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

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THE GENIUS OF WISCONSIN

By Helen Farnsworth Mears. In the State Capitol at Madison

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THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

PUBLICATIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN. Edited by JOSEPH SCHAFER, Superintendent

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WISCONSIN[1]

WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

Wisconsin, lopped from Michigan as a territory in 1836 to become a state twelve years later, shares in the story of the discovery and the settlement and in the qualities and activities of her population much in common with the whole North Middle West. Yet Wisconsin possesses an individuality, both historical and social, more organic than the little red line of the map. Geography has had profoundly to do with her becoming; in her, the regional characteristics of man find the most indubitable and emphatic expression; and, moreover, once organized as a state, she began instinctively, like many other state units, to create personality, as must any group, however artificial or accidental at first, when it makes its laws together under one dome in the spiritual center, and sends its youth to one schoolhouse on a neighboring hill.

But the story of man here, between the majestic castellated bluffs of the upper Mississippi and the stern iron and copper bearing rocks of Superior's wave eaten shores, is not one story but three. There have been three human occupations of this rolling terrain of sunny swale and drumlins, with its innumerous rivers winding between the wild rice marshes, or the now perishing forests, or the shadowy scarps and dalles, with its thousand glacial lakes in the northern pineries or the midland oak openings, and with its wide driftless area, once surrounded but never traversed by the ice sheet, where today the unstriated old Cambrian

[1] This paper presents a poet's vision of Wisconsin, historical and actual. It differs, at least in form of statement, from the historian's vision, and probably no historian would agree with the poet's statement in all matters of detail. But whoever is able to thrill at sight of an eagle sailing above the mountain crests, will rejoice in this stark new phrasing of the story of our state. We appreciate it so highly that, although the paper was not originally written for this magazine, we welcome the opportunity of first presenting to our readers its unique qualities.—EDITOR.

sandstone stands weathered and carved into mesas and giant toadstools. But no man, from first to last, ever settled on the mountains of Wisconsin, for the primeval ranges were beveled down to that peneplain underlying the Cambrian long before the trilobite or protozoan—though sometimes in the jagged cloud banks, white on afternoon horizons of early autumn, one may fancy he sees their tremendous ghosts.

The three occupations of this ancient land have been three independent efforts of man to light his fire and to sing his song. And, though only the third, with its hosts of inpouring exiles and seekers, constitutes the epic of the settlement, of the building of our cities and the state, nevertheless, the occupation of the red man invited the Frenchman, and the Frenchman pioneered the thoroughfares thither for the aftercomers and their household gods. The aborigines (Fox, Menominee, Winnebago, and other tribes finally huddled between the fierce Dakota on the west and the fierce inland ranging Iroquois from the east) have left to none of our states more reminders of a vanished folk culture: the Indian names of so many rivers, lakes, and hills; the trails whose grass-grown depressions may still be traced down the groves; the stone celts and spear points and the copper knives and needles dug up by fresh-water beaches or along the ploughed fields; the chipping sites under primeval oak trees; the corn hills; and above all, the hundreds of earthworks, both conical barrows over the bones of unknown chiefs, and those totemic animal effigies that lie on their gigantic sides asleep on so many low hill-tops and green declivities, by the waters of ancient villages. The native tribes—long since, as white men's hunters, for a pittance of glass beads, iron hatchets, and whisky, debauched in their handicrafts and agriculture—have been exterminated or deported (like some of the Winnebago to Nebraska), or live sordidly on the northern reservations,

putting on, with the encouragement of white anthropologists, now and then the tarnished relics of ancestral costumes for ritual dance and religious festival, doing odd jobs at lumbering or berry picking, or occasionally, up to fifteen years ago at least, coming down in little bands as far as Madison to trap the muskrat in their fathers' streams and lakes. An alien stock, the Christian Oneida, brought by American philanthropic enterprise from New York, are almost the only well kempt, prosperous Indian citizens about Wisconsin—farmers and business men and good Episcopalians in a community of their own. Our people, largely through the activities of the Archeological Society and the Historical Museum at Madison, in coöperation with the state legislature, have begun to develop both a scientific curiosity and a memorial piety touching their red predecessors, which sometimes unite, by one of those minor ironies of history, present-day Germans, Norwegians, Saxons, Celts, and Slavs in little excavation parties or local site marking ceremonials.

