutes and also the reports of my predecessors and of railroad commissions of other states. The report of the Massachusetts commission was particularly instructive, more so than any other. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., as chairman of that commission, had made a thorough study of the control of public transportation in this country and had visited Europe for further information, and his report was comprehensive and educational, especially to a novice.

The Wisconsin commission consisted of the commissioner and a secretary. James H. Foster of Winnebago had served in the latter capacity under my predecessor, Jack Turner of Portage, and during the convention had loyally supported his chief for the nomination. It was no doubt a surprise to him when he received my letter asking him to continue his service with me. I had had plenty of applications, but thought best to have someone in the office with some knowledge of what had gone on before. The commissioner was not clad with much authority. He made investigations upon receiving complaints, and if his advice was ignored by the railroad he made report to the attorney general, who was then directed to prosecute on behalf of the complainant. The office, created during the Granger excitement following 1873, was at first composed of three members, but was later reduced to one commissioner. Complaints were not infre-

quent. As to passenger and freight charges, I do not recollect reporting a single one to the attorney general. They were all settled, and I suspect in less important matters by giving the complainant some special favor, like an annual pass for himself and family. A complaint of overcharge between Milwaukee and Madison I took up first with the general freight office in Milwaukee, but was, I thought, somewhat curtly treated by the official in charge. A law had been passed limiting freight rates in the state so as not to exceed those in effect in 1873. The rate in question being in clear violation of that statute, I immediately went to the office of Roswell Miller, then general manager of the St. Paul road, who without hesitation called the freight czar on the carpet and told him to readjust the rate and settle with the complainant. A more important question arose as to rates from Chicago to Oshkosh. The roads serving that point and also Green Bay were in the habit of charging a higher rate to Oshkosh from Chicago than through that city to Green Bay, where they met with lake competition. I took up the matter with the companies, without satisfactory results, and appointed a hearing at Oshkosh. The roads evidently did not want that question brought into the limelight; for on the morning set for the hearing one of the railroad officials came to Madison with a written statement from the complainants that the matter had been settled and the complaints withdrawn. The same thing occurred with reference to grain rates from points in Grant County. What the terms of settlement were I never learned. These are only sample instances.

The roads avoided open hearings or court trials and made their settlements privately. An instance occurred on the Omaha road near the station of Richardson in Polk County. A farmer complained that the road recently constructed

through his farm did not have the necessary culverts and that backwater drowned out his meadow. Going up over the road with some of the officials of the company, I asked them why they could not remedy the matter by providing the necessary outlet. They said they could and would. A few years later when I met one of the officers, he reminded me of the matter and stated that they had followed my suggestion, but that later the same man had sued the company for setting fire to and burning up his meadow. So in some cases the railroads caught it going and coming.

While these notes have been in preparation, Marvin Hughitt, for many years a leader among presidents and managers of railroads of the Northwest, has passed away. I had occasion to meet him a number of times while serving as railroad commissioner, and found him a gentleman in every respect, a nobleman in the truer sense of that term. To mention one occasion: I was invited to accompany a delegation from Ellsworth to interview Mr. Hughitt with reference to the location of a station at that place, to which the road was then being extended from Hudson. Mr. Hughitt was the president of the Omaha Railway Company. We had our meeting and when the matter was presented Mr. Hughitt courteously told the delegates that he would place a station wherever they desired—in the village, which is on a somewhat high plateau, or at East Ellsworth, which is much lower. The delegation chose East Ellsworth, and I believe made a mistake which has since been regretted. But the station was located according to their wishes. Mr. Hughitt received with the utmost courtesy any complaint made. He was always referred to by his subordinates with characteristic friendliness and devotion. While a member of the Tax Commission many years later, when railroad assessments were under consideration, Frank Crandon, tax

commissioner of the Northwestern Railway Company, himself an old man, after arguments before the commission used to say to us, "What can I tell Mr. Hughitt?" Mr. Hughitt was the father of the official family.

Passes in those days were distributed freely to members of the legislature, state officers, and other men of influence, or supposed influence, on public sentiment. Governor Rusk refused to accept the usual form of free pass. He insisted that as the executive of the state he was entitled to free passage as a matter of right and not as a favor. The railroads complied with his request and gave him a letter instructing all conductors to pass Governor Rusk. I was entitled to the same privilege, as the law expressly provided for the free passage of the railroad commissioner; but I took the general pass. The pass question became a nuisance, and requests came to me from persons I did not know, asking for passes. In special cases I asked for them, and was never refused. I had never had a pass until I was elected to the legislature. The judges I served with had them, and presumably I might have had them on application through proper channels. After I was elected to Congress in January, 1887, I returned with courteous acknowledgment all passes sent me, feeling that while given only in friendly spirit according to long-established custom, the legislator, like Caesar's wife, ought to keep himself beyond criticism as to undue influence. I believe I was the only member of Congress from Wisconsin who did not at that time accept passes; but to me the matter had become a nuisance, as it undoubtedly was to the leading railway officials. It was later under the leadership of Assemblyman A. R. Hall of Dunn County that public sentiment was aroused on the subject, resulting in legislation depriving public officials of the privilege.

The part of the Omaha Railway known at the time as the North Wisconsin was extending its line to Superior and Bayfield, and Governor Rusk appointed me to examine the extensions and certify to him the facts, as the completion of each twenty miles entitled the company to a certain acreage under the land grant accorded it. I made several trips for that purpose over the new line together with officials of the company. In reporting to the governor, my certification stated that the necessary mileage had been constructed with "all necessary sidings, switches, stations, depots," etc., following the language of the land grant law. Governor Rusk looked up at me and said: "I don't believe they have done all that." I replied that my certificate said "all necessary," and he said, "Well, that is the lawyer of it." When the road was built the cedar and tamarack marshes along the right of way presented an almost solid wall of timber or trees on each side. But with dead tops and branches left from the clearing, fires quickly followed and the magnificent sight of this luxuriant forest disappeared forever. While the forest was untouched by man, fires ran through it and lapped up the leaves without doing serious damage to the trees. This had been and was the case in Pierce County even after its settlement. The settlers in clearing land took care of the debris. But when the lumbermen left the slashings, fires resulted in holocausts like those of Peshtigo and later at Hinckley, Minnesota, destroying every green tree for miles.

My term and the service connected with it was on the whole pleasant; the railroad officials were courteous and I formed relations about the state that stood me in good stead later; that is, from a political standpoint. I kept up a nominal partnership with Mr. Gilson, and Charles Smith was later taken into the firm; both genial and agreeable comrades. I had necessarily been interrupted in the practice of

law, first as court reporter and later by getting into state politics, but had even when not in partnership with others to some extent continued a small practice when consistent with my reporting in court. The reporting itself was a pretty good education, at least as to rules of evidence and practice in court. I have been fairly successful in public life. Still I would say to any young attorney ambitious to succeed, let politics alone; stick to your law. There are more pitfalls in politics than in private practice of the profession; many more disappointed lives. Even in the most successful years of my political life I looked forward to a time spent in the practice, and in the enjoyment of private life. Politics never had the allurement for me that it seems to have for many. However, I did enjoy the personal associations and friendships formed.

While railroad commissioner I recommended in one of the annual reports the adoption of Central Time for the state, and drew a bill to that effect, which was passed. Before that, trains running between Chicago and St. Paul made a change in time of twenty minutes at Elroy. I also had the first railroad map of the state made and published. Mr. Foster was a faithful and efficient assistant in preparing the reports, and I had no reason to regret having appointed him. It was in harmony with my ideas of the best civil service, before there was any civil service law in the state. The larger railroads were paying a license fee of four per cent on their gross earnings in the state in lieu of taxes; the smaller roads at a lower rate. The sleeping-car companies had not been included and escaped taxation. I recommended that they be subjected to the same license fee as the larger roads, and helped to prepare a bill for that purpose. The representatives of the companies, however, caused the bill to be so amended as to read "earnings made between points within the state," or words to that effect; the result being the ex-

emption of any part of the earnings where the travel was interstate. To illustrate, a person desiring to purchase a ticket from Madison to Hudson was given a ticket from Madison to St. Paul; or, from Madison to Superior the sleeping-car ticket would read to Duluth, thus making the trip interstate. The very object of the bill was thus frustrated.

During this period a constitutional amendment was adopted changing state elections from the odd-numbered years to the even-numbered, to correspond with federal elections, and the terms of the then state officers had been extended for a year to correspond. All having been reëlected, we thus served five years instead of four.

WILLIAM T. PRICE

William T. Price had for some years aspired to congressional honors. He was a man of energy and enterprise, residing at Black River Falls, and had acquired some money and property in the lumber business on Black River. He was a logger, not a manufacturer of lumber. He was a member of the state senate in 1879 and 1880, a ready and fluent speaker, and one of the earliest radical prohibitionists in the state. He had been a candidate for the congressional nomination against General Rusk, and an enmity had grown up between the two which had lasted for years. Mr. Price was a candidate for the nomination in 1882, and some of Governor Rusk's friends had their knives out for him. One charge against Price was that he had been cutting pine on government lands. I remember being present in the federal court at Madison some time before the campaign of 1882 got well under way, when the calendar for the term was called. There was a case of the government against Price. The attorney for the government for some reason wanted the case to go over the term, when Bill Price, not leaving the

matter to his attorney, sprang to his feet and shouted, "I don't want this case to go over; I want this matter settled now. I intend to be a candidate for Congress next summer, and I don't want this thing to hang over me." My impression is that the case never came to trial; it was probably discontinued. The occurrence was Price all over. But cutting over the line by lumbermen was not uncommon in early days. An old Norwegian settler in Pierce County came into my office in River Falls once and asked advice, saying that he was threatened with a lawsuit for cutting timber on speculator lands adjoining his own. The term "speculator" was common when land was owned by a nonresident. He said that he had cut over the line some, but he had done so because when he first came to the country he worked for Jake Lord in the pineries and Jake told his men that they could cut over the line as far as they could throw the ax. Jake Lord was a fine old fellow of the pioneer type living in River Falls. I joshed him about it; he just laughed; nothing more. If Price "cut over the line," he no doubt had plenty of precedents. He had a sharp tongue, and it is likely that the old feud was more his fault than Rusk's. But in the campaign of 1882 I became somewhat of a go-between, being a friend of both and in favor of Price for the nomination. Price called on me in Madison and asked me to go with him into some parts of the district where I was best acquainted. I said that he must call on the Governor, that he would find Rusk friendly if approached. The result was that we went into the Governor's office. They had a social chat and the old feeling was evidently at an end. Price was elected and reelected twice, and made a creditable record. He was a true and tried Republican. He was entirely independent, although adhering to party lines on what were considered essential party questions. People said he was "profane," but

Bill Price indignantly denied this, saying that the language he used was for emphasis and the best at his command, and that it was not profanity.

The nominating convention of 1886 was approaching, and I had determined—or "chosen"—not to be a candidate for another term, intending to reënter the law firm at River Falls with which I had maintained a quasi connection. Governor Rusk and Secretary of State Timme were renominated at the convention; both were veterans of the Civil War. Rusk had taken a decided stand in the labor riots at Milwaukee, and it was thought that his conduct required the approval of the party, as it had caused some criticism in the opposition press. It will be recollected that a company of the state militia in Milwaukee had been called out to suppress a riot and on the threatening approach of the mob the captain had ordered "Fire!" and, if I remember correctly, five men had been killed or wounded. It may be doubted whether Rusk was directly responsible for the firing. The captain may have acted hastily. But the rioting ended, and Rusk assumed the responsibility manfully. When complimented on his action on his return to Madison, he was reported in the press to have replied: "I seen my duty and I done it"; truly Rusk. I met the Governor in the lobby of the Plankinton House, Milwaukee, early on the morning after the shooting, and he told me about it. A Democratic newspaperman called him to one side. They had a short conversation, after which the Governor returned to his seat and said, "Mr. —— says I did the right thing and he will stand by me." But the paper represented did not stand by him; evidently it thought it a party advantage to attack him for "shooting workingmen." Throughout the state his action met with approval, and he was reëlected by a large majority.

[*To be continued*]

ANNALS OF A WISCONSIN THRESHERMAN

ANGIE KUMLIEN MAIN

Ole Christian Olson was born at Toten, Norway, March 11, 1848. At the age of four he, with his parents Mr. and Mrs. Ole Olson, Sr. and sister Clara, on April 12, 1852, set forth with other Norwegian emigrants from Christiania, Norway, in a sailboat bound for America. After traveling all summer and suffering many hardships and privations, they finally arrived in the month of August at the farm home of Hans Bakke, who had arrived two years previous, and who lived in the Norwegian settlement on Koshkonong Prairie a short distance from Clinton, now known as Rockdale, in Dane County, Wisconsin.

They had arrived too late in the season for the father, who was a brickmaker by trade, to start a brick yard, so they lived with the Bakke family until the following spring. Koshkonong Prairie was fairly well settled by this time, the first settlers having come in 1839. Mr. Olson helped the neighboring farmers, but as no one near had any money he was obliged to go a long distance from home before he found a cash-paying job. In the coldest part of that first winter he walked forty miles and finally found work in Walworth County. For chopping down large bur oak trees and splitting them into ten-foot rails he received the small sum of fifty cents for a hundred rails. While doing this work he did not spend a cent, for provisions in the Bakke home were getting very low. He was in dire need of a pair of mittens for this cold job, so in order to save money he cut the tops off his long hand-knit woolen socks and made a pair from them.

In the spring he moved his family five or six miles from Stoughton, where he ran a brick yard for a farmer; here he stayed but one year. There were no facilities for shipping the brick, and as he had made enough bricks in one year to supply the community he had to move on somewhere else.

The next spring, 1854, Captain Culver, a veteran of the Mexican War, hired Mr. Olson to run a brick yard on his farm a short distance from Milton Junction. This job lasted two years, as the first buildings of what is now Milton College were being erected. The Olson family lived in a log house near the brick yard. When Mr. Olson needed money he sent his little son Ole, who was nearly eight at this time, to Captain Culver, who would send fifty cents or a dollar at a time. Once he sent a gold dollar, which was not nearly so large as our present dime, and so small that he feared Ole would drop it, so he had him carry it home in his mouth. When the family moved back to Rockdale in 1856 they brought eight of these gold dollars with them.

Here Mr. Olson ran a brick yard for one summer on the John T. Haight farm. The next year they moved to Krogh-ville, which was three-fourths of a mile north of London, where Mr. Olson ran a brick yard for Mr. Krogh. The next year he worked a piece of land west of Rock Lake for a Mr. Armstrong, but the following year again made brick, this time for a Mr. Lewis in Lake Mills. Mr. Olson died there in 1860, leaving a widow "dead broke in everything except three children," as the subject of this sketch now expresses it.

Ole at this time was twelve years of age, but had for two or three years helped on farms in the Norwegian settlement west of Cambridge and Rockdale, where he had earned little more than his board and lodging. His father died July 1, and on July 5 Ole started out to earn his own living by hir-

ing out to William Phillips in Lake Mills. He worked there until harvest and then went back to his Norwegian friends, where he hired out to Mr. Bakke, who paid him twenty-one dollars for seven months' work.

Mrs. Olson and the other two children also moved back to this settlement and lived in what was known as the farmer's spare house. It is hard for the people of today to realize how little this widow and three children had. Matches, for instance, were eight cents for a small box and were considered a great luxury by the poor people. Many a time when the fire went out little Ole had to go to a neighbor's to borrow a coal or two. These were carried in a woolen rag, as cotton rags would burn before the child reached home. Mrs. Olson sewed, nursed, did housework and anything that she could to earn her living. She preferred sewing for the men; for the occasional orders which she got from young single men for stiff-bosomed white shirts, she received fifty cents apiece, while this was all she got for a whole dress. In the course of a few years she married again and went to live on the Omaha Indian Reservation in Nebraska, leaving her eldest son on Koshkonong Prairie.