In the softened grays and purples of the twilight atmosphere, when the distant roads and the barns are blurred in the lowlands and the crows are flying to the copses, the outlook from many a height over valley and lake and river, especially if the moon is bulging up, is peculiarly aboriginal in these parts: I have never so had the feeling of the ghosts of Indian days in any landscape as in Wisconsin. Nicolet, in his Chinese damask robe, with his seven Hurons around him, discharging thunder and lightning from pistols in both hands, as he stands on Wisconsin's landfall by his beached canoe at the foot of the bluffs up in Green Bay, before the naked and awestruck autochthons, seems a more haunting presence than John Smith, Miles Standish, or Massasoit. He came, you remember, up the Ottawa, having heard of the "People of the Sea" (so the Hurons called the Winnebago), thinking to open trade relations, on behalf of

Champlain and the Hundred Associates, with Orientals on the Pacific, and took possession forever in the name of the King of France. This was in 1634.

Freedom to trade, not freedom to worship God or to manage one's own politics, was the impulse to the first white occupation, as freedom to plant one's own corn was, on the whole, the impulse to the second. As the years went by after Marquette with Jolliet in 1673 paddled down the Great Lakes and across the state, and entered the Father of Waters—"with a joy I cannot express"—the Fox-Wisconsin Portage became the determinant of the human affairs of a province and of an empire. Here the basin of the St. Lawrence, represented by the upper currents of Fox River, may glimpse beyond a mile or so of marshy plain, alive with blackbirds and meadow larks, the Wisconsin powerfully flowing off toward the Mississippi; here the Atlantic touches the Gulf of Mexico. Kept open only by long wars with the natives, the Fox-Wisconsin waterway established and sustained the fur trade, which was the economic life of the old régime in Wisconsin, no less than in Canada. Linking far-away Quebec with far-away New Orleans, it was the indirect occasion of much of the strategy of the conflict with Great Britain—fundamentally over the control of the fur trade—that cost France her power in North America; and it continued to affect man's trafficking in some measure—Congress appropriated millions of dollars for its improvement—until the age of steel rails. Without it, neither France nor Britain might have come to Wisconsin any more than to Minnesota.

The trading posts left their names to modern cities and towns—Prairie du Chien, La Crosse, Eau Claire, Trempealeau; and the descendants of the habitants—the blacksmiths, carpenters, farmers, and retired traders—who squatted around them, give today a sprinkling of French to the polyglot roll call of legislature and college class room. But

the bark chapels and the log crosses of the "Black Gowns" soon rotted away or were burnt by hands still heathen, leaving only the names of a costal island and a river town or so, the silver ostensorium of Perrot still bearing the date 1686, and the *Jesuit Relations*—those faithful reports to their masters in France of lands and waters seen, aborigines baptized, and hungers survived. And La Salle's *Griffon*, the first boat besides dugout or war canoe launched upon the Great Lakes, lies sunk, mast and sail, somewhere off Door Peninsula, with all its peltries. In pathetic contrast to southern Louisiana, the old French world vanished here, even more completely than the Roman world vanished from Britain; not, however, because it withdrew or was exterminated, for Frenchmen were still about, swapping produce and yarns with Britisher and Yankee; but because it was too tenuous, migratory, and scattered, too lacking in urban life, to maintain for long its individuality over against the dominantly Germanic invaders. One hears French today only among the French-Indian half-breeds of the reservations or in the recent villages of the Walloons.

The British domination lasted with cheerful impudence, in spite of the Treaty of Paris of 1783 and the Jay Treaty of 1795, till the close of the War of 1812, with entire satisfaction to the French, who had indeed actively sided with England against the hated "Bostonnais" in the Revolution. The fur trade continued to march on, integrated now with the huge English enterprise of the Far North; but another business, at first only an adjunct of the fur trade, was pressing hard upon it, with a sinister and prophetic face.

The French, having early discovered the Indians scratching for lead in the southwest corner, began to pay a price per pound that bullets should be more abundant; and the savages scratched more busily. With better guns and bigger shovels, as destined lords of all mines—coal, gold,

and diamond—our Anglo-Saxons drove out the aborigines and the shallow burrows were deepened. By Uncle Sam's garrison days of the thirties, a riffraff of adventurers from the border states was rushing in, as it was later to rush to the gold of California and the silver of Colorado; and the earliest European immigration of what I call the settlement was invited by the lead mines, first and last—some seven thousand Cornishmen, and these a sturdy stock. Great bateaux of twenty-oar power carried the lead down the Mississippi to New Orleans, long years before the Civil War definitively deflected Wisconsin's southern trade connections eastward; or the ox teams would drag it overland to the lake ports. By the fifties, for several reasons entirely economic, it declined, to be only partially revived in recent years. Abandoned diggings are now among the pious ruins of Wisconsin, along with the sleepy or abandoned villages that sprung up on the water fronts in the reign of King Lumber, the third dynasty of Big Business hereabouts, with its devastation of the northern pineries and hardwoods, and for a generation its log rafts on eight rivers.

Meantime the settlement was steadily going on. The planters of grain and the milkers of cows were coming from all the world, who were to vindicate the barn against trading post, burrow, and lumber shack. Even the mill for paper and the factory for chairs, window-frames, steam cookers, textiles, underwear, farm machinery, leather goods, automobiles, or the brewery for fresh-water pop were not to prevail against it. Though there is a great playground developing in the wooded and watered northern counties, and though there is an increasingly busy manufacturing strip along the southern Michigan shore, in the cities of Racine, Kenosha, Milwaukee, and Sheboygan, Wisconsin is primarily an agricultural state, thanks to her level and fertile glaciated soil and to the practical hardi-

hood of the vast majority of her settlers, who have been ambitious only of a homestead and acres. Wheat led first; but now, with a start perhaps from the Swiss immigrants and certainly with the scientific coöperation of the University, it's butter and cheese: we are the buttery, cheesery, creamery of the United States. But the barn would vindicate itself only when the land was cleared and ploughed, and the cattle pastured; and all this took time and many people.

The story of the settlement begins with the Black Hawk War. The newspaper correspondents, lacking much martial material about the precipitate retreat of the brave but broken Sauk leader, with his murdered tribesmen and women and children, sent east such detailed and alluring accounts of the country itself that it may not be a fancy to credit them with a part in the foundation of the state. Whatever the origin of the rumor, pioneering families were soon en route: from New York and New England down the Great Lakes or the Ohio, and from the southeast by the old Wilderness Road of Daniel Boone. It is these who began to supply that contribution of native American stock and enterprise, politically and economically dominant in territorial days, and still a good third in numbers and perhaps more than a third in power. The rest is new life out of old Europe. The admission of Wisconsin to statehood coincides historically and symbolically in date with famines, with economic unrest, and with political revolutions on the Continent. Here were broad spaces and easy laws of citizenship—opportunity for bread and votes, a chance to build a house and a commonwealth. The European printing presses spread the news, assisted by promoters on the ground. The boats filled with folk. The Germans came, Carl Schurz among them, with their pastors, Catholic and Protestant. The boats filled with folk. The sons of the Vikings came, with Christ instead of Thor, migrating

as they had done to Iceland and Greenland in neighborhood groups of a hundred or so. The boats filled with folk. Now it was five hundred from a famished Swiss canton, whose government had paid for transportation and for the land which is now New Glarus. Letters went back to the old home and more boats were filled. The Dutch came too. And the Irish. And the Scotch, one family bringing a son named John Muir. And the Welsh. And the Belgians. And the Bohemians. But read the Books of the Chronicles —the *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society, under the editorship of Draper, long dead, and of the late Reuben Thwaites; for the state from within a decade of its statehood has been zealously collecting and recording its origins. There are villages of Icelandic fishermen on Washington Island off Door Peninsula; and even in the last twenty years colonies of Finns have settled on the Superior shore, already influencing the state by their intelligent coöperative methods. Though Poles and Italians are to be found mainly[2] in districts of the factory cities, and though scattered Greeks sell candy or black boots, and Russian Jews collect junk or make pants to help their boys to the University, and a few Cantonese Chinamen, now shorn of their pig-tails, launder collars and cuffs, most of the non-English speaking immigrants, especially in the big years of the settlement, tended to found their own little communities, and have conserved to this day something of native speech or customs—as sometimes the Angelus or a wayside shrine, sometimes wooden shoes, sometimes an outlandish stew or pie. But the achieving of a common action on a common soil, and the sharing of a common stake in a settled as opposed to a roving life, seem to have united them as good Wisconsinians. Often, too, there was intermingling of stocks, by marriage—or socially, as when a stray Norwegian would be assisted, not only by Norse, but by Irish

[2] There is a settlement of agricultural Poles in Portage County.