When Ole was a very small boy he used to watch the farmers both in this country and in Norway thresh their grain with flails. Often this was an all winter's indoor job. When but nine years old he helped one of the settlers thresh his buckwheat by using two yoke of oxen. A circular piece of ground was cleared and well cleaned and then allowed to freeze very hard. The buckwheat was scattered about ten inches deep; then the grain was trodden out by the oxen, which by dint of shouting and the frequent cracking of Ole's long whip were kept going round and round as he ran along beside them. The straw was lifted off, the grain scooped up and run through a fanning mill. This process was repeated

until all was threshed. In the fall of 1860 when the boy Ole began to work on the Hans Bakke farm he went threshing with Even Bakke's outfit, which was the first threshing machine owned in this part of the country. This machine was run by horse power. Four teams of horses were hitched to the ends of long sweeps or levers which were fastened in the center to gears or wheels with cogs. An iron tumbling rod with "knuckle joints" transmitted the motion or power from the revolving cog wheels of the "horse power" to the cylinder on the separator. Each team of horses was tied to the sweep ahead to keep them going round and round. From the platform in the center, which was built over the large drive wheel, the driver would keep the teams going at a steady pace. When the teams came to the tumbling rod they had to step over it. It was young Ole's job to drive the horses for this outfit. It became very tiresome and required much skill to keep the power steady hour after hour, which was necessary in order that the machine should do a good clean job of threshing.

In 1865 Ole learned the shoemaker's trade, which he followed for thirteen years, making shoes by hand in Rockdale, Cambridge, and Edgerton. People had fewer shoes in those days, and as they wore much longer his job occupied only about eight months of the year. His time was filled in, however, by working on the farms. Mr. Olson made a pair of fine boots for Robert Black, a neighbor, for nine dollars; but before they were worn out, which took several years, they cost Mr. Black twenty-five dollars, for he had them foxed, mended, resoled, etc., more than once.

In 1871 Mr. Olson visited his mother in Nebraska for a year, where he worked on the farms during the day and made shoes during the evenings. The next year he came back to Rockdale and on May 2 he married Tolene Anderson, a

Norwegian girl of that place. There he made shoes for a time, but for the sake of his health sought outdoor work. He bought a team and a breaking plow and broke nearly all of the brush land around Rockdale.

In 1880 Mr. Olson and a partner bought a second-hand horse-power threshing machine and for ten years ran that and another new horse-power machine. The first machine was very old and did not last long. It was a J. I. Case with a Pitts horse power. The second machine had a "Woodberry" power and was made for five teams, which was thought to be quite an advancement. With the old machine all the grain had to be measured in half-bushel measures and emptied into bags. These were often held by children while they were being filled. A bagger was added to the second machine, which was a great help. At the end of ten years the second machine was rigged over with a pulley in place of the tumbling-rod socket and cog-drive, and was then run with a twelve-horse-power steam engine. The cost of the engine and the necessary alterations to the machine was $1-150. In time this outfit together with $2,000 cash was traded for a new separator and an eighteen-horse-power steam engine. This separator had a clearance of sixty inches, a bagger with a weigher, a swinging carrier, and a self-feeder; it was much easier to care for and was better in many ways. In two years this new machine paid for itself. Mr. Olson always paid cash for his machines and saved twenty-five per cent. If he did not have the ready money he borrowed it. In all Mr. Olson threshed for thirty-four consecutive seasons with his own outfits.

When he began to thresh he received two cents for oats, three for barley, and four for wheat. In the early period the grain raised was nearly all wheat, with very little oats and almost no barley. He paid a man with a team two dol-

lars a day, but toward the last of his threshing he paid a man without a team that price. One man who was extra good help he paid two dollars and a half. Usually the pay for the threshing jobs was good, but in many cases the threshing could not be paid for until the tobacco was sold. In the German settlements he received enough cash to pay his oil bill and to pay his men. They had dairies and did not have to depend wholly on the tobacco crop. In almost every case the threshing was paid for as soon as the people got the money. Mr. Olson says, "I still have some coming, though, from my first job."

The threshing usually began the first week in October[?] and lasted until nearly Christmas. The men often threshed with the thermometer registering ten below. In 1884 Mr. Olson started threshing on the nineteenth of August and finished the day before Christmas.

The food served the threshers was nearly always good, except the butter, and when the creameries came in there was very little poor butter. Apple pie was popular with the men then as it is today. During the first years mutton and chickens were used altogether for meat, but later roast beef was the steady diet. Occasionally a family could not get to town in time to procure the beef, and had to resort to the pork barrel. The housewife would apologize for this, but the salt pork was a big treat for the men who had to eat beef three times a day for weeks and months at a time.

It was customary for the threshers (the three or four men who traveled with the machine) to stay overnight at the place where they were threshing. There probably isn't a house within a radius of fifteen miles of Rockdale where Mr. Olson hasn't stayed overnight while threshing. After quitting hours the horses' shoulders and collars had to be washed to prevent sores. At four thirty in the morning the men

THRESHING ON FARM OF OLE C. OLSON

were out to drive down the stakes to hold the power, to oil and repair the machine, or to do any of the work that the time called for in order to be ready for the twenty neighbor men who came to help thresh. The neighbor women helped one another with the meals. The men did not stand on ceremony, according to Mr. Olson, but ate with a voracious appetite as soon as they sat down at the table, not waiting for the men who had to unhitch and feed the teams. As soon as any were through with their meal they rushed out to begin work again.

In all Mr. Olson's long threshing career he had only one accident worth mentioning. When he and his partner were driving the big engine over the Ives bridge, the bridge gave way, letting the engine and its drivers drop fully six feet. The men were not hurt and very little damage was done to the engine.

When Mr. Olson first used the steam engine he put a stop to all passing of liquor while the work of threshing was going on, and never lost a friend nor made an enemy by so doing.

In 1884 the Olsons bought a farm near Rockdale, which Mrs. Olson and the children worked with the help of a hired man. Every Saturday night, except one, during the threshing years Mr. Olson came back home to spend Sunday. On this same farm he and his aged wife and two daughters, Hannah and Letta, are still living. Mr. and Mrs. Olson are in poor health but enjoy life in this lovely farm home where they have lived for forty-three years, and where they are cared for by the daughters with a tender devotion that is beautiful to see.

Mr. Olson has held every office in his own town of Christiana except those of town clerk and justice of the peace. He is in possession of all his mental faculties including an accurate memory. He is a man of high intelligence in spite

of the fact that he attended school only for a month or six weeks in a year and then only during his early boyhood. His parents saw to it, as did all the Norwegian immigrants, that their children were well grounded in the catechism, the *Forklaring,* and Bible history. Mr. Olson has a keen sense of humor and is cheerful notwithstanding a great bodily affliction which he has patiently borne for thirty years without one word of complaint.[1]

This season the threshing on Mr. Olson's farm was done from the shock with one of the many small machines that are so generally owned now by communities. He still thinks, though, that stack threshing with the big machine has advantages over the modern methods.

In Mr. Olson's not quite eighty years he has seen and played a part in all the changes that have taken place in the processes of grain threshing in the last two millenniums, or back to the days of Palestine. For St. Paul uttered an aphorism which was already of high antiquity among the Jews, in saying: "Muzzle not the ox when he treadeth out the grain."

[1] Mr. Olson died suddenly on September 19, 1927, only a short time after being interviewed by the author.

THE PARKMAN CLUB

JOHN G. GREGORY

Dr. Johnson, who was authority on clubs, said "a club is an assembly of good fellows meeting under certain conditions." In an experience of threescore years and ten there has not come under my observation an aggregation of pleasant gentlemen responsive to conditions more innocent and improving than those which were prescribed for the Parkman Club.

The club was composed of young men, residents of Milwaukee, engaged in various professional pursuits and interested in history, its object being to study northwestern historical topics and publish the results. All the members admired the writings of Francis Parkman. Respecting his scholarship, his genius, and his character, appreciating the merits of his literary style, and prizing his contributions to the subject of their devotion at the time, they selected his name for their club.

The origin of the organization was casual enough. One evening early in 1895, Gardner P. Stickney received at his home a call from Henry C. Campbell regarding a matter which suggested consultation with Henry E. Legler, who resided not far away. At Mr. Legler's they found that gentleman and William Ward Wight. Mr. Stickney had informed Mr. Campbell that he was engaged in writing a sketch of the life of Nicolas Perrot and Campbell mentioned the fact to Messrs. Legler and Wight, who manifested interest and expressed a desire to peruse the manu-

script when it should be completed. In due course Mr. Stickney finished his task and gave notice to that effect, whereupon arrangement was made that the four should meet on a stated evening at the office of Mr. Wight, where Mr. Stickney should read his paper. It was further agreed that each of the four should invite a friend or two, with a view to canvassing prospects for the formation of a group devoted to historical investigation. This assemblage took place in December of the year named.

The following is excerpted from the minute book of the Parkman Club: "The first meeting of this club was held on the evening of December 10th, 1895, in the office of Mr. W. W. Wight. Present, Messrs. Wight, Campbell, E. W. Stickney, Terry, Bruncken, Legler, Bostwick, Gregory, McIntosh, Stewart and G. P. Stickney. Mr. Wight was elected presiding officer for the evening. A paper on Nicolas Perrot was then read by Mr. G. P. Stickney. This was followed by a brief discussion. The matter of organization was taken up, and the following signified their intention of joining the club, and are therefore its original members: Messrs. W. W. Wight, Ernest Bruncken, Morris M. Bostwick, Henry C. Campbell, Henry E. Legler, Montgomery E. McIntosh, John G. Gregory, Frank T. Terry and G. P. Stickney. It was the sense of the meeting that the organization should be of as informal a nature as practicable, and that it was necessary to have but one officer, a secretary. . . .Gardner P. Stickney was elected secretary, by acclamation. It was voted unanimously to hold meetings on the second Tuesday of each month, excepting July and August. . . .It was voted that the chair appoint a committee to investigate and report on the matter of printing. . . .The chair named as the publication committee Messrs. Legler, Gregory and Terry. Mr. Wight announced that until further notice the rooms of the

Law Library Association were at the disposal of the club for its meetings." Additional members admitted shortly after organization were: Dan B. Starkey, Frederick W. Kelly, the Reverend John Nelson Davidson, Frank H. Miller, and the Reverend Dr. J. S. La Boule. In January, 1898, the Reverend S. E. Lathrop was elected. The quota of active members, fixed at fifteen, never was filled. Mr. Bostwick died December 26, 1896. Mr. Terry withdrew January 23, 1897.

To identify the status of the members of the club as entities in the community a few words will suffice. Mr. Wight was a lawyer of established practice, versed in polite learning as well as in the lore of his calling, and custodian of the books of the Milwaukee Law Library Association. Incidentally, he had won recognition as a patron of education, and as an authority on genealogy and American history. Mr. Bruncken, who had qualified for the bar after an experience in journalism, was at that time incumbent of the office of assistant city attorney. Mr. Bostwick was the lecturer of the Milwaukee Ethical Society. Mr. Legler was secretary of the Milwaukee School Board. He had been active in the newspaper field and had served a term in the lower house of the Wisconsin Legislature. The qualities which subsequently enabled him to render brilliant service as a pioneer in library organization and extension work had made a deep impression on those who knew him. Mr. Terry and Mr. Kelly, recent graduates from college, were on the threshold of careers in business. Gardner Stickney, who had studied the principles of banking, was a dealer in investment securities, active in civic affairs, and a member of the Council of the American Folk Lore Association. Mr. Miller was a teacher in the West Side High School. The Reverend Mr. Davidson, who had published several volumes

on historical subjects, was a Congregational minister, and Dr. La Boule was a Catholic priest. Mr. Campbell was city editor of the Milwaukee *Journal,* and Mr. McIntosh city editor of the Milwaukee *Evening Wisconsin,* for which paper Mr. Starkey at that time was reporting the proceedings of the Legislature, later accepting the post of private secretary to Governor Scofield. Mr. Lathrop was a retired minister and a veteran of the Civil War. I was writing editorials for the *Evening Wisconsin,* with the designation of associate editor.

Shortly after organizing, the club made provision for the admission of associate members, with the privilege of attending regular meetings and receiving its publications, but with no voice in its management. The associate members were J. M. Pereles, C. E. McLenegan, George H. D. Johnson, T. J. Pereles, D. E. Roberts, L. W. Halsey, Dr. F. E. Walbridge, John Johnston, Howard Van Wyck, Col. William J. Anderson, George C. Schutts, Dr. A. O. Wright, Charles L. Goss, W. J. Galbreath, R. C. Spencer, and George H. Wahl.

Aside from outlay for printing and postage, the club incurred no expenses. The cost of printing was trifling then compared with today. Dues were seventy-five cents a month for active members and five dollars a year for associate members. It was agreed that the club should disburse fifteen dollars toward paying for the printing of each paper, expense of publication exceeding that amount to be borne by the author.

During the first two years of the club's existence it missed only a single meeting. That was when the member to whom the date had been assigned found it impossible to complete his paper and no one else was prepared to come forward as a substitute. In all the history of the club I can

recall no meeting without a paper by one of the members. The meetings never were dull. Read aloud by its author, each paper was subjected to frank discussion, with the purpose of shedding light on matters in doubt. Not the maintenance of a mutual admiration society, but the promotion of the "truth of history" was the ideal at which the members aimed, and it is due to the validity of their judgments and the excellence of their dispositions to say that though differences of opinion arose at times, there was no rancor. Each member was free to select the topic on which he would write, and frequently the announcement of topics by intending authors elicited helpful hints regarding sources of information. When divergent views found expression, as to the weight of conflicting evidence, or the interpretation of obscure passages in early chronicles, or the soundness of speculative opinions, it often came to pass that the author of a paper revised what he had written before sending it to press. There was no compulsion. The club as an organization disclaimed responsibility for statements or theories advanced by its writers over their own names.

Wide was the range of topics within the chosen field, and various the treatment which members accorded to their themes. Some of the papers took an argumentative trend, though generally they were narrative or descriptive. There were instances in which they embodied fresh results of original investigation. In his "Negro Slavery in Wisconsin" the Reverend John Nelson Davidson wrote with fullness of knowledge obtained in personal interviews with early settlers long since passed away. Montgomery McIntosh spent a vacation in Manitowoc County studying vestiges of the communal life of a prior generation in the quaint little settlement of St. Nazianz. Henry Legler explored Wisconsin and near-by localities associated with the Mormons, finding

survivors of the era before the migration to Utah, from whom he gathered reminiscences. He also accumulated manuscripts, pamphlets, and newspaper files relating to the "stakes of Zion" at Voree and Beaver Island and the strenuous and tragic history of "King" Strang. Signally persistent in the pursuit of material was William Ward Wight, whose pillorying of Eleazar Williams was accomplished after assembling two noteworthy collections of books, one English and the other French, besides conducting an extended quest for evidence by means of correspondence. From sources in New England, New York, and Canada the indefatigable truth-seeker marshaled all that would illuminate the history of the Williams family after its dispersal following the Deerfield massacre. From France and Holland and other countries of Europe he gathered literature pertaining to "lost Dauphins." Then he mastered his materials and wrote. Mr. Wight's exhaustive disclosures left seemingly nothing for future investigators to add to the exposure of the Green Bay impostor. While scholars of all lands were deploring the plight of Belgium at the conclusion of the World War, Mr. Wight boxed his important collection of French books, including the Williams items, and dispatched it as a gift to assist in rehabilitating the University library at Louvain.