and German and Anglo-American neighbors, in building his cabin, with its clay or puncheon floor, its one window of greased sheepskin, and its broad bowlder-based chimney that narrowed against the outer side-wall to a square flue of interlaced and mud plastered sticks. If there be any "foreigners" still unbaptized in the Jordan of the New Faith, their home-born schoolma'ams will catch them, who so often go back to their home townspeople after graduating from the University or one of the several state (or county) normal schools, and tactfully carry the good news of Americanism, single negatives, toothbrushes, and operations for adenoids. But there has been little effort to uproot the joy and the pride in the traditions and customs of the several racial strains; and very few feel that the republic is in danger because a high-school class song in the vernacular has, say, a Scandinavian chorus. To be sure, there is, I believe, a well-to-do league in Milwaukee founded since the war to combat, with pamphlets and bibliographies, the menace of socialism, about which most of our citizens are, however, quite as innocent of serious knowledge as the league itself; but there has been no state legislation in Wisconsin outlawing foreign languages, as in more vigilant Iowa and Nebraska. The voluntary participation of such diverse races in the creative energies of the commonwealth is witnessed by the names in *Blue Book*, in University catalogue, and in the lists of bar, bench, and legislature. Down at the capitol the other day I dropped in on one of the numerous commissions—on a Dutchman, an Irishman, a Norwegian, and an Englishman, all four engaged upon the state taxes. Governor Blaine, old American Scotch-Irish on his father's side, is the son of a Norwegian mother who came to America only seven years before he was born.

But the war record of these Germans, Scandinavians, and other foreigners? In the Civil War 'a Wisconsin regiment was worth a battalion' went the saying in the

tents of the generals; and Old Abe, the trained eagle, who perched on the standard-beam going into battle and whirled screaming overhead when the cannon began booming or the charge was on, was a symbol famous all over the North, still recalled at Grand Army encampments, though his stuffed body was burned up in the capitol fire years ago. In the World War, though the compulsory service here as elsewhere renders it impracticable to draw patriotic conclusions from the muster, Wisconsin's voluntary coöperation in the cause at home and abroad was eager and efficient; and there was a noticeable state pride in the fact that so many of originally so diverse races were united in an American enterprise. Wisconsin reacted as all other states in those tense and raucous days, though illustrating perhaps more strikingly than some states with more homogeneous population, the commonalty to all mankind of the more elemental feelings and instincts—the common responsiveness to the war cry, the common susceptibility to mobilization of opinion and emotion. Most so-called pro-Germans in the beginning were the broken-hearted, torn, abused, and frightened citizens of later emigrations, trying often with a higher ethos than the crowd to do their civic duty. Their racial sympathies in 1914–16 had sharpened their eyesight to the real policies of the Allies, albeit they failed often enough to see the real policies of the German government. That minority in Wisconsin that was unconvinced grew every day smaller with the educational program of federal government and state university; and the skeptical or intransigent group that remained in the end is to be distinguished less by the kind of racial stock than by the kind of vision. It is, for instance, unnecessary to attribute the position of Wisconsin's senior Senator to anything but his own vision of affairs—historical, economic, diplomatic.

Far more significant for the fusion of races into one American commonwealth than the recent war records, is Wisconsin's achievement in public welfare: patriotism of one sort is largely a mob emotion; true citizenship is a life. A new technique of service and control has developed from the days when lumber and steel rails corrupted state politics, and Governor La Follette among other vital reforms succeeded in replacing the caucus with the direct primary. It is not socialism, but what its protagonists have called an adventure in democracy. In working to equalize opportunities, to protect the laboring class, to make capital realize its social obligations and public utilities serve the public, to protect natural resources—forests, waters, and metals—to bring health, books, and schooling to all, to develop the broad highways for all—in such matters, Wisconsin, in her legislation by her delegated citizenry and its execution by her delegated experts—the various state commissions—has many aims not unlike the socialist conception of a commonwealth. But in economic principle it is building merely toward a more just and efficient working of the familiar old order—better conditions for a thriving state where production is carried on for profit, not for use, and where competition rather than coöperation rules factories, farms, and markets. Yet coöperative organizations, especially agricultural, are scattered through the state and protected by legislation; and now and then a suspiciously socialistic measure, like compulsory teachers' insurance (from which a University faculty, fervently hostile to socialism, will profit nicely), gets itself written into the statutes. How the University specialists have been called in to assist the law makers; how Frank Hutchins and Charles McCarthy, both gone from us, developed the Legislative Reference Library; how the late President Van Hise gave no little reality to his dream of a university that should

serve all the people of the state—a center for the distribution, even to farm and factory hand and convict, of the long results of the sciences and the arts—all this was in the magazines a decade ago. Our progressive legislation had survived ten years of relatively mild reaction, when the candidate of the Non-Partisan League and the La Follette forces was inaugurated as governor in 1921, and democracy celebrated its triumph by a ball, without white kids, swallow-tails, or decolleté, among the balusters, pilasters, and piers of Italian, Norwegian, or Greek marble, under the dome of the new capitol—the white granite pile erected, it would seem for all time, under the Progressive régime.

Various efforts have been made to "explain Wisconsin." It was usually taken for granted before the war that several of our public welfare devices were the faithful experiments of borrowing for a democracy the efficient technique of bureaucratic Germany, under encouragement by the German element in the state. Much, however, is due to ideas that popped into the heads of the natives. There is a set in Wisconsin toward civic affairs, a concern for the state's welfare, that is in a degree traced by some to the University training under men like Ely and Commons, and especially to John Bascom, president when elder men here were boys in college classes. This spirit communicates itself to the in-comers; the Irishman McCarthy himself, a chief enthusiast and spokesman for the "Wisconsin Idea," came in from Rhode Island, a graduate from Brown. These men get their notions, talk them over, work them out, and obtain interested sponsors at the capitol or the University. There is little noise, fuss, or exaltation. They are quiet, simple-mannered citizens, but far-sighted, energetic, practical schemers for one or another special civic program. Aside from La Follette, Van Hise, McCarthy, and Chief Justice John Winslow, few would probably be called

original or powerful personalities; yet it is they, many of them almost unknown by name even in the state, who best illustrate the kind of leadership that has made the modern Wisconsin. And the public servants—inheritors and conservers of a recent tradition—go about their duties, whether Progressive or Stalwart or Democrat, as naïvely honest as some state officers and their ilk of a former day were naïvely dishonest. The state capitol was building through four administrations, and without, I am told, one penny to graft. The judiciary has not thwarted the Progressive urge; and citizens will quote you with pride the words of the late Chief Justice John Winslow in a supreme court decision: "When an eighteenth century constitution forms the charter of liberty of a twentieth century government, must its general provisions be construed and interpreted by an eighteenth century mind surrounded by eighteenth century conditions and ideals?" The University, with a faculty composed of native born, of Easterners and Westerners, of Canadians and a few Europeans, though today apparently more conservative than the state administration, has been from its beginning in the year the state itself began, true, in spite of brief interregnums of reaction and timidity, in the main true to the bronze tablet on Bascom Hall, just behind the statue of Lincoln on the hill: "Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe that the great State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found."

But—but it is a commonplace, of course, that the state of Wisconsin, like all the Middle West, is in the finer things of civilization by and large still crude in sentiment and achievement, still imperfectly organized in effort. She has had from the beginning of her statehood her men and women of broad and cultivated tastes, also concerned for the public welfare in things of the spirit; but they have seldom hit on

a technique of leadership. Thus uncouthness, knowing not itself but glowing with its adventure in democracy, blunders monotonously into a self-expression, which is scarcely the expression of what the best of us hereabouts can do. Not altogether in jest might one propose a state commission for overlooking, say, the English in the guide books to our famous places (the Dalles, Devils Lake, Madison herself of the Four Lakes) and on the signs before the animal cages of our zoölogical gardens, and for hanging the perpetrators of at least one memorial arch and several public buildings. And though we have a library among the greatest in the land, culture is still subordinate to agriculture, the stock pavilion houses our commencements, and a remodelled horse barn our department of art.

However—Wisconsin spells a swift and solid achievement in man's economic and social mastery on one quarter-section of this earth, which less than a hundred years ago was largely as primeval as when the southwind and the northing beast and bird bore in the seeds of grass and trees and berries after the ice age. That there is much yet to do before she ripens a rich and regnant Life is in the nature of things. And the state motto is "Forward."

THE YANKEE AND THE TEUTON IN WISCONSIN

JOSEPH SCHAFER

II DISTINCTIVE TRAITS AS FARMERS

The agricultural traits and peculiarities of the nineteenth century Yankees were the resultant of partly contradictory forces, some of them evolutionary, others devolutionary. In England the period of the Puritan migration to America and the half-century antecedent thereto was a time of vigorous agricultural change marked by many improvements in cultivation and in land management. The agrarian revolution introduced by the transfer of church properties to laymen was accompanied by enclosures and a widespread tendency to shift from an uneconomical crop economy to an agriculture governed by business principles. In this new system the production of farm animals—especially sheep—the fertilization of the soil, rotation of crops, and livestock improvement were main factors. Forces and interests were set in motion at this time which, a century or so later, made farming the concern of many of England's leading minds, whose wise and persistent experimentation benefited the whole civilized world.