To Gardner Stickney, as has been noted, belonged the distinction of preparing the first paper bearing the imprint of the club—a carefully and concisely written biography, wherein the likeness of a sturdy character was strongly limned against a background featuring the beginnings of French dominion in the western section of the Great Lakes country. Later Mr. Stickney collated information illustrating the importance of maize and incidentally of wild rice in the domestic economy of the Wisconsin Indians. Legler's

"Tonty" was among the early contributions which provided a memorably pleasant evening for the club. Dan Starkey chose a war theme, the conquest of the West by George Rogers Clark—unhackneyed at the time, and replete with dramatic interest. Henry Campbell sought material in early Canadian records and elsewhere, weaving narratives of the voyages of Radisson and Groseilliers and the ill-fated missionary expedition of Father Ménard. Drawing from the French originals of the *Jesuit Relations,* and from sources at his command in the library of the Seminary of St. Francis, the Reverend Dr. La Boule portrayed the career of "Allouez, the Father of Wisconsin Missions." A distinctly modern subject was selected by Frank H. Miller—Polish immigration to Wisconsin; and while he contributed to its illumination, he did not exhaust it. Ernest Bruncken wrote of German Forty-eighters and their participation in Wisconsin politics. My own efforts were concerned with the explorations of Jonathan Carver, the land limitation movement of 1850, and early political platforms in Wisconsin, the paper on the last of these topics being presented but not printed, for the reason that it was the fate of the Parkman Club, as of the "one-hoss shay," to go to pieces all at once. Several other papers which were ready for publication when the club held what proved to be its final regular meeting were never sent to press. Financially, the organization lived "from hand to mouth." It owed nobody a cent; but when meetings lapsed, assessments ceased, and there was no money in the treasury to pay for printing.

An outstanding characteristic of the Parkman Club was its spontaneity. It came into being at a suggestion, and ceased to function with as little ceremony as it had entered upon its career. It never was formally disbanded. While it lived, it lived. At the time of its demise it had begun to assume the aspect of an institution.

Among those who wrote letters of greeting to the club soon after its organization were Benjamin Sulte, Theodore Roosevelt, Captain J. G. Bourke, Professor G. B. Adams, Professor James Davie Butler, and the Reverend Chrysostom Verwyst. Non-members interested in its aims came to its meetings as guests, notable among the number being Professor Frederick Jackson Turner and Secretary Reuben G. Thwaites of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, in company with the latter of whom a group of members attended the dedication of the new building of the Chicago Historical Society, when Mr. Thwaites delivered his lecture on the French habitants. At one of the early meetings of the club the secretary read a letter from Eliza S. Parkman, sister of Francis Parkman. The death of Mr. Parkman had occurred in 1893. At this meeting there was talk of a dinner on September 16, the anniversary of his birth, and a committee to make arrangements was appointed, but the project fell through. Addresses on the life and work of the historian were delivered by members of the Parkman Club on the occasion of a Parkman memorial evening, in the parlors of the First Unitarian Church. Upon invitation from Mr. and Mrs. John Johnston, the regular meeting of the club in January, 1898, was held at the Johnston residence, where the members were delightfully entertained, and Mr. McIntosh read his paper on "Cooperative Communities in Wisconsin."

With no realization that the occasion would become memorable in retrospect, what proved to be the last regular meeting was held on the ninth of May, 1898, with Henry E. Legler as secretary pro tem in the absence of Secretary Stickney, who had been called to Madison in connection with preparations for the official celebration of the semi-centennial of Wisconsin's admission to statehood. To Mr. Stick-

ney's unavoidable withdrawal from the scene, together with the serious illness of Mr. Legler during the spring and summer of 1898, and to the circumstance that all the active members were busy men, who had begun to find themselves unable continually to devote to the club's affairs the time and labor which so far they had cheerfully accorded, I attribute the cessation of the activities of the Parkman Club.

The publications of the club, in the order of their issue, were as follows:

1895

Nicolas Perrot: A Study in Wisconsin History. By Gardner P. Stickney. 16 p.

1896

Exploration of Lake Superior: The Voyages of Radisson and Groseilliers. By Henry Colin Campbell. 22 p.

Chevalier Henry de Tonty: His Exploits in the Valley of the Mississippi. By Henry E. Legler. 22 p.

The Aborigines of the Northwest: A Glance into the Remote Past. By Frank T. Terry. 14 p.

Jonathan Carver: His Travels in the Northwest in 1766-8. By John G. Gregory. 28 p., 1 plate, 1 map.

Negro Slavery in Wisconsin. By Rev. John N. Davidson. 28 p.

Eleazar Williams: His Forerunners, Himself. By William Ward Wight. 72 p., portrait and 4 appendices.

Charles Langlade, First Settler of Wisconsin. By Montgomery E. McIntosh. 20 p.

The German Voter in Wisconsin Politics before the Civil War. By Ernest Bruncken. 14 p.

The Polanders in Wisconsin. By Frank H. Miller. 8 p.

1897

Père René Ménard, the Predecessor of Allouez and Marquette in the Lake Superior Region. By Henry Colin Campbell. 24 p.

George Rogers Clark and His Illinois Campaign. By Dan B. Starkey. 38 p.

The Use of Maize by Wisconsin Indians. By Gardner P. Stickney. 25 p.

The Land-Limitation Movement: A Wisconsin Episode of 1848-1851. By John Goadby Gregory. 24 p.

A Moses of the Mormons. By Henry E. Legler. 67 p., portrait, 4 illustrations, appendices.

Claude Jean Allouez, the "Apostle of the Ottawas" and the Builder of the First Indian Missions in Wisconsin. By Joseph Stephen La Boule. Part 1: The Early Life of Allouez and His Labors in the Lake Superior Region. 29 p., map.

Negro Slavery in Wisconsin and the Underground Railway. By John Nelson Davidson. 34 p.

There was issued in 1897 a title page and index to the club's publications up to and including Mr. Miller's paper on the Polanders. In all, seventeen papers were issued by the club, bearing serial numbers from 1 to 14 until the appearance of Mr. Legler's paper on the Mormons, which came out as a double number (15-16), the "Allouez" of Dr. La Boule being No. 17 and the second installment of Mr. Davidson's "Negro Slavery" No. 18. Papers announced as in preparation which were not printed by the club included Mr. McIntosh's "Cooperative Communities"; a letter of the Reverend Cutting Marsh relative to a visit to the Sacs and Foxes in 1834, edited by Mr. Wight; a second paper by Mr. Bruncken, treating of Wisconsin politics in the Civil War period; and papers by Campbell on Duluth, by Kelly on local government in Wisconsin, by Legler on Wisconsin nomenclature, by Starkey on the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, and by Stickney on a historical consideration of the beaver.

During nearly the whole of the club's career the publication committee consisted of Messrs. Campbell, Legler, and Gregory, with Mr. Campbell as its chairman. Of each pamphlet the number issued was usually three hundred, though in a few cases this was exceeded. Exchanges were maintained with historical societies in this country and Canada. Many libraries and private individuals subscribed for sets. The indefatigable secretary, on behalf of the club, carried on an extensive correspondence. Late in 1898 the books

and pamphlets which had accumulated in the library of the club were distributed among the members.

Is the Parkman Club dead? The coroner has not been called to sit on its remains. They have not been buried. "Even in its ashes live their wonted fires." When the Reverend Mr. Davidson edited the Bridgman reminiscences of John Brown in Kansas, he sought and obtained sanction for their publication under the auspices of the Parkman Club. Mr. Wight did likewise preparatory to the publication of his bibliography of Eleazar Williams literature. In 1915, when seventeen years had intervened since the last regular meeting, all the members of the Parkman Club then resident in Milwaukee accepted an invitation from Mr. Wight to dine with him and Mr. J. M. W. Pratt at the University Club. After the refection, the company was called to order, with Mr. Wight in the chair and Mr. Stickney at his old post of secretary. The name of Mr. Pratt was proposed for membership in the Parkman Club, and he was elected. Asked if he had anything to present, he read an original paper on a subject relating to American history, which, on motion, carried by the votes of all present, he was authorized to print.

HISTORIC SPOTS IN WISCONSIN

W. A. TITUS

THE HELENA SHOT-TOWER

Up and down the river went they,
In and out among its islands,
Cleared its bed of root and sand-bar,
Dragged the dead trees from its channel,
Made its passage safe and certain,
Made a pathway for the people.
—*Longfellow*

In territorial and pre-territorial days Wisconsin's center of population was in the geographic angle bounded on two sides by the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers, and comprising the present counties of Iowa, Grant, and Lafayette. This condition was directly due to the lead deposits of the region. Away back in the period of the French occupation, the lead mines of southwestern Wisconsin were well known both to the savage tribes and to the white traders and explorers. It is not surprising that when American occupation became an accomplished fact, men with a love for frontier life and the lure of adventure swarmed into the lead region from the older sections of the country; nor is it remarkable that among these were men of more than average ability and ambition. The lead region has to its credit such names as Colonel William S. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton; J. G. Percival, the poet-geologist; General Henry Dodge, who later became one of the territorial governors and a United States Senator; Nelson Dewey, first governor of the state; Dr. Giddings, nephew of Joshua R. Giddings; and Cadwallader C. Washburn, later governor of Wisconsin and one of that famous family which had three members in the United States Congress at the same time. New England,

New York, Pennsylvania, and the southern states contributed liberally to the population of this frontier region, where wealth was supposed to lurk just beneath the grass roots.

In the early days of lead mining, engineering problems were not a large factor. The deposits then worked were at or near the surface, and any man with picks, shovels, and bars could become a mine operator. The result was a considerable production of lead in a remote section of the country, where transportation was both difficult and expensive. There was always the possibility of making shipments by boat down the Mississippi, but the output of lead from the Missouri mines satisfied the demand at more southern points and left the Wisconsin miners at a disadvantage in their attempts to find a market for their raw product. As early as 1809 a shot tower, the first one west of the Allegheny Mountains, had been built at Herculaneum, Missouri, and the advantage of shipping a manufactured instead of a raw product had become apparent. The advisability of building a shot tower in the vicinity of the Wisconsin mines suggested itself to Daniel Whitney, an enterprising merchant and trader of Green Bay, who about 1830 organized a company for that purpose. The site chosen was adjacent to Helena, a village that had been platted in 1828 but still consisted almost entirely of corner stakes and lots for sale. Here the sandstone bluffs rise almost perpendicularly to a height of one hundred and fifty feet or more from the banks of the Wisconsin River. On a high shelf of one of these rock formations it was planned to sink a shaft one hundred and twenty feet deep through the sandstone, and when completed this shaft was to be intersected by a horizontal tunnel driven in ninety feet from the river bank. On top of the rock-hewn shaft was built later a wooden tower sixty feet in height, so that the entire drop was one hundred and eighty feet. At

the bottom of the vertical shaft a cistern three feet deep and filled with water served the double purpose of cooling the shot and breaking the fall.[1]

Work on this project, begun in 1831, was suspended during the Black Hawk War. Parkinson's narrative[2] states that General Atkinson's regular troops and General Dodge's volunteers gathered at Helena July 26, 1832, and there crossed the river on rafts in their pursuit of the savages. In Reuben G. Thwaites's "Story of the Black Hawk War"[3] it is stated that all the log houses in Helena were torn down and the material used to construct rafts for moving the army across the river.

With the passing of the Indian menace, Thomas B. Shaunce, whom Whitney had employed to sink the shaft and drive the tunnel through the rock, resumed operations. All the work was done by hand and it is said that very little blasting was necessary, the friable stone yielding slowly to picks, bars, and chisels. The first twenty feet of the shaft was sunk by Shaunce without a helper, but thereafter one assistant was employed. The time books show that it took one hundred and eighty-seven working days to complete the rock excavations. Then a sixty-foot tower was built over the shaft, with a smelting and tempering house adjoining. A warehouse, finishing house, and rude docks were erected beside the river. The timbers for these several buildings were in part cut in the pine forests to the northward and floated down the Wisconsin River. Some of the timbers were secured in the immediate vicinity. In the latter part of 1833 the several structures were so far completed that shot could be manufactured. John Metcalf was employed as shot-

[1] See picture of original shot-tower building in this quarterly, viii, 68 (September, 1924).

[2] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, ii, 368.

[3] *Ibid.*, xii, 256.

dropper, a position he held for a number of years. Considerable skill was required to secure the largest percentage of perfect shot. All imperfect shot were caught in troughs over which the perfect shot jumped as they rolled down an incline. All rejected shot were elevated to the top of the tower and remelted. This pioneer industry, launched in the deep recesses of the wilderness, continued for almost thirty years, during which time millions of pounds of shot were distributed to the various parts of the country. It is not too much to say that the Helena shot tower was one of the outstanding factors that contributed largely to the early prosperity of southwestern Wisconsin.

One of the best early descriptions of the Helena shot tower is given in W. R. Smith's *Observations on the Wisconsin Territory,* published in 1838. He says: "From this point the road bends abruptly to the east, along the bank of the river, and a ride of two miles or thereabouts, through the site of the town of Helena, brings you to the shot tower and buildings belonging to the Wisconsin Shot Company. Here is a large lumber yard, the lumber being chiefly pine, and brought down the Wisconsin river. Several mechanics' shops are erected and workmen employed. The shot company have a very large assortment of goods and merchandise in their store which is here kept, and on the river bank there is now being built a store house of about fifty by seventy feet, the basement story of stone from the river beach to the top of the bank, and the upper story of frame.

"The shot tower is worthy of a description. It is built on the summit of a rocky hill on the bank of Pipe creek, and a gentle descent southward and westward, by which wagons may reach the summit. One hundred feet from the base of the rock there is a ledge or landing place; on this ledge rises the shot tower, of frame, eighty feet to the roof; of course

the depth from the top of the Tower to the base of the rock is one hundred and eighty feet; a well or shaft has been sunk through the rock, which is of sandstone, one hundred feet, and a lateral drift or entrance, ninety feet in length, seven feet high and six feet wide has been cut from the bank of the creek to the perpendicular shaft. A small railway is erected within the lateral drift, communicating with the well, and extending to the finishing house, which is built on the bank of the creek, immediately opposite the entrance of the shaft. On this railway the shot is carried in small boxes or cars from the basin or well, by a horse power, into the finishing house; the same power by various machinery is employed in drying the shot in a cylinder over an oven; from the oven the shot is carried into the polishing barrel, and thence the various sizes are passed over the several inclined floors for separation, and taken to the separating sieves; after which the several sizes are weighed, bagged, and put into kegs; a steamboat can lie at the door of the finishing house for the purpose of taking the commodity to market.

"This establishment would do honor to any old settlement in the east; the public spirit of the proprietors deserves remuneration in the profits of their business. I am informed that five thousand weight of shot is the usual quantity made per diem, by one set, that is six hands—twice the quantity can be made by doubling the hands—of course there is no want of pigs of lead in the country."

During the thirty years of its existence as a going concern, the property changed hands a number of times. The highest recorded price paid for it was ten thousand dollars in 1836, and the same consideration is mentioned again in a transfer in 1838. Thereafter the selling value of the property seemingly declined. The prosperity of Helena was

closely linked with that of the shot tower; for a time there were indications that the hamlet would develop into a place of importance. In 1836 Helena was one of a dozen or more places suggested in the legislature for the capital of the territory. Each of the places thus named was rejected by a vote of 6 ayes and 7 nays before Madison was finally selected. When the railroad was built from Madison to Prairie du Chien, it passed a mile or more to the northward and on the opposite side of the river. Helena was thus doomed to decay, and the panic of 1857 merely hastened the event. Today the site is a state park, in which scarcely a trace of the old village can be found.