The few thousand immigrants to the New England colonies, founders of America's Yankeedom, were not all farmers. Some were fishermen, some were small tradesmen, others craftsmen; a few were professional men and soldiers. But a goodly proportion were land owners and peasants, and all had a more or less direct knowledge of the principles and processes which governed English agriculture. The influence of habit, always a determining factor in the transfer of civilization from an old land to a new, caused the occasional reproduction in New England of some features of English farming, especially under village conditions. The

common field system in Old Salem reflected a disappearing element in English farm life, while the commons of hay, commons of pasture, commons of wood, and commons of mast, with their administrative "hay reeve," "hog reeve," "wood reeve," herdsmen, and shepherds, mark a natural imitating of the ways of parish life at home.

But there were differences in the conditions "at home" and in America as wide as those symbolized by the terms "insular," and "continental," applied to the geography of the two countries. Chief among these differences were the generally forested character of the new-world land, the necessity of adapting tillage to an unfamiliar climate, in part to new food cereals, especially Indian corn, and the absolute dependence upon markets which could be created or opened by the colonists themselves. It was in fact the problem of a market which so long subordinated farming proper in New England to a species of country living in which small patches of arable supplied most of the family's food, while forest and stream were the objects of exploitation for marketable furs, for medicinal plants, and for timber products. Yankee ingenuity, which justly became proverbial, had an assignable cause. It was not an inherited quality, or one which was imported and conserved; it was a distinctively American product, explained by the situation of the average New England farmer—who was, by force of circumstances, more of a mechanic and woods worker than a cultivator of the soil. His house, especially in winter, was a busy workshop where clapboards, staves, hoops, heading, ax handles, and a variety of other articles of utility and salability were always in course of manufacture. All the farm "tinkering" was additional thereto.

In his contest with the forest for a livelihood, the Yankee farmer was gradually changed from the eastern New England village type to that of the American "pioneer." His axmanship was unrivaled, his skill in woodscraft, his re-

sourcefulness in the face of untried situations were equal to the best. When the time came for taking agricultural possession of broad spaces in the northern and western interior, the Yankee was the instrument, shaped by four generations of American history, to achieve that object.[1]

This general "handiness" was gained not without a partial loss of such acquired knowledge and skill in agriculture proper as the first immigrants brought from England. Close, careful cultivation was impossible among the stumps and girdled trees of new clearings; the amplitude of natural meadows and the superabundance of "browse" relieved settlers from the sharp necessity of providing artificially for the winter feeding of cattle; the mast of oak trees and the wealth of nuts, supplementing summer "greens," roots, grass, and wild apples, supplied most of the requisites for finishing off pork. Under these conditions farming even at best was an entirely different thing from what it had been at home. At its worst, it was a crude process, affording a vegetative kind of existence, but nothing more. In fact, farming in the New England states hardly attained the status of a business until the nineteenth century, though in some portions it gave the farmer and his family a generous living and afforded a few luxuries. It made thousands of persons independent proprietors who could not have reached that station at home; it gave the farmers as a class a commanding influence in politics and society; "embattled," it enabled them to wrest their country's independence from the awkward hands of a bungling monarchy. In short, it contributed incalculably to their importance as men in history. The indications are, however, that as farmers the

[1] Michel Chevalier, *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States* (Boston, 1839), chap. x, 112-113, 117, says: "Loading a wagon with a plough, a bed, a barrel of salt meat, the indispensable supply of tea and molasses, a Bible and a wife, and with his axe on his shoulder, the Yankee sets out for the West, without a servant, without an assistant, often without a companion, to build himself a log hut, six hundred miles from his father's roof, and clear away a spot for a farm in the midst of the boundless forest. . . . He is incomparable as a pioneer, unequalled as a settler of the wilderness."

fourth generation of *Mayflower* descendants were decidedly inferior to the original Pilgrims and Puritans.

The third generation were probably less skillful than the fourth. For, by the time of the Revolution there were farming areas in southern New England that were looking up. Timothy Dwight, near the end of the century, found and recorded some of the evidences of a movement to improve cultivation, to fertilize the soil, to better the character of farm livestock—a movement which had been going forward under impulses communicated from England, where the eighteenth century was peculiarly fruitful in agricultural development. Dwight was enough of an idealist to appreciate the limits of the improvement thus far reached. Yet he did insist, with evident justice, that the farming of the Connecticut valley and of eastern Massachusetts was at least respectable. Fields were well cleared and carefully cultivated, clover began to be used as a feeding and green manure crop, the beginnings had been made of a system of rotation of crops, livestock was of relatively good quality—especially in certain Connecticut towns which were already noted for the weight of the bullocks they furnished to the commissary department of Washington's army. By that time, also, leading men in New England lent their influence toward the building up of the agricultural interest; agricultural societies were organized and essays on agriculture came to have considerable vogue. Some importations of pure-bred livestock from England took place. The first merino sheep were brought in from France, then larger numbers from Spain by Consul William Jarvis. In 1810 Elkanah Watson established his Berkshire County Agricultural Society, with the county fair which became the model for subsequent county and state fairs the country over.