Theodore Rodolf states that in 1845 the shot tower was operated by C. C. Washburn, later governor of Wisconsin.[4] It appears from the records that Washburn controlled the industry thereafter until the business was discontinued in 1861 with the breaking out of the Civil War. During this later period the pig lead was obtained largely from furnaces at Dodgeville, Ridgeway, and Blue Mounds. The shot was packed in bags, kegs, or boxes, and prior to the building of the railroad most of it was hauled by teams to Milwaukee, where it was loaded on lake boats for shipment to eastern points. The round trip from Helena to Milwaukee took about ten days. A small portion of the product was shipped down river to Galena or over the Wisconsin-Fox waterway to Green Bay.

Strangely enough, the last years of the shot industry at Helena were the most prosperous in its history, probably because the railroad had eliminated the long wagon hauls. In a footnote to the excellent article entitled "The Helena Shot Tower" by Dr. Orin G. Libby the following figures are given to indicate the railroad shipments of shot from 1855 to 1861:[5]

[4] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xv, 387.
[5] *Ibid.*, xiii, 369.

1855—160,844 lbs.
1856—277,839 lbs.
1857—415,714 lbs.
1858—205,377 lbs.
1859—341,104 lbs.
1861— 16,480 lbs. (discontinued in early spring)

After operations ceased in the early part of 1861, the machinery was sold to various purchasers and the buildings dismantled or moved elsewhere. The real estate was not considered of great value, for we find it sold for taxes in 1864 for $46.85. In 1882 it was sold for $55; in 1889 Jenkin Lloyd-Jones, eminent Chicago clergyman and lecturer, purchased the tract for $60, a transaction that eventuated in the preservation of the charming natural beauty of the place and a better knowledge on the part of Wisconsin people of its historic background.

In 1890 the Tower Hill Pleasure Company was incorporated for the purpose of providing a vacation place for cultured people with limited means. As originally planned it was to be a beautiful camping ground with a pavilion for lectures, a public dining room, and such cottages or tents as the campers saw fit to erect for themselves. A summer school was conducted which brought instructors and students from every part of Wisconsin and from other states. The Reverend Jenkin Lloyd-Jones gave freely of his time and world-recognized talents to make Tower Hill Assembly a spiritual and intellectual center. The place was frequented year after year by the farmers and villagers of the region who, regardless of race or creed, came to listen to the great clergyman and teacher. After the death of Jenkin Lloyd-Jones in 1918 the educational assembly was discontinued, although camping parties still came to enjoy the summer beauty of the grounds. In 1922, the titles having been perfected, the entire property was presented by Mrs. Jenkin

Lloyd-Jones to the state of Wisconsin for a state park. Although the area is a little less than sixty acres, it is one of the most popular of the state parks. Its scenic beauty, its historic interest, and its accessibility will insure an increasing number of visitors as the years go by.

DOCUMENTS

LETTERS OF THE REVEREND ADELBERT INAMA, O. PRAEM.

[Continued from December, 1927, issue of this magazine]

VII

CONCERNING THE CARE OF SOULS IN UTICA, CONSTABLEVILLE, AND WEST TURIN

[Utica, Feb. 19, 1844 (continued)] During December, January, and February I went to West Turin, near Constableville. There I experienced a winter just like those in the higher regions of North Tyrol. Snow fell in October and did not disappear again. The last time I found it five to six feet deep. Everything is beautifully leveled there; posts and fences have disappeared and only the roofs of log houses jut out of the snow, whereas here in Utica the snow is only about four inches deep, and we have had that only since the middle of January. The cause of this difference lies in the high location of Constableville, entirely unprotected on the north. That region is the source of the rivers which flow to the east, north, and west—the Mohawk, Blue, and Fish rivers. The country has a magnificent soil and no rocks; it is therefore very easily cultivated, and in large part under cultivation. Some years ago a few Swiss also settled there to make cheese, and they profit very well, for their cheeses bring double prices. Utica is exactly four hundred and thirty-seven feet above sea level, Constableville at least twice that.

In spite of the severe winter, the deep snow, and the present unexampled cold, the people, to my edification, attended services unusually conscientiously. On Sundays the church was packed full; on week days all the seats were oc-

cupied. That was hard work. The four or five days that I could stay I had to spend almost entirely in the church. Confession from seven to eleven, then holy mass and communion, and after that baptisms. Sunday-school at twelve-thirty and then confession again until after dark. Last Sunday there were eight baptisms and two marriages. At half past two, when vespers were due, I was still in the church, having had nothing to eat. At first I was quite exhausted by evening; now I do not notice it. In fact I feel much healthier. God and practice and joy over the enthusiasm of the people have accomplished that. One day for which I had announced Sunday-school and confessions in the afternoon, a terrific snow-storm commenced. I debated some time whether to go to church or not, as I doubted that there would be anyone there. Finally I went, however, battling my way with difficulty through the snow for half a mile and, to my shame, found practically every child there, and confessions lasted into the night. Unless the weather is unspeakably bad one can count on two hundred communicants. Do not such people deserve a priest? In nine months I have baptized sixty children and in that time there were only three deaths. That shows how healthy this region is. The attachment of these good people to their priest is very great. In order to satisfy their importunity I should really stay in a different house every time that I come; however I stay alternately at two Irish houses, because they are nearest to the church. On the trip there and back I always stop over night at a prosperous German farmhouse, five miles from the church, whose inmates accompany me to the church and call for me there again.

Now I must tell you of a few cases which throw some light on the local activity of a pastor. "This is a free country!" One observes some who not only say this, but act accordingly. Excellent as the majority of the German Catholics here are, nevertheless there are here, as everywhere, individuals who lead godless lives. At the start I was told in Constableville that two people, otherwise married, were living in adulterous concubinage to the scandal of the entire parish. They stubbornly denied this until a living proof—a

child—was brought to the church for baptism. Then it was time to interfere. I drove the mother, who brazenly presented herself for blessing, out of the temple and told the congregation assembled in church that, so long as this scandal should continue, they would both be excluded from the congregation and it would be the duty of the officers to deny them entrance to the church. The scandal continues, but the church is no longer desecrated by the presence of the evil-doers.

Mixed marriages are common here.[49] Rich and respected Catholics, especially Irish, are often ashamed of their poor compatriots, and therefore marry native-born from higher-class Protestant families. Such Protestant women, however, gradually turn Catholic. During my last visit to Constableville, two such couples presented themselves to be married. I immediately gave a sermon on this subject in the church, which brought it about that one couple separated voluntarily; the other, however, followed me to Utica in a few days, where I married them according to the regulations prescribed for such cases.

In this free country many also believe themselves able to live without any religion. These are called Nothings, Unbelievers, or Indifferentists. Among others there lives here in Utica a numerous, well-to-do German family—aged parents with many grown-up, married children. The parents are good Catholics, but must bear the cross of having several Nothings among their children. I had to visit the old, blind,

[49] "Mixed" technically refers to marriages between Catholics and baptized non-Catholics. Frequently it is used to include marriages between the former and non-Christians. Both cases form impediments, either illicit or invalidating, and require dispensations. The regulations in force in the New York diocese as revealed by its first synod in 1842 are sufficiently explicit to give an idea of canon law on this subject. Decree XV declares that in every case involving marriage of Catholics and non-Catholics a priest must seek a dispensation from the bishop. Though a dispensation be granted, no priest shall assist at such marriages without receiving the solemn promise of the non-Catholic to permit a free practice of religion for the Catholic party, and to educate his children in the Catholic faith. A priest shall hardly assist at such marriages in church, or use the Catholic ritual, or wear ecclesiastical vestments. Decree XIX is given for its possible interest: Non-German priests, and those not in charge of Germans, are not allowed to unite in marriage without the permission of the pastor concerned, persons whose vernacular is German and who belong to some parish. Where no German pastor exists, others may assist. *Vide Synodorum . . . Neo-Eboracensis . . ., op. cit.*, 14-15.

and distracted mother several times. She complained to me that one of her sons had not received the holy sacraments since he had been in America. Upon her request I reminded him not to let this go for a full thirteen years. Later I learned that he liked me and had confidence in me. This pleased me and I began to hope. Two months ago I had to hold services for one of his brothers who was drowned in the river, at which he appeared with the rest of the relations. Then the mercy of the Lord began to take noticeable effect upon him. He came to me in the sacristy after the ceremony, with tears in his eyes, and made a substantial present to the church. I shook his hand in a friendly way saying that I hoped to see him again soon. "I will come," he said, and left. The case is further complicated by the fact that he was married to his Protestant wife according to Protestant ceremony, and first had his children baptized Protestant, and only in response to the pleas of his parents and even of his Protestant wife had the Catholic baptism followed. Finally this man actually came, humbled and repentant, to confession. I hope that his soul and his family are saved. Similar cases of conversion occur frequently; but of course they can, as a rule, take place only when and where Catholic priests are available.

I am actually beginning to make conversions on the strength of confidence in Raffeiner's mission to obtain Tyrolese priests. The Bishop himself is full of joyful hope. Yesterday I received another friendly letter from him. I shall inform him at once of the favorable reports which I recently received from home. Continue at least to encourage us. I ask you also for a few lines again. But please, if possible, write on one sheet; for here the letters are not weighed but the number of pieces of which they consist are counted, even if it is only an envelope or an inch-wide slip. The letter-rate is high. A plain letter from New York costs thirty kroner, each letter from Europe at least a gulden.

Utica, April 5 [1844]. (From the same correspondence.) Your letter of February 4 reached me the first of this month. First of all I want to answer the question, why mail from America to Europe is much more regular and rapid

than mail from Europe to America. The causes are easily comprehensible. The Gulf Stream, taking its way from the Gulf of Mexico in several streams toward Europe and North America, helps east-bound ships as much as it hinders those west-bound. A second cause is the fact that at least three-fourths of the time the prevailing winds are westerly, which, when they blow strong and steadily, will drive a sailing vessel to Europe in fourteen days, whereas west-bound ships may have to battle them for fifty or sixty days before they finally reach the American coast. Your letter left Innsbruck on the fifth and Havre only on the seventeenth of February. It must have lain there six or seven days before the mail-boat sailed. That can be avoided to some extent. The mail-boats leave New York and Havre regularly on the first, eighth, sixteenth, and twenty-fourth of each month. You can easily find out at the Innsbruck post office how long a letter takes from Innsbruck to Havre, and can always write so that it will arrive the day before the next sailing-date.[50]

VIII

A Gleam of Hope from Tyrol

Utica, April 5, 1844. In regard to the consoling contents of your letter in itself, I must limit myself this time to the most necessary. I pointed out in my earlier letters that the chief difficulty of the German missionaries here arose from their relation to the Irish bishops. These naturally desire to anglicize the German settlers, so as to be able to do without German missionaries. However, it is not difficult to make them understand that this cannot be accomplished easily and speedily, and can be forced only with terrible disadvantage to the spiritual welfare of the Germans. Besides, it is impossible to fuse the two nationalities into one. I live on the most confidential and friendly terms with the Irish priests of the region. They suffer considerable pecuniary loss from the separation of the Germans; indeed, the Irish

[50] *Kath. Blätter*, no. 23 (June 8, 1844), *Supplement* no. 22, 550, 554.

Catholics in Salina will probably no longer be able to support a priest of their own and will be obliged to unite with those of Syracuse. However, they are now so fully convinced of the necessity of special care for the German Catholics, that they accept the bitter necessity willingly.

How your news from Tyrol makes me rejoice in the Lord! Before, I could not see a ray of hope for future assistance, while now I behold the actual commencement of the realization of a great desire. Is not God's hand visible therein? But what I would especially request is: Do not consider too long; act, and it is important to act quickly. Every day threatens loss; moreover, loss of souls!

Unfortunately I learned today from New York that a packet which I sent to a friend there for re-mailing did not reach him. It contained a letter of thanks to Count Ludwig von Sarnthein, a report for you, and the *Catholic Almanac* of the dioceses of the United States. Perhaps it will still turn up. In any case it will arrive two months too late.

It is impossible for me to write more today. In two weeks I must go to the Rt. Reverend Bishop in New York in order to discuss all these matters with him. Then I will write an extra long letter.[51]

Efforts toward the Founding of a Mission Bureau

Utica, July 29, 1844. (Original Correspondence.) Two weeks ago I received from P. Florian Schwenninger from Fiecht your letter of May 4; today your next letter of June 6, by mail.[52] Both letters tended to weaken my courage through my hope; however, they had exactly the opposite effect. Even if the first attempt to establish a mission bureau of their own for the German Catholic emigrants to North America has failed, I pray to God that in due time this plan will be taken up again and brought to completion. The priests whom P. Raffeiner brought back with him will probably suffice for the most urgent needs of his own

[51] *Kath. Blätter,* no. 23 (June 3, 1844), *Supplement* no. 22, 554.

[52] The Rev. Florian Schwenninger, Benedictine monk of the monastery at Fiecht, Tyrol, was born in Schwaz, January 30, 1809; ordained 1832; left for the United States May 2, 1844. In the New York diocese 1845-1848; Utica, 1846-1848; California, 1854-1868; died June 28, 1868. *Vide* note 47 *infra; Catholic Almanac* (1845-1869); U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc., *op. cit.,* ix, 167.

region.[53] However, the greatest need for help is in the western states, especially in the territories of Wisconsin and Iowa, where the majority of German immigrants now go by preference, since land is still cheap there, very rich, and easy to cultivate. Last year the number of Germans who went there through New York alone was, according to official ship registers, fifteen thousand; this year over ten thousand in the month of June alone. If one assumes that only one-third of those immigrants are Catholic (one could assume at least one-half), then there would be an increase in this short time of eight thousand souls. The Catholics, however, do not, like Protestants, bring their own pastor and schoolteacher with them from Europe. Unless they are to suffer without consolation in their deserted situation, and if not in the first at least in the second generation lose the true faith, then continuous and attentive support is absolutely necessary.

But that can be provided only by the means I indicated before; namely, by a permanent German mission bureau for our fellow-believers, run by German missionaries. You need not fear affronting thereby the Irish bishops. They are not so imprudent or partisan that they would not prefer something to nothing; that they would not rather see a part of their flock assisted than none. Granted, even, that at first they might not like it, still they would finally praise it when its beneficent results became clear to all the world. Should such petty human prejudices be able to bring to nothing so praiseworthy a plan which, with God's help, is sure to succeed? A bureau of our own, then, is necessary; all else is useless patch-work.

Two weeks ago our Bishop sent me my beloved fellow-countryman, P. Florian, to assist me in this region, and a special commission for me to prepare the churchly affairs of the surrounding communities for the installation of permanent missionaries. I utilized the entire past week for this purpose, and have already reported my success to the Bishop; at the same time, however, requesting a three months'

[53] *Vide supra*, note 47; also U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc., *op. cit.*, ix, 169; *Salesianum* (April, 1927, St. Francis, Wisconsin), 22-28.

leave of absence in order to visit the West. You can expect further—and I hope interesting—reports. Among other things I hope to present to you for certain a long list of congregations in need of pastors, and at the same time the pleased readiness of the Bishop to accept this assistance thankfully.

How strangely things turn out! Half a year ago I was advised by letter how much church equipment—altar-pieces, money, books, etc.—was ready for me and still being collected. Now several of our countrymen have arrived and have not brought me even a picture. In order to stimulate the people of Syracuse, Salina, and Manlius to church-building, I promised to provide the first necessary equipment of the churches; I also gave them hope of some financial support. Will the Tyrol allow me to be disgraced?

But how, you may ask, can one send priests and money to a country wherein their houses and churches are burned down? It is true this happened in Philadelphia. And in Indiana the people cruelly murdered the leaders of the Mormons, although they had been placed in prison under the protection of the law. However, no one cries and complains so loudly thereof, or is so ashamed of it, as the American people themselves. As a close observer, I saw the storm and the inevitable explosion coming. That it happened just in Philadelphia would seem to be natural. The storm, to be sure, brought destruction at the point where it struck, but refreshing rain to the region as a whole. The Lord knows not only how to bring forth great from small things, but also splendid good from evil. Catholicism has gained greatly thereby; its enemies are silenced and in disgrace. Every influential and honorable man has openly disavowed the bigoted fanatics (Nativists), and they are now permanently destroyed. For that, the second act was necessary, in which it has now become generally recognized that all the fault was on the side of the Nativists. It is also worth noticing that all anger was directed exclusively toward the Irish, and that the character of the Germans was even praised in comparison with them. The battle was originally purely political, directed against the foreign-born citizens. The two

ruling parties, Whigs and Democrats, are of about equal strength. Thus the foreigners, being almost exclusively Democratic, nearly always threw the victory at the polls to the Democrats. As the Irish, naturally, on account of their close organization, almost always determine the election of the Democrats, the Whigs decided to revenge themselves upon them. In order to electrify the masses against them, religion was injected into the political battle. "Bible!" "No Popery!" "O'Connell!" and "Bishop Hughes!" became the battle-cries of the Nativists, which, however, went up in the smoke of the Philadelphia fire.[54]

The law rules in its sovereignty, and friendly calm has followed the storm. So no fear nor worry! The situation is excellent. The trouble in the large local asylum was smoothed over to everyone's satisfaction by the Bishop upon his return.

I must limit myself this time to this little, but can promise more and more interesting for next time.[55]

Inama's Trip to the West: Dubuque and St. Louis

Salina, November 14, 1844 (Correspondence.) I returned here on the fourth of this month from my trip to the West, which I mentioned in my last letter. It took just two full months. I covered in a straight line fifteen degrees from east to west and seven and a half from north to south; counting the deviations, I traveled over three thousand miles. Over two thousand of these were in steamboats on the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, the Father of Waters; the other thousand were partly on railroads and partly in stage-coaches. The westernmost point was Dubuque, on the far side of the Mississippi in Iowa Territory; the northernmost was Mackinac Island in the channel where three lakes—Huron, Michigan, and Superior—join; the most southerly point

[54] May 6-9, 1844, two Catholic churches, St. Michael's and St. Augustine's, both Irish, a Catholic school for girls, the rectory of St. Augustine's with a valuable library were burned. Contemporary views may be read in the *U. S. Cath. Mag.* (June, 1844), 379-384, 403-404. There were riots also in July and August; *ibid.* (August, 1844), 588. *Vide* pamphlet *Catholicism Compatible with Republican Government* (New York, 1844), 10; regarding causes, pamphlet *Address of Catholic Lay Citizens* (Philadelphia, 1844).

[55] *Kath. Blätter*, no. 37 (September 9, 1844), 879.

was St. Louis in Missouri. On my journey I covered Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin from one end to the other. In Iowa I saw the Mississippi shore, over two hundred miles long, with numerous growing cities, from Dubuque to the southern boundary; in Missouri I went as far south as St. Louis. In all five of the bishops' seats[56] I gathered notes on the state of Catholicism, and particularly of German Catholics, partly from the bishops themselves, partly from the most experienced missionaries. These form a rich treasure, on which I can work and from which I can report throughout the entire year.

You will doubtless ask why I did not stay forthwith in the West. All the bishops could have used me and would gladly have kept me. One of them even tried to exercise moral coercion to force me to remain. But I had to return temporarily to my post or violate a sacred duty of conscience. It was this way: In April I was with the Bishop of New York just as he received a letter from P. Raffeiner with the news that he would return shortly with eight other priests. I therefore requested the Bishop to permit me to continue according to the plan of my journey, which he promised to do upon the arrival of the expected priests. Raffeiner did not arrive until July and brought only two priests, P. Schwenninger and P. Ambrose Buchmair, a Capuchin, for this diocese instead of the expected eight. In the meantime a German missionary, Mertz, at Buffalo had died, so that the actual increase in the number of priests was only one.[57] The Bishop thereupon would no longer consider the promise he had made; on the contrary, he commissioned me to arrange church affairs and supervise the building of the church at the mission of Syracuse, Salina, Manlius, and surround-

[56] Detroit, Milwaukee, Chicago, Dubuque, St. Louis.

[57] *Supra*, note 47. *Catholic Almanac* (1845-1864), Buchmair spent his ministry at St. Nicholas' (German) Church in New York City until his death in 1861. The Rev. Nicholas Mertz was born in Germany 1763; ordained 1791; labored in Europe until 1811; came to the United States in 1811 and worked in the Baltimore diocese to 1826; at Conewago until 1829; Buffalo until 1838, when he left for Eden, New York, because of lay-trusteeism; there he died in 1844. He built in 1831 the first church in Buffalo, partly from a fund of $3,000 he had collected in Europe to build a church for Eden. *Vide Catholic Almanac* (1834-1843); Bishop Timon of Buffalo, *Missions in Western New York* (Buffalo, 1862), 213, 219, 283.

ings, which I had founded. Under these conditions I could not very well demand complete dismissal, and asked instead for a two months' leave of absence, during which time P. Florian Schwenninger took over the entire care of the mission as it devolved upon me. Thus I started for the West with a promise of return solemnly given to the parish and the Bishop. While still on my journey, a letter from the Bishop overtook me, in which he insistently demanded my return, with the statement that he could not provide a substitute for me until spring, and endowed me with all the powers necessary for the completion of the church-building contract.

Thus I am here again and am building the first mission church, which will be sufficiently enclosed by New Year's to hold celebrations in it.[58] The church will be frame or wooden, on an eight-foot stone foundation, which will serve also as a schoolhouse and, in case of need, as a priest's residence. You can hardly imagine how beautifully such churches turn out. One can give the wood various forms so much more easily than stone. To be sure, they do not have the same solidity nor give the same protection against heat and cold. However, in winter all churches here are heated with iron stoves. The cost, including the purchase of land at $400, is estimated at $2,000 (5,000 fl. R. W.). The local parish, at present consisting of eight hundred souls, is made up largely of people of no wealth—farmers in Manlius, salt-workers and laborers in Salina and Syracuse. On account of the lack of a priest of their own, the reception of the holy sacraments and, in fact, nearly all religious practices had almost completely ceased among them. It was highest time that something be done to save them from formal apostasy or complete indifference. With God's help I hope to be well under way now. Their enthusiasm begins to re-awaken; they crowd joyfully about their priest and the partially completed church, and always do whatever they can. To be sure,

[58] Father Inama perhaps referred to the first mission church of the Germans, or to the first he had built. There was no dedicated church there as late as 1842, but there was a mission there as early as 1834, attended by the Rev. F. O'Donoghue. *Catholic Almanac* (1834 and 1843). The Rev. John Mullany, *The Pioneer Church of the State of New York* (Syracuse, 1897), 40 and 45, indicates that Salina had a church in 1827.

I have given them hope of outside assistance, especially from my home. I place little confidence in Vienna, which is bombarded too much from all sides.[59] However, I will make an attempt there with the most worthy Archbishop, who at least expressed himself to Raffeiner as wishing the German-Catholics in America well. I expect Tyrol to do all the more for this mission and Tyrolese missionaries. Please send the contributions received and still to be received to the Bishop in New York with a designation for the church in Syracuse and Salina, and inform me of them so that I can get them and spend them for the specified purposes. It is time now, also, to send some necessary church equipment, which is well worth the considerable expense of sending; books and pictures are equally necessary and useful. That is for here and the present.—But on my western trip I became acquainted with quite a different part of God's field, which, left to itself, promises only tare, thistles, and thorns, but under industrious hands the richest harvest and thousandfold returns. I cannot go into details today, however, as I must leave for Manlius, eight miles away, to hold mission services and to get the church affairs into order. I can, for the time being, only assure my beloved fellow-countrymen of this, that if Tyrol wishes to help the German-Americans in their

[59] "Vienna bombarded" refers to the missionary aid society in Vienna known as the *Leopoldinen-Stiftung*. In the fall of 1828 the Rev. Frederic Resé, vicar-general of Cincinnati, visited Vienna to awaken interest in the American missions. He compiled a sixty-page pamphlet, *Abriss der Geschichte des Bisthums Cincinnati* (Wien, 1829), from a survey written for the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (Lyons, 1822-) by the Rev. Theodore S. Badin, and from letters therein of his and others, which did much to direct the attention and efforts of Austrians toward founding the *Leopoldinen-Stiftung*. Its statutes were formulated on April 15, 1829. Its purpose was to aid the American missions and to perpetuate the memory of the Archduchess Leopoldina, who had died empress of Brazil. Its means were to be prayer and dues of about two cents weekly. Members were organized into bands of ten, one of whom acted as recorder to collect dues and turn them over to local pastors. The dues then went in turn to deans, bishops, and central committee. The society was exclusively of the Austrian monarchy. The first money returns came in July, 1829. On April 17, 1830, the first money order, for $10,256.04, was sent to Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati. The missions in the United States received between 1830 and 1909 the sum of $676,468. The society still exists. Its reports are published in the *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung* (Wien, 1831-). *Vide Annales....., op. cit.* (November, 1826), ix, 82-138; A. J. Rezek in Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, *Acta et Dicta* (July, 1914), iii, no. 2, 305ff. A financial statement annexed to *Berichte*, xix (1846) records $400 as forwarded to Father Inama in May, 1845.

solitude and need with money and priests, this can be fruitfully and permanently accomplished only through a society which assures a regular yearly income. What splendid things could be accomplished in the course of the years, with an annual contribution of a few thousand gulden, among the poor, deserted Germans in these wild stretches of land!

More about this, as well as my last trip, at the first opportunity.—ADELBERT INAMA.[60]

[Letter published in *Berichte*, xviii (1845), 44. Not reprinted in *Central-Blatt*. Translated by Father Peter Leo Johnson.]

SALINA, ONONDAGO COUNTY, NEW YORK STATE
NOV. 20, 1844.

YOUR GRACE:

The undersigned, a missionary in the diocese of New York, has tried during the past year, by his bishop's orders, to organize the German Catholics in Salina, Syracuse, and thereabout, and to look after their spiritual needs. According to private investigation their number amounts to about one thousand, of which nearly eighty families in Syracuse and Salina live mainly by working in the salt industry; at Manlius, eight miles away, forty-four families are engaged in farming, the rest are scattered twenty miles round about, many especially in the country parish of Mexico. As early as last fall the Most Reverend Bishop, convinced of the pressing need of this parish, promised the first incoming German missionary, and at the same time granted permission to build a German Catholic church. After the return of Vicar-general Raffeiner in July, the Bishop gave the undersigned in the following form the commission to take charge of the spiritual interests of this mission and to superintend the construction of the church: "I give you the necessary authority in making collections and doing everything needful towards the erection of a German Catholic church at Syracuse," etc. The parish at this time bought property for $400, and commenced to build thereon, which upon completion will cost an additional $1,600. The frame church according to plans should be sufficiently enclosed to

[60] *Kath. Blätter*, no. 2 (January 18, 1845), 88.

permit services therein for the coming Christmas. The poor people are very eager and as a consequence nearly overreach their powers—in the expectation, indeed, at times, that when their individual resources no longer suffice outside help should not be lacking. They had reason to expect some aid from their bishop and the Catholics of this diocese. But unfortunately the bishop is at present taken up in the building of a diocesan seminary for which he cannot alone help himself, but calls on us with a view of support from this region, and for which he himself makes a claim on the general aid of the diocese in a pastoral letter.[61] Indeed even the German resources are divided in this mission, because the Germans of Manlius are working to finish their own small church and therefore cannot assist us.

If your Grace adds also the upkeep of priests and later that of the schools, you may form a clear conception of the immensity of our want and of the necessity for assistance from abroad. You see here a numerous but poor and forsaken German congregation, very zealous, but powerless to afford necessities; a priest in their midst who not only is a German, but even an Austrian subject, and who has up to now not asked for help. All these circumstances, but also the sure hope which the most reverend bishop of Tyrol held out to me, encourage me to present with complete trust the very urgent request directly to your Grace, as supreme head of the Leopoldine Society, not to leave us utterly in these pressing needs.

In a certain expectancy of a gracious hearing for his request a most obedient servant kisses reverently the hands of your Grace.

ADELBERT INAMA, M. P.
Member of the reformed monastery of Canons of St. Norbert at Wilten, Tyrol, at present missionary in America.

[61] The corner stone of the new St. Joseph's Theological Seminary, Fordham, was laid March 27, 1845. *Vide U. S. Cath. Mag.* (May, 1845), iv, 335; St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, N. Y., *Monograph Series* vii of the United States Catholic Historical Society (New York, 1922), 18, gives April 8 as the date.

IX

Salina, Feb. 25, 1845. (Correspondence.) Your letter of December 25 of last year arrived here today via Havre. In the meantime I received a very friendly letter from the most worthy Dean Duille of Innsbruck, who gave me a full explanation of the unfavorable turn which our mission plans have taken at home.[62] This news saddens me all the more as I had just become fully convinced during my last trip that nothing here stands in the way of the carrying out of my plan and that it could not fail to accomplish a great deal of good. I have therefore not given it up entirely; but we must search elsewhere for the necessary money.

What consoles me, on the other hand, is the fact that the matter found approval and support in the fatherland and that people there are ready to do what they can under the prevailing unfavorable circumstances. As regards the German Catholic missionaries, I will only say in passing that in the course of the past year, besides the two missionaries, P. Florian Schwenninger and P. Ambrose Buchmair, who arrived with Mr. Raffeiner, later five more, mostly from Alsace, followed. In November arrived also Mr. Kramer, a Bavarian, who should have come with Mr. Raffeiner.[63] To be sure a few more could still find sufficient work here; however, the need here is no longer as great as it was, whereas in other regions it has become even greater.

As the Reverend Mr. Raffeiner might write to Tyrol for a German priest for Constableville, I will briefly describe the conditions there. The region is more elevated and exposed than the Mohawk valley, but fruitful and thickly populated. The nearest priest is at Rome, fourteen miles away.[64] From there it is twenty-four miles to Utica. The postroad, with daily service, goes past the church. The parish has built a small frame parsonage onto the church for the quarters of the priest. There are three acres of land adjacent to the church; fifty more, half of which the parish will put under

[62] The Rev. John Duille, dean, canon, pastor in Innsbruck.
[63] *Vide supra*, note 47. *Catholic Almanac* (1847), the Rev. Mr. Kramer at Lancaster, Erie County, New York.
[64] The Rev. William Beecham, St. Peter's Church. *Catholic Almanac* (1845).

cultivation, at a distance of two miles, prepared for the priest. Besides the use of this land, the parish pays him annually $200 or 500 fl. R. W., in money. In addition there would be 120-150 fl. in incidentals, so that his support would be satisfactorily provided for. This priest would at first have to busy himself a good deal with the school, which however would only help make the loneliness, to which every permanent missionary must accustom himself, easier to bear. This mission is, by comparison, to be considered one of the easiest. One can get to Manlius on the railroad in a half-hour. Unique Mexico is full sixteen miles distant from here.

I have promised the most worthy Bishop and the parish to remain until the building of the church is completed and everything is set in order. Then I shall leave for the West, if I am granted a longer leave of absence, for which I have repeatedly petitioned. How great the need is there will appear from my travel reports, which I will now send over serially. If I succeed in obtaining regular support from Europe I can, with permission of the Bishop, found and put in order several missions there for the reception of German missionaries from home, as I have done here for two years. To facilitate your orientation and understanding I am enclosing a small map, on which my trip is indicated in pencil. You see from it that the German Catholics have settled along the shores and main transportation routes. Florida, formerly Spanish, has been entirely neglected by Spain. The great German emigration company has, strangely, chosen Texas—but I hope not the seashore, the home of yellow fever.