When Tom Paine predicted in 1776 that an independent America would prosper "as long as eating continues to be

the custom of Europe,"[2] he assumed one point about which some doubt might in future arise: Would Europe always have the wherewithal to purchase American foodstuffs at prices which would compensate our people for growing them and delivering them to the market? During the continuance of the long revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, Europe managed to make good Paine's prophecy, and prices at the close of the wars ruled high. There followed the great expansion era which spread American farmers over the New West, both south and north, into which Yankees entered to a large extent.

The good prices did not hold. Food could be raised cheaply, but markets were costly to reach, even with the new wizardry of the steamboat, and something gigantic was called for in the way of internal improvements. The answer was at first canals, afterwards railroads. At the same time, something had to be done by the farmer himself if the entire structure of American agriculture, now becoming conscious of its own embarrassments, was not to go down. The answer to this was *better farming.* It was in 1819, the panic year, that John S. Skinner founded at Baltimore the *American Farmer*, first of the distinctively farm journals which almost immediately had a small group of successors. Among them were the *New England Farmer*, the *Albany Cultivator*, the *Pennsylvania Farmer*, the *Rural New Yorker*, the *Vermont Farmer*, the *Ohio Farmer*, etc.

Yankeedom was a good social soil for these journals. The all but universal literacy of the people, their curiosity, their love of argument and disputation, their habit of experimentation, all tended both to give currency to the new ideas presented and to sift the practical and valuable from the merely theoretic and futile. Thus was introduced, in a period of prevailing "hard times," a meliorating influence destined to reach a very large proportion of the

[2] See his *Common Sense* (Philadelphia, 1791).

settlers in those sections, particularly Vermont, western New York, northern Pennsylvania and Ohio, from which the bulk of the Yankee pioneers of Wisconsin were drawn a quarter of a century later. The effect of county and state fairs was to deepen and fructify the influence of the new agricultural press.

It will be understood that the actual "shoring up" of agricultural practice came about with relative slowness. Yet, it soon began here and there, and by a kind of mild infection spread gradually over wide areas. Only in crisis periods, with the introduction of new methods to suit new market conditions, was progress ever very rapid. To illustrate, as early as 1820 Josiah Quincy was advocating and practising the summer soiling of cattle, especially milch cows, and demonstrating the profitableness of the system for the region near Boston. It was a long time before soiling became common even in that district, but this experiment engendered better care of livestock. The same careful, experimental farmer demonstrated the economy of using good-sized whole potatoes for seed, as against the practice of planting seed ends and small tubers; other farmers were slow to adopt the idea, which is not yet universally followed, yet some improvement doubtless came from the publication of Quincy's findings.

What, then, were the general farming habits of the Yankees who form the background of Wisconsin's pioneer age? First of all, they lived in decent houses which were usually of lumber. Dwight contended that not one New England village in a hundred was disfigured with the presence of even one log house. He also gives the result of a count made in 1810 of the log houses along the road from New Haven to Windsor in Vermont, thence across the Green Mountains to Middlebury, and back by a direct route to New Haven, a distance of over 460 miles, much of it through new settlements. It showed only fifteen to

Middlebury and thirty-two on the return route. It seems to have been a matter of pride with the Yankee to desert his pioneer log house as quickly as possible. His personal skill with tools, and abundance of saw timber, made the construction of a frame house a family undertaking calling for labor indeed, but only a minimum of hired skill; and for little material involving the outlay of actual money. So the frame houses rose wherever the Yankees settled. Along the great road from Albany to Buffalo, in western New York, they began to spring up before the settlements were ten years old. When, about twenty-five years later, travelers passed that way they saw many houses of squared, framed timbers, covered over neatly with boards at the sides and ends, and roofed with shingles.[3] These common frame houses were sufficiently inartistic, no doubt. Perhaps, as one traveler remarks, they did look like "huge packing boxes." Similar architectural designs can be seen scattered over the West—and the East, too—at this late date. Still, they were more commodious than the log houses, and improved the families' living conditions. The next stage was likely to mark a very distinct advance. "In the more cleared and longer settled parts of the country," says a none too sympathetic English traveler, "we saw many detached houses, which might almost be called villas, very neatly got up, with rows of wooden columns in front, aided by trees and tall shrubs running round and across the garden which was prettily fenced in, and embellished with a profusion of flowers." Yankees had the habit of building by the roadside, whatever the economic disadvantages of such a situation, because it enabled them to keep in touch with the world—a reason which is by no means frivolous, and for them highly characteristic.