As I predicted, the bloody occurrences in Philadelphia have only helped Catholicism.[65] They gave the country a liberal and tolerant President, who will support the provisions of the Constitution for freedom of religion. In almost constant contact with Protestants of every denomination throughout my entire trip, and doubtless everywhere recognized as a Catholic priest, I was nowhere scorned, rather always received with greatest respect. After much varied

[65] *Supra*, note 54.

experience I must hold to my earlier statement, that in many respects in regard to religion, and especially Catholicism, matters appear much better here than in many European countries. For instance, the missionary is in all his wanderings and on all carriages to and from the church free of turnpike-toll. On steamers and railroads the missionary, if he represents himself as such, travels free and at general meals receives the seat of honor. Steamboats and railroads in Europe do their best business on Sundays, whereas here they do not run at all. Even the carrying of mail on this day is disapproved of by public opinion. On Sundays and holidays the towns are as if dead; everyone is in church; in one of the best hotels I could not even obtain warm food on Sunday. The fact that he had traveled on Sunday damaged Henry Clay greatly as a presidential candidate, and a similar rumor in regard to the elected President Polk had to be officially denied at once. No meeting of Congress [legislature] is opened in any of the states without a solemn prayer. The great number of churches in every place of any importance is also irrefutable proof of the great piety of the people. Unbelief and indifferentism do not build houses of God, but tear them down. To be sure, Freemasonry is at home here as in Europe. But here—in this otherwise so free country—it must be kept even more secret than in Europe, and several anti-Freemason societies have been formed in opposition to it. In short, there is religion aplenty here, only the deviations from the true one are to be regretted. Even the Jesuits do not have the bitter enemies which they have over there. They possess here many colleges which are numerously attended by Protestants as well as Catholics. The only strange thing is that in the United States, with the exception of Oregon, they have very few missionaries and leave even the seminaries mostly to the Lazarists and Sulpicians; probably because these had them and managed them zealously before the Jesuits' arrival.[66]

[66] According to the *Catholic Almanac* (1845), there were twenty-two seminaries and fifteen colleges, five of these being in charge of Jesuits. The Lazarists conducted five of the seminaries, while the Sulpicians had charge of one. About the year 1810 the Flathead Indians received a slight knowledge of Christianity from four poor Iroquois who had wandered to the other side of the

In other ways North America is a wonderful country—so young, and still ahead of Europe in so many ways. With its twenty million inhabitants it has a mileage of canals and railroads practically equal to that of the rest of the world. It feels its superiority and acts accordingly. I was present at the last presidential election and was astonished at the solemnity and quiet of it all, although the parties were almost equal in strength and left nothing undone to gain victory so long as it was in doubt. My travel report, which is to follow, will contain more about this.

The box with the equipment, which the most worthy pastor of Kaltern sent me, has finally arrived. It makes me richer than many a bishop of America. I can equip three churches excellently with it. Protestant as well as Catholic children fight for the pictures. One Protestant girl, in her delight at them, wanted by all means to become a Catholic. If in addition to such and similar things a little assistance should come in the form of money and priests, what all could not be accomplished then! What is sent to me might, unless there is some other favorable opportunity, be sent by way of Basel. But you should always send me a notice in advance by mail, so that it will not, as did the box mentioned, lie four months in New York. . . .

[Letter of the missionary Father Adelbert Inama of Salina, in the state and diocese of New York, to his lordly Grace, the most Reverend Archbishop of Vienna, published in *Berichte*, xix (1846), 57-60. Not reprinted in *Central-Blatt*. Translated by John Koenig, St. Francis.]

Rockies. In 1820 two delegations were sent to St. Louis to secure "blackrobes"; but the first, consisting of three, died of sickness, and the second, of five, was massacred by the Sioux. A third delegation in 1834 received only promises. Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S. J., accompanied the fourth one in 1839 to look over the mission. He came back to St. Louis in December, 1840, but returned to the Indians in the spring of 1841 with two other priests and three lay brothers. In November a village site was fixed in the valley of the Bitter Root River about thirty miles north of Missoula, where a church was built in honor of the Blessed Virgin. In 1843 Father De Smet went to Europe to get help. In January, 1845, he sailed via Cape Horn to the mouth of the Columbia, accompanied by four priests, one lay brother, and six sisters of Notre Dame. He was the superior of the Jesuit missionaries, who numbered in 1845 twelve priests and eight lay brothers. *Vide Catholic Almanac* (1845); *U. S. Cath. Mag.* (February, 1843, Baltimore), 119; *Cath. Ency.*, iv; Joseph Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1921), 124-126.

SALINA, Aug. 29, 1845.

YOUR LORDLY GRACE:

Your most gracious and benevolent letter of June 20, 1845, I received on the sixteenth of this month, whereupon I immediately hastened to New York to cash the received check of 100 pounds sterling, which after much trouble I finally accomplished on the twenty-second inst., at a lowered rate of $4.84 per pound sterling, so that I received the sum of $484 in American money. Had the check been cashed through an exchange on a New York firm, I would have been able to exchange it at an increased rate of a few dollars. So varied are the exchange discounts of the banks.

This important remittance was indeed a providential help in our greatest need. In the carrying on of our church construction we had incurred a debt of about $480, which had to be paid. Several efforts to procure assistance in the diocese miscarried almost entirely; there remained but the one hope, that of European help, which came to our rescue in such a generous manner. The community has thereby been saved from most terrible difficulties, and church and school are advanced to a serviceable position. Much which still remains to be done can gradually be accomplished by the community, as means become available. As a grateful remembrance of the generous benefactors of Europe, I have set up and declared the fifteenth of August, the day on which I received the happy tidings, for all times as a feast of thanksgiving.

With regard to the organization, the present condition, and probable future of my mission, I shall shortly send a detailed account; for the present I shall take the liberty to refer to your lordly grace the object of a plan which I have made for the future, which, if God is willing, should be accomplished next spring.

After the arrival of the missionary Father Florian Schwenninger from Tyrol, at my mission in Utica, I availed myself of the favorable opportunity to carry out my long-planned tour of the far West in order, then and there, to secure from the most Reverend Bishops and best informed missionaries the most necessary information with regard to

the church conditions, especially of the Germans, and to choose for myself a wider sphere of activity for the future. I visited in turn Milwaukee, Dubuque, St. Louis, Chicago, and Detroit. From all that I saw, heard, personally experienced, and drew from the advice and encouragement of the most Reverend Bishops and the most experienced missionaries, I came to the conclusion that I should begin in the West the founding of a house of my order [Ed. note: The Rev. Adelbert Inama was a member of the Praemonstratensian Order of Wilten, Tyrol (the canons of St. Augustine)], as a central point for the missions far distant, and in time as an educational establishment for lay people and clergy. For this reason, property should be bought, and laymen or school-brothers from Tyrol should be called on to clear it. My Reverend Abbot hopes to be able to send me two Fathers of the order next year. I had already chosen the place on my last year's tour, and I believe that in every respect I have made a fortunate selection. It lies in a district of the Wisconsin Territory, as healthful as it is fruitful, on the elevated shores of the Wisconsin River, opposite Prairie du Sac, in the midst of mining districts, only twenty English miles distant from the capital, Madison, and well suited to become quickly and easily populated. The place is joined in three different directions with European seaports, by means of an unbroken waterway: to the south by means of the Mississippi to New Orleans; to the east by means of the Erie Canal to New York; to the north by means of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. It is evident from the enclosed copy of a letter of the most Reverend Bishop Henni of Milwaukee,[67] that for the accomplishment of my purpose I may not only count on his kind permission but even on strong support. Yet the most, yes all, depends on the gracious cooperation of our European benefactors. If I cannot depend on that, it will be utterly impossible to begin a work which requires considerable funds. For that reason I venture at once to place these affairs at the disposal of your kind consideration and approval, and ask the question

[67] *Vide Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, x, 67 (September, 1926), for letter of Bishop Henni to Inama dated July 21, 1845.

whether, if I actually carry out my plan, I may expect the kind support of the worthy Leopoldine Society!

Weak in the consciousness of my own incapacity, but strong and courageous in dependence on God, whose honor alone it serves, I sign myself in a spirit of sincerest gratitude and deepest respect,

Your most lordly Grace

Most unworthy

FATHER ADELBERT INAMA, M. P.[68]

Missionary of Salina, N. Y.

Manlius, Sept. 6. (Correspondence.) I am using a few free moments at this mission in order to give you an exact report of the present condition of my affairs. I received recently two letters: one from the Hungarian Count in Sac Prairie, whose acquaintance, as reported in my last letter, I made on my trip through the West; the other from the bishop of that diocese. The content of the same is literally as follows:

TOWN HARASZTHY, Aug. 15, 1845.

REVEREND SIR,

I received your gracious letter of July 15 of last year, and hasten to reply that I am ready at any time to keep my word, in case you find the means to realize your plan, and place no other condition upon the permanent cession of one hundred acres of land entirely free from any payment whatsoever, except this, that you provide free instruction for the poor children of the environment. Not over a half-mile away there are lands still in the possession of the government, consequently to be bought at one and one-quarter dollars per-acre. A few days ago five more Catholic families settled here, and a large number are still under way. Your honored letter was joyously received by all our Catholic inhabitants, and even the non-Catholic settlers await your arrival with pleasure and without envy; for your

[68] "M. P." possibly means *manu propria;* that is, the letter is an autograph. In some of the letters it has been translated to mean missionary priest.

presence, which although short, made a deep impression upon our people, and your dignified and generous behavior turned the hearts of many of different faith. I am writing at the same time to the most worthy Bishop, to inform him of the above and also with the plea to send more Catholics here. We have likewise to thank you for the above-mentioned growth. Recommending myself and mine to your pious prayers, I remain respectfully,

Your honor's most humble servant and friend,
AGOSTON HARASZTHY

MILWAUKEE, August 23, 1845.

REV. AND MOST HONORED SIR!

I have received your letter of the fourteenth of this month. What I should like to add, as answer, to my former request, is that Your Reverence should move to your chosen spot this year. The rapid growth this summer of the German population on the Wisconsin River makes the presence of a priest imperative. The mere expectation that you will still get there this fall has caused me to send a priest from Salzburg, Mr. Rehrl, to Calumetville rather than to Sac Prairie, although that parish is nothing like as important and already has a priest near by. If it is at all possible, therefore, I beg you to come soon. At any rate write me definitely whether I can expect you here before November. If not, I shall really be forced to send another priest there, since many Rhenish families are moving to the Wisconsin in the expectation of having a priest there soon. So kindly honor me promptly with an answer, and in the meantime may God strengthen you in your undertaking and guide everything to His honor and the salvation of the souls which are already practically confided to your care. With respect and love to Your Reverence.[69]

Most humbly in Christ,
JOHANN MARTIN, Bishop of Milwaukee.

[69] *Supra*, note 67. *Vide Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, 79 (note 1), 870; *ibid.*, xii, 325, for German population and distribution. For the Rev. Casper Rehrl, *vide Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, x, 69 (September, 1926), note 5.

You see from these two letters that the place that of all others pleased me most on my trip of last year is offered to me voluntarily and free of all charge with one hundred acres of land. This land will make two farms and would be sufficient to give me an entirely independent position. A central mission-house and later a college or high school could therefore be founded there. Much of the remaining land could be bought to save it for the Catholic part of the immigrating Germans; for, with the great pressing toward that point, there would be danger that the land there would be bought by others and lost to us. An English colony has already settled only ten miles from there, and at this moment hundreds of families from Wales are passing through here, all of whom are going there with ample means. The land which the Count mentions as still in the hands of the government can be occupied and cultivated at any time, without the necessity of paying the purchase price at once; in fact, it cannot be bought until the government offers it for sale. In this case, however, he who has cultivated it has the prior right of purchase; what he occupies is assured him by law.

From the letter of the most worthy Bishop of Milwaukee you see, furthermore, that I am obliged to leave even in this late fall for the place to which he has appointed me, as he seems to lay great weight on not having the completion of his plans endangered by any delay. I believe that I recognize in this call a sign from God, and therefore count with complete confidence upon his protection and blessing. I have written the most worthy Bishop that, God willing, I will arrive without fail during the month of November. At the same time I wrote the Reverend Mr. Raffeiner that in the meantime a successor should be provided for my present mission. So far then, everything is arranged for the future carrying out of my undertaking. Will you accompany me now for a moment in thought? There we stand on the hills of the Wisconsin River, at 43 degrees north latitude and 90 degrees west longitude. If we draw around this point a circle with a radius of one hundred miles, we shall find within it many scattered Catholics, most of them German, but not a church or chapel and not a single Catholic, let alone a

German-Catholic, priest. That will be my future sphere of influence. There are many missions to be founded there, many churches and chapels to build, etc. Above all it would seem necessary that a second priest should come, so that I, giving consolation to others, should not myself remain without consolation and be obliged to satisfy myself with a *Confiteor* at the foot of the altar. The coming winter will be a severe one for me. I shall probably have to spend most of it on horseback. However, I am confident and full of courage for the future.

I hope you in Europe will be able to judge from this, where pious Christian gifts are required and where they will find use in accordance with their holy purpose. The German Catholic immigrants to the West will then also see planted there the flag of the cross, about which they can gather with the hope that they will not, as often happens, suffer shipwreck of their faith.

My address remains the same until further notice. I will make arrangements so that I shall receive everything safely.—ADELBERT INAMA.[70]

[Letter published in *Kath. Blätter* (Feb. 16, 1846), No. 7, 158. Translated by Father Peter Leo Johnson.]

SAC PRAIRIE, Dec. 12, 1845.

Accept my heartfelt thanks for the latest letter of September 30, and for the news received therein. It reached Sac Prairie on the twenty-fifth of November with me. My departure from Salina took place on September 5, although the Reverend Bishop of New York pressed me very much to remain at least until the beginning of the year; but this was impracticable for me considering the binding engagements and positive claims of the Bishop of Milwaukee. I had never bound myself to the former, but only to help temporarily in an urgent need. Well I arrived in Milwaukee on the twelfth of November by rail and boat on the journey already described by me. On my arrival Bishop Henni was in Cincinnati to be present at the consecration of the cathedral there.[71] Finally on the evening of the eighteenth he came

[70] *Kath. Blätter* (1845), 401.

[71] The cathedral of St. Peter was consecrated November 2, 1845.

back. You can form no idea of the joy with which he welcomed me. He has already listed me in the ecclesiastical almanac for the coming year as located at Sac Prairie. The congregation here is indeed not yet numerous, so this winter I have spare time to devote to the instruction of the school children. Next year assuredly one must count on a very large increase. The Bishop has at the same time added to my pastoral activity the care of the capital, Madison, twenty-five miles distant; Mineral Point, forty-eight miles; Green Lake, ninety miles, and Pineries,[72] one hundred and twenty miles. Besides, an extensive mission trip should be needful soon. Regarding my journey here from Milwaukee I will share with you some observations. After necessary instructions, I left Milwaukee on the twentieth of November for my new destination. I could not take the stage-coach on account of my heavy baggage, which I did not wish to leave behind. Consequently I selected a dray wagon for one way of over one hundred and twenty miles and walked two-thirds of the way alongside of it, by which I gave evidence again of my former skill as a walker. This time we followed a more southern course,[73] so that we nearly touched upon the Illinois boundary. All along I discovered excellent arable land, hardly any poor land. I noticed potatoes and ears of corn larger than ever seen before, and the first half of the trip we met an almost unbroken line of wagons loaded with wheat and pork, which hurried on to Milwaukee for shipment to the East and Europe. The weather was as beautiful, clear, and mild as a May Day in Innsbruck; even the moonlit nights brought no frost. Finally on November 21 a sharp northwest wind brought on a cold rain, and with it the beginning of winter and proportionate temperature of five to six degrees without snow.

In general, and by comparison, the climate here in the West is more moderate than in the East, and the seasons run their course more regularly. In the southern states it may be thought that winter is shorter and milder; on the other

[72] "Pineries" probably for "Pineries," and by conjecture Stevens Point.

[73] Through Hales Corners, Troy, Whitewater, Fort Atkinson, Cambridge, and Madison. *Vide Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, 378, for transportation routes of the time.

hand, various fevers together with an unbreakable heat in summer are missing here, which exact down there so much human life annually, as was the case even this year. A striking proof of the excellence of this region is surely this, that an English emigration company purchases estates here, and has placed thousands hereabouts this year and last, and moreover will send more every year. Since my coming on the twenty-fifth of last month, I made use of the fine weather to ramble through the surrounding country in all directions. I certainly maintain at present that few localities can outdo the environs of Sac Prairie in fertility, variety, romantic beauty, and healthfulness of climate. Wood, water, freestone, clay, lime, and sand—in fact, everything requisite for building—is found here in great plenty. Rich silver-bearing copper mines have been discovered this year a few miles west of here, and the opening of the mines has already begun; for several years copper and lead mines have been operating twenty-five miles south, which stretch out southward through Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. However, the richest silver and copper mines are near the Menominee River, north of this territory, and were detected first in the vicinity of Lake Superior. About here mineral land is at the same time the most productive soil; thus rich metallic veins run below the most fertile of top-soils.

At this time I will add a bit about the locality where, if God wills, I contemplate building in the beginning of the year, with the assistance of the parish, my provisional hermitage and chapel. At this point the Wisconsin River, not one-half mile wide, incloses numerous thickly wooded islands, flows majestically and peacefully between scarped banks very like sculpture, which are covered to the water's edge with grass and overgrown with bushes. The hill upon which the chapel will be built, rises precipitously one hundred and ten feet from the river lowland. The side towards the river, a regular triangle, is covered with grass, and the other sides with oak trees. Back from the river six or seven miles the land becomes level and has pools wherefrom two millstreams rise. Nearly regular hills from a hundred to two hundred

feet in height rise up in this plain, wholly grass-covered, or stocked with oaks and birch, and from which one enjoys a perspective which can vie with the native Swiss Rigi. So is the land on the east. The extensive Sac Prairie stretches on the west side, with a semi-circular ridge in the distant background, where the mineral region commences. This the land of my future residence and sphere of activity, for which I ask your blessing, and commend myself to the ever pious remembrances and prayers of my fellow religious and countrymen. To permit letters and money to reach me with safety and speed, you have only to use the subscribed address.

Par Liverpool Reverend Adelbert Inama Sac Prairie
Heamboat German Catholic Pastor Wisconsin Territory
Boston of United States of
North America

[*To be continued*]

COMMUNICATIONS

SUPERIOR MARKS HISTORIC SPOT

Following is the address of Mrs. William C. Lounsbury at the dedication on Armistice Day, 1927, of a tablet erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution to commemorate the location of the first building in Superior and also the terminus of the first highway leading into that city. Mrs. Lounsbury has recently been elected state historian of the D. A. R. for Wisconsin.

HENRY BUTLER, *Superior*

Members of the D. A. R., friends, we meet here today to commemorate the establishment of the first permanent white settlement in Superior, and also the beginning of the military road which was to link the more settled communities about St. Paul with this new country.

Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and Robert J. Walker of Mississippi were two of the first prominent men to voice the idea that some day there would be a powerful community at the head of Lake Superior. Even at that time there was agitation for a railway from Lake Superior to the Pacific. These facts, coupled with the government grant of land to Michigan to aid in the construction of a ship canal at the Soo, all formed the impetus to start actual settlement in this direction.

Colonel Daniel A. Robertson, Rensselaer R. Nelson, and Daniel A. J. Baker, prominent residents of St. Paul, when they heard that ground had been broken at the Soo, June 4, 1853, started immediately for Superior, and arriving here laid claim to the land adjacent to the Nemadji and to Wis-

consin Point, so as to control the harbor. Here they hoped to found a city, and near where we stand they built their first house. In September, 1853, Colonel Robertson ordered the first cabin to be built, and August Zachau came from Chicago to take charge of its construction. George R. Stuntz, deputy United States surveyor, received the contract to run township lines in the territory where Superior was located. This work had been done by a party in the spring of 1853. Starting at Stillwater, Minnesota in canoes, they followed the St. Croix to its head, then made a two and one-half mile portage to the headwaters of the Brule, went down this river to Lake Superior, and thence to Superior Bay. Other groups of men likewise appreciated the importance of this site for a city and they laid claim to the lands bordering the harbor west of these first arrivals. Among them were James Stenson, Benjamin Thompson, William H. Newton, Charles D. Kimball, and others.

In January, 1854, only seven claim shanties had been built, yet in the convivial celebration of New Year's Eve, 1853, when these rival factions were manifesting great friendship, Judge Baker proposed that they join and cut a road through to the St. Croix River. He said: "We all must use it in getting to the land office at Hudson and in obtaining our mail and provisions. I will furnish the supplies if the rest of you will do the packing, cutting, and logging." This proposition was accepted and January 2, 1854, fourteen choppers set to work to cut a trail twenty feet in width for fifty-seven miles through dense forest to Chase's Camp on the St. Croix. On February 18 the *Minnesota Democrat* announced that a party came through on the new road from Lake Superior and pronounced its location excellent. The credit for the engineering in laying out this route belongs to George R. Stuntz. Later surveying was done by Peter E. Bradshaw, while E. C. Clarke, R. G.

Coburn, Horace Saxton, and other old settlers superintended the construction. The next season Henry M. Rice, delegate to Congress from the Territory of Minnesota, secured an appropriation of $20,000 from the Government for its completion and bridging. Thus a highway was developed over which our early settlers traveled back and forth to the more settled communities south of us.

All these men recognized this location as a strategic one, for here they saw that the ships from the lower lake ports would unload their cargoes, and the railroads already talked of would carry these products into the new country to the south and west. We know that this has come to pass as they foresaw it. About us today is a great transportation center, shipping and receiving in this harbor a greater tonnage than that in any other freshwater port in the world; while bordering the harbor has been built an industrial center with a population of a hundred and seventy-five thousand. It seems very fitting, therefore, that we, the Daughters of the American Revolution, with this monument commemorate the beginning of our city here on the shore of Lake Superior, and also the building of the highway which made it accessible from the settled country in the valley of the Mississippi.

Now, seventy-five years later, we again look into the future; we see not only the ships from the lower lake ports, which these early settlers anticipated, but with the opening of the Deep Waterway through the St. Lawrence to the ocean, we see ships from all ports of the world pass within sight of this monument and with bonds of trade cement bonds of peace and fellowship among the nations.

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

During the quarter ending January 10, 1928, there were 148 additions to the membership of the State Historical Society. Thirty persons enrolled as life members: Edward Anderson, Madison; James B. Blake, Milwaukee; Mrs. Mary D. Bradford, Kenosha; Mrs. T. E. Brittingham, Madison; James E. Coleman, John Cudahy, Milwaukee; Nathaniel B. Dexter, Ashland; E. T. Fairchild, Milwaukee; Mrs. Clara B. Flett, Gilson G. Glasier, Madison; William F. Hannan, Milwaukee; Spencer Haven, Hudson; Merwin H. Jackson, Frank W. Lucas, Madison; Dr. P. J. Majerus, Fort Atkinson; F. C. Mintzlaff, Grafton; August C. Moeller, Milwaukee; Charles V. Porter, Viroqua; Herman Reel, Milwaukee; Dr. Hans H. Reese, Madison; Hiram A. Sawyer, Col. Horace M. Seaman, Milwaukee; William H. Spohn, Madison; Perry J. Stearns, Milwaukee; Dr. Irene T. Stemper, Oconomowoc; James A. Stone, Reedsburg; Nipo Strongheart, Yakima, Wash.; Howard Teasdale, Sparta; Dr. Michael R. Wilkinson, Oconomowoc; George E. Williams, Oshkosh.

One hundred and six persons became annual members: William J. P. Aberg, Chester Allen, C. J. Anderson, J. L. Armbruster, Madison; Mrs. Florence Gratiot Bale, Galena, Ill.; Tyler D. Barney, Sparta; Dr. John G. Barnsdale, Milwaukee; Ralph D. Bienfang, Madison; Arthur R. Boerner, Port Washington; E. E. Brossard, Madison; Edward E. Browne, Waupaca; Dr. C. H. Bunting, Mrs. Louise Carpenter, Madison; John E. Cashman, Denmark; Angelo Cerminara, Milwaukee; Lynn C. Coapman, Kilbourn; Cornelius Colbert, Racine; A. H. Cole, Madison; Timothy T. Cronin, Oconomowoc; Susan B. Davis, Percy M. Dawson, L. Wayland Dowling, Madison; John Englund, Wittenberg; George Ettenheim, Milwaukee; F. R. Farr, Eau Claire; Theodore Faville, Madison; Irving A. Fish, Milwaukee; Arthur E. Flannagan, Randolph; W. D. Frost, James G. Fuller, Madison; Paul Gauer, Milwaukee; Fred W. Genrich, Wausau; Max Griebsch, Irwin Griggs, Adolph Haentzschel, Madison; Lambert A. Hansen, Sparta; Hans Hanson, Black River Falls; Richard Harrington, Oshkosh; Joseph K. Hart, Madison; Clarence J. Hartley, Superior; K. L. Hatch, Madison; Margaret Healy, Antigo; Ruth Henderson, C. A. Herrick, A. R. Hohlfeld, Madison; E. E. Husband, Balsam Lake; Frank A. Jackson, Colby; Cyril M. Jansky, Madison; Dr. J. R. Jones, Randolph; Charles A. Kading, Watertown; Dr. H. A. Keenan, Stoughton; Fred T. Kelly, Madison; Mark J. Kerschensteiner, Fort Atkinson; Charles E. King, William A. Klatte, Edwin W. Knappe, Milwaukee; Dr. W. T. Lindsay, Madison; C. E. Lovett, Park Falls; Bart E. McCormick, Ford H. MacGregor, Madison; James P.

McLean, Menomonie; J. J. McManamy, Madison; Dr. Charles G. Maes, Kimberly; Dr. William S. Middleton, Madison; Dr. J. R. Minahan, Dr. P. R. Minahan, Green Bay; John Morgan, Appleton; Dr. Joseph A. Mudroch, Columbus; F. Louise Nardin, Madison; Rev. W. H. Nellen, St. Francis; Dr. Louis H. Nowack, Watertown; Dr. Marvin G. Peterson, Lake Mills; J. R. Pfiffner, Stevens Point; William F. Raney, Appleton; Charles W. Reeder, Carl B. Rix, Milwaukee; Dr. George H. Robbins, Madison; Herbert S. Roswell, Oconomowoc; Asa M. Royce, Platteville; Oliver S. Rundell, Allan F. Saunders, Madison; Dr. August Sauthoff, Mendota; E. B. Schlatter, Madison; Mrs. Julia A. Schnetz, Racine; George M. Sheldon, Tomahawk; Dr. D. E. Smith, Richland Center; Clarence E. Soderberg, Rice Lake; Dr. W. K. Stratman-Thomas, Madison; W. M. Steele, Superior; Daniel W. Sullivan, Sam T. Swansen, Milwaukee; Evelyn Elizabeth Taylor, Elroy; Milford J. Taylor, Green Bay; Dr. W. A. Taylor, Portage; William D. Thompson, Racine; Norton A. Torke, Milwaukee; Otis L. Trenary, Kenosha; Dr. O. C. Vingom, Ernst Voss, Madison; W. W. Warren, Tomah; Charles E. Whelan, Madison; Mrs. Juliet Thorp Whitehead, Janesville; Mrs. Howard D. Williams, Viroqua; Joseph Witmer, Appleton; Edgar J. Witzeman, Casimir D. Zdanowicz, Madison.

Five Wisconsin libraries became members: Crandon, Ellsworth, Hayward, Osseo, Prairie du Chien.

The high schools at Algoma and Baraboo enrolled as members.

Louise H. Elser, Beaver Dam, changed from the annual to the life membership class.

NECROLOGY

Curator William Irvine of Chippewa Falls died December 26, 1927, at the age of seventy-six. Mr. Irvine was born at Mount Carroll, Illinois, and came to Chippewa Falls at the close of the Civil War. He was the last of the group of lumbermen who operated in the pineries of Chippewa valley, having managed for forty years the Chippewa Lumber and Boom Company. This company operated what was called the largest sawmill in the world, which closed in 1911. Mr. Irvine in 1895 presented a large park to his city, which he improved and beautified in many ways. He was elected curator of our Society in 1924 and reëlected at the last annual meeting.

The Reverend Stanley E. Lathrop, of Madison, died there December 26 after a life of usefulness to his adopted state. Born in New York in 1843, he was but ten years of age when his father came as a home missionary to the frontier town of New London. His son was later (1872-1878) pastor at the same place. Young Lathrop was attending Beloit College when he volunteered in the First Wisconsin Cavalry, and after four years of service returned to his college, where he graduated in 1867. He held several pastorates in Wisconsin and in the South,

retiring in 1912 to live in Madison. There he was chaplain of Lucius Fairchild post G. A. R. and state chaplain of the Grand Army. For some years he acted as guide in the Capitol. His interest in historical matters was keen, and he wrote several articles on the state's early days.

Since our last issue, two pioneer women of Milwaukee have passed away, Mrs. James G. Jenkins on November 5 and Mrs. William Grant Fitch on October 25. Mrs. Jenkins was the only daughter of Judge Andrew Galbraith Miller, first federal judge of Wisconsin, who settled in Milwaukee in 1838; there his daughter was born in 1842, and in 1870 married Judge Jenkins, who was later her father's successor on the federal bench. Mrs. Fitch came to Milwaukee in 1839 as a child of three years of age. She prepared for this magazine (ix, 80-89) the charming sketch entitled "A Little Girl of Old Milwaukee."

ACQUISITIONS

Mrs. Louise Schneider Marshall of Milwaukee has given the Society a few papers of her father, Dr. Joseph Schneider, and of her grandfather Christian Preusser, all in German. They consist of an address before an international medical association at Berlin, the inventory of an estate, and the day book of the Preusser jewelry establishment in Milwaukee from 1859 to 1885.

From Mrs. Fannie Barber Knapp, of Lancaster, Wisconsin, the Society has received some interesting literary mementoes of Joseph Carman Cover, who died July 4, 1872. Mr. Cover was born at Smithfield, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, in 1819. He came to Wisconsin in 1846 and in 1851 became editor of the *Herald* at Lancaster, of which he continued the active head until July, 1869, when he went as American consul to Fayal, Azores Islands, leaving the paper in charge of his son, John Cover. Ill health induced this step. Though benefited for a time by the mild climate of the Azores, he gradually weakened and died on shipboard while attempting to return to his family.

Mr. Cover was one of the strongest county editors of his day, and one of the documents in his hand gives a detailed account of the principles governing his editorial conduct (see *ante*, 247-268); also some of the political and other problems with which he struggled successfully as editor of the *Herald*. There is also a volume of elaborate letters descriptive of European conditions about 1870-1871. These are virtually essays on topics in which Mr. Cover was interested. There are also numerous clippings representing his editorial correspondence.

Mrs. Jane Bailey Burdick, of Oshkosh, has presented to the Society a very early letter book of Governor James Duane Doty. The first letter in it is dated Detroit, June 21, 1822, and is directed to the Honorable Cadwallader D. Colden, member of Congress from New York.

There are other letters from Mackinac, Green Bay, and Prairie du Chien, the last of which is dated January 22, 1830. The entire volume of one hundred and sixty-eight manuscript pages is written in Governor Doty's fine legible handwriting.

LANDMARKS ACTIVITIES

The list of the landmarks which have been erected to commemorate persons and places connected with Wisconsin history has been completed to the end of the year 1927, and is being printed in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1927. Any additions or corrections may be sent to the Society to be preserved for future bulletins.

ANNIVERSARIES

Among Wisconsin communities which noted some important anniversary are the following: Burlington was reminded that it was ninety-two years old in December, since in that month, 1835, Moses and Lemuel Smith and William Whiting made claims and built the first house on Fox River where the city now stands. Fulton, in Rock County, a flourishing settlement of New Yorkers, was left one side by the railroad and so has grown slowly; its social center, organized in 1913, not only keeps alive modern community spirit, but also reminds the villagers of the interesting history of this small settlement where a Congregational church built in 1857 is still serving the community. Hay Creek School in the town of Winfield, Sauk County, recently noted that it was seventy-five years old, and recounted the history of the early settlement, including an Indian scare. Antigo, somewhat envious of the longer history of our southern settlements, none the less takes pride in recalling that it was fifty years old in 1927 and had grown in that half-century from one family to a city of ten thousand population. Milwaukee's third ward was reminded in October that thirty-five years had passed since the great fire in that section of the city, which caused a property loss of four and a half million, and made nearly two thousand people homeless.

The state press has been occupied during the past quarter with noting and observing anniversaries. The Milwaukee Press Club celebrated its forty-second birthday November 8 with a dinner to which neighboring editors were invited. The past presidents of the club cut a huge birthday cake, and among the speakers were the editors of several Wisconsin papers, the mayor, and the governor. The *Sentinel* of that city told its readers on November 30 that at ninety it was the oldest surviving newspaper in Wisconsin. The Milwaukee *Herold,* still printed in the German language, received many congratulations on attaining its half-century; while the *Journal,* mustering but forty-five years, found them worthy of an elaborate birthday dinner on November 16. One of our younger newspapers, but one of great vitality, is the Sheboygan *Press,* which on December 17 celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its founding by issuing a handsome historical and pictorial booklet, prepared

by Norman J. Radder, professor of journalism at the University of Indiana. The success of the newspaper is ascribed to Editor-in-chief Charles E. Broughton, who, the author of this book states, *"is the Press."*

Among the churches a number of interesting anniversaries occurred during the quarter. The celebration of the eighty-eighth anniversary of founding and the seventy-fifth of the occupation of the building of the First Presbyterian Church at Racine brought out a series of historical articles on the older churches of that city, collected by F. B. Swingle and published in the *Call*. Four of the five founders of the town were Methodists, and that church held the first religious meeting in the pioneer village. A log church of that denomination in the town of Somers served a community of New Englanders at Kellogg's Corners. The old church, built first in 1840, was renewed from time to time until it was finally closed in 1915. Its history, written by Mrs. Minnie A. G. Ozanne, appeared in the Racine *Journal* for December 21.

The Congregational Church of Hartland was eighty-five last October and celebrated its founding on the thirtieth of that month. The next day but one the Ladies Aid Society of this church served a banquet in honor of its fiftieth anniversary. Hartford Congregational Church remembered its eightieth birthday by a significant service on October 30. Trinity Lutheran Church of Milwaukee had a joint German-English service October 16 in honor of its eightieth anniversary. Asbury Methodist Church on the south side of Milwaukee held a two-day historical celebration of its founding four-score years before. A special anniversary sermon on November 20 recalled to the congregation of St. Paul's Episcopal Church at Watertown that it was begun in 1847.

Among the churches which remembered three quarters of a century are the Evangelical Church of the Ascension in Milwaukee, which had a three days' celebration November 20-22; the Methodist churches of East Blue Mounds and Greenbush, for the latter of which Harriet M. Keach wrote a sketch from the church records; and St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Manitowoc, one charter member of which still lives, Adam Brown Richardson, ninety-four years of age.

At Grace Congregational Church of Two Rivers an anniversary sermon was preached November 18 to commemorate its seventieth birthday. St. Paul's Methodist Church of Stevens Point reached the same age in December, when the presiding bishop of the district came from St. Paul to conduct the commemoratory services. The Berlin congregation of St. John Evangelical Lutheran was sixty years of age last October and held an interesting celebration.

The churches which have passed the half-century mark are the Evangelical at Baraboo, the St. John's Evangelical Lutheran of Green Valley, Shawano County, and the Westfield Methodist of Sauk County. In far northern Washburn the Norwegian Lutheran Church recalled last October its beginnings of four decades ago.

WISCONSIN HISTORY AND THE STATE PRESS

The La Crosse *Tribune* published during the autumn months a series of articles by Professor L. H. Pammel, formerly of La Crosse, now of the Iowa State College, on the newspapers and literary men of early days on the upper Mississippi—an exceedingly valuable series of articles, including such lights as Mark Pomeroy, Gilbert M. Woodward, George W. Peck, Ellis B. Usher, and later editors and writers of this section. The same journal had on November 20 a history of La Crosse banks, which is brief but interesting.

Carl Hinz has been writing for the Oshkosh *Northwestern* a series of sketches of local history, including one on the abduction of the Partridge boy, which is full and accurate.

In the Stevens Point *Journal* someone who calls himself "Tap Snilloc" has been writing of early days in that city and its vicinity. One of these, on Colonel John Sobieski as a temperance orator, has been widely copied by other papers.

"Historic Lawler Hall" is the title of an article by William C. Zeller for the October 18 issue of the Prairie du Chien *Courier*.

Agnes Bigelow in the Brodhead *Register* for October 26 has an article on Decatur Cemetery, given to Brodhead by her great-grandfather William Jones, who came there in 1842.

In an October number of the Eau Claire *Leader*, Robert K. Boyd had an excellent article on place names in that part of Wisconsin, while in the same issue appeared a poem on "Wisconsin, dear Wisconsin" by Mrs. Antoinette Ferris, written in her eighty-fourth year.

The Eagle River *Review* for October 20 gave a picture of and an article on the first school held in that place.

Old Abe, the mascot eagle's visit to Neillsville was the subject of an article October 6 in the *Press* of that city.

B. A. Claflin in the Green Bay *Gazette* for December 19 gives anecdotes of logging days in which he was personally concerned.

The Oddfellows Hall in the town of Harmony, Rock County, is the subject of an article in the Janesville *Gazette* for October 15.

The Jefferson *Banner* for December 15 recounts the part the Thirty-second Division took in the battles of October 7-8, 1918, around Cote Dame Marie.

Corporal Ben Castle, who aided in the capture of Jefferson Davis, described his Civil War experiences in the Eau Claire *Leader* for October 18.

The Clintonville *Tribune*, December 2 last, gave the reminiscences of Mrs. Hulda Trader Mischock when as a child she came with her father's family to live in New London.

Oshkosh in 1856, its appearance and early fires, was the subject of an article October 4 by Millard Neubert in the *Northwestern*.

Edward Gibson Ross, typesetter in Milwaukee before the Civil War, moved to Kansas and was Senator from that state. It was his vote which saved Andrew Johnson in 1868 from impeachment. His picture and an account of his life appeared in the Milwaukee *Journal* December 20.

Channing Mather's story of life in Sheboygan County in the fifties was pronounced by the editor of the *Press*, November 28, one of the most interesting pioneer stories ever brought to his office. The same paper on December 13 carried a tale of the bank riot in Milwaukee in June, 1861, and the relief by troops from Racine, related by Joseph Osthelder of the Waupaca home.

W. O. Nanscawen wrote recently from Tampa, Florida, to the Hartford *Times and Press* his recollection of days in that city from 1855 to 1887.

The Elkhorn *Independent* for December 8 gives the recollections of O. W. Shepherd, leader of the band in the procession at the time of Lincoln's funeral at Springfield in 1865.

F. M. Coffeen, of Peebles, related to a writer in the Fond du Lac *Reporter* the story of his advent to the county in 1850.

Three elect ladies appeared in the state press during the quarter: Mrs. Abigail Cole, daughter of Clark Richardson, in the Janesville *Gazette*, October 1; Mrs. Jean Manwell, in the Sheboygan *Press* for October 17; Nellie Stanton, who wrote for the Fennimore *Times*, November 9, of her birthplace not far from Potosi.

HISTORICAL ITEMS

The original deed whereby Virginia in 1784 ceded to the Confederation government the territory northwest of the river Ohio, of which Wisconsin formed a part, was recently discovered in the Virginia ar-

chives bearing the signatures of Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, and two other Virginia delegates. The text of the document is known to every school boy, but the frail yellow manuscript is to be framed and exhibited as part of the celebration connected with the sesquicentennial of George Rogers Clark's Revolutionary campaigns in the Northwest Territory.

The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the United States flag was honored June 14 last throughout the state and nation. The Daughters of the American Revolution at Janesville had a celebration lasting from 6 A.M. to 8 P.M. in which the local patriotic and service clubs took part.

The formal opening of the concrete highway U. S. 51 from Hancock to Wausau occurred on November 1 at the Marathon-Portage County line. There a ribbon stretched across the road was cut in the presence of the officials of three counties, the mayors of Stevens Point and Wausau, and the presidents of Mosinee, Plainfield, Plover, and Hancock. Vehicles representing different modes of transportation from the ox teams down to the present were exhibited.

MUSEUM NOTES

The home economics department of the University of Wisconsin is preparing for the State Historical Museum, under the direction of Professor Hazel Manning, a series of ten historical dolls, each to represent a different period of early American history. In order that these dolls may be costumed in a style as historically accurate as possible the Museum desires to obtain samples or pieces of the following different kinds of cloth:

1. Homespun—wool—grey or brown
2. Homespun—linen—white
3. Old brocade silk (small figures)
4. Linsey-woolsey (warp—linen, woof—wool)
5. Camlet (a material of hair, silk, wool, or all of these materials combined, in general use in colonial days for cloaks and petticoats)
6. Beaver—hat—either brown or black
7. Calico, or any material worn by the early settlers of this state or any other

Persons having pieces of any of these cloths, which they are willing to donate for this purpose, are requested to send them to Charles E. Brown, State Historical Museum, Madison, Wisconsin.

George A. West of Milwaukee, president of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, has presented to the State Historical Museum at Madison a collection of nearly one thousand Indian flint drills and perforators. This collection was begun by its donor in 1908, and contains specimens from Wisconsin and many other states. It has been placed on exhibition among the archeological collections.

Ruth Alcott of Madison has prepared for the museum a miniature model of a pioneer schoolhouse. This is one of a series of similar models illustrating Wisconsin history which the museum has in preparation or in view.

Carl H. Richter has been appointed assistant to Director George R. Fox at the Chamberlain Memorial Museum, Three Oaks, Michigan. Mr. Richter comes from Oconto, Wisconsin, where he formerly conducted a natural history museum of his own. He received part of his museum training at the State Museum.

John Muir's famous desk clock made and used by him during his attendance at the University of Wisconsin in 1859 is being restored by Fred Wilhelm, modeler at the museum.

Historic St. Peter's Church, first cathedral of Milwaukee diocese, now standing on Oakland Avenue, will become a museum for Catholic antiquities as the result of a deed of gift from Archbishop Messmer to the Council of Catholic Women made in October at Milwaukee.

New London is planning a new public museum under a committee of the library board headed by the Reverend F. S. Dayton.

The Midwest Museum Conference meeting was held at St. Paul on November 18 and 19. The Wisconsin Conference will meet at Lawrence College, Appleton, during April with the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences and the Wisconsin Archeological Society.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Joseph Carman Cover ("Memoirs of a Pioneer County Editor"). See *ante*, 360.

Nils P. Haugen ("Pioneer and Political Reminiscences") in the second installment of his memoirs enters upon the political phase of his story. The portion presented in this number deals mainly with leading issues and figures in Wisconsin politics during the 1870's.

Angie Kumlien Main ("Annals of a Wisconsin Thresherman"), one of the curators of our Society, contributed to the September, 1922, issue of this magazine an article entitled "By the Waters of Turtle Lake."

John G. Gregory ("The Parkman Club") was one of the charter members of the organization of which he writes. The article was sent to us by John T. Lee of Chicago, at whose request it had been prepared. Mr. Gregory, who was for a time a member of our staff, resides in Milwaukee.

William A. Titus ("Historic Spots in Wisconsin: The Helena Shot Tower"), a curator of our Society, is known to our readers through other articles in the series which have appeared in this magazine.

BOOK NOTES

History of the Diocese of Fond du Lac and Its Several Congregations, 1875-1925. Compiled by Rev. A. Parker Curtiss.

This is a very useful volume for Wisconsin history, and one which will become increasingly valuable as time passes. The first chapter of the volume is given to "Foundations"; if we were inclined to criticize, we would remark that as an account of the beginnings of Episcopalianism in Wisconsin it is very inadequate; it is partially supplemented in this respect, however, by the sketches of the early parishes. The third chapter on the "Old Catholics" is a faithful account of a somewhat abortive movement to bring the Belgians of Brown and Door counties into the Episcopal Church, and a plea for more sustained work among the foreign populations. From 1875, when the organization of the episcopate at Fond du Lac took place, the volume becomes a church history of a detailed and meticulous kind. Each parish in the diocese, which embraces all of northern Wisconsin, is narrated in historical terms; while the institutions clustering around the cathedral city of Fond du Lac are thoroughly described. The many illustrations add to the work's appearance and usefulness.

Coon Prairie (Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis) is the title of a historical work inspired by the occurrence in 1927 of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Coon Prairie Lutheran Church of Vernon County. In the large Norwegian settlement of Vernon County (originally Bad Axe County) and vicinity, the Coon Prairie church was to become a sort of "mother church" of many congregations and churches that have since come into being, and thus holds a venerated place in the community. The work is a volume of one hundred and twenty pages, with some three hundred cuts, chiefly of pioneer settlers of the region. The first sixteen chapters were written by Hjalmar R. Holand, Door County historian and earlier author of *History of the Norwegian Settlements,* and are a survey of the era of Norwegian settlement of the region and the founding of the original Coon Prairie church. The remainder of the book consists of pioneer sketches and pictures and is the work of a local committee headed by the present pastor, the Reverend J. A. Holum. The names of three pastors distinguished in Norwegian-American history are intimately connected with the church from the beginning practically down to the present day. These men were the Reverends H. A. Stub, A. C. Preus, and H. Halverson. The last-named pastor served the church from 1872 to 1921, a period of forty-nine years. His long and faithful services earned for him the designation of bishop.

Chief among the pioneer settlers was Even Olson Gullord, who came there in 1848 as the first Norwegian settler. Aside from its interesting history of the particular church described, the book is a valuable repository of biographical data, which will be appreciated by the descendants of the pioneers of the country and no less by local historians of the future generally.

A. O. Barton

The Norwegian-American Historical Association, through its editor-in-chief, Theodore C. Blegen, of the Minnesota Historical Society, has brought out an edition of *Peter Testman's Account of His Experiences in North America.* This is a pamphlet of sixty pages. It contains an admirable historical introduction, the text of the original publication in Norwegian, and Dr. Blegen's translation with valuable editorial notes. Testman went to America in 1838, spent the winter in the new Norwegian settlement in Shelby County, Missouri, and being dissatisfied returned in 1839 to Norway. His outward journey was by the Hudson, the Erie Canal, and Lake Erie to Cleveland; the Ohio Canal, Ohio and Mississippi rivers to St. Louis. The return trip was via the Illinois River to the Fox River settlement, overland to Chicago, thence by the Lakes, Erie Canal, and Hudson to New York. Testman's narrative is written in good literary style.

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