We have no such definite account of the Yankee farmers'

[3] See Captain Basil Hall, *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828* (Edinburgh, 1829), i, 130.

barns as of those of Pennsylvania Germans. It is true that Dwight, speaking for the older New England, suggests that the barn was apt to be a much better structure than the house. The custom, however, noted by travelers in New York and elsewhere, of letting cattle run at large all winter without shelter other than trees and brush, and perhaps the straw pile or rick of marsh hay, argues that stabling was furnished for only a minimum number of work oxen, horses—if such there were—and perhaps in some cases cows in milk. It undoubtedly was not the practice to house stock cattle, or even—except in isolated cases—to feed them in sheds. The advocates of careful sheltering who wrote for the agricultural journals recognized that the weight of opinion was against sheltering stock. They compromised with that opinion by recommending sheds for young stock and dry cows, and warm barns only for milking cows and work animals.[4] Yet, some of the leading cattle feeders of the Genesee valley, as late as the year 1842, were content to scatter loads of hay over meadows and through brush patches for the hundreds of beef cattle they were wintering.[5]

The livestock, except sheep and pigs, was still by 1840 prevailingly of no breed. Nevertheless, Durhams and Devons were coming into use. The Patroon stock of shorthorns, introduced in 1824 from England by Stephen Van Rensellaer, of Albany, gained its first customers apparently among the English farmers of western New York, but gradually made its way among the Yankees as well. Other importations were soon made, so that by 1840 there were several prominent herds of purebreds in that section of the state. In 1842 it was said of the Genesee County Fair that "with the exception of some working oxen and one cow not a single animal of native cattle was in the yard. All were either pure or grade Durhams or Devons. . . .

[4] *American Agriculturist*, i (1842), 115 ff.

[5] Captain Robert Barclay, *Agricultural Tour in the United States* . . . (London, 1842), 41.

Bulls were shown by some six or seven competitors. Among them were four thoroughbred ones and one of those imported."[6] It is clear that by the time emigration to Wisconsin began to take place, actual progress had been made and the entire body of Yankee farmers had been indoctrinated with the idea of better livestock. Sheep and pigs were already largely improved, the former prevailingly through the cross with the merinos, the latter with Berkshires and other English breeds. The Morgan horse, a Vermont product, was gaining wide popularity.

From what has been said of the care of livestock, it follows that the possibilities of the farm for the manufacture of fertilizer were generally neglected. English travelers were apt to insist that this neglect was universal, but there were, of course, numerous exceptions. Farming was extensive, not intensive. Lands were cleared by chopping or "slashing" the timber, burning brush and logs, then harrowing among the stumps to cover the first-sown wheat seed. In a few years, with the rotting of the smaller stumps and the roots, the plow could be used, though always with embarrassment on account of the large stumps which thickly studded the fields. These disappeared gradually, being allowed to stand till so fully decayed that a few strokes with ax or mattock would dislodge them. As late as 1830 many fields in western New York were stump infested.

Wheat was the great, almost the sole, market crop, and it was grown year after year till the soil ceased to respond. From bumper yields of twenty-five or thirty bushels per acre the returns fell off to twenty, fifteen, and then twelve, ten, or even eight. The process of decline was well under way when the immigration to Wisconsin set in, and already the turn had come toward a more definite livestock economy, which in large portions of New York soon gave rise to a system of factory cheese making. A

[6] *American Agriculturist*, i, 311.

A FARM NEAR ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, IN 1827

From Captain Basil Hall's *Forty Etchings from Sketches Made with the Camera Lucida.* London, 1829

main reason for the removal to the West, on the part of farmers whose holdings were too small to make successful stock farms, or who refused to abandon wheat raising as a business, was that lands in the West could be had already cleared by nature. Many half-cleared farms, with customary buildings and fences, could in the forties be purchased in western New York for from four to eight dollars per acre. Instead of buying these farms, the young men preferred going to Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, or Wisconsin, those having such farms for sale doing likewise after selling out to neighbors, usually the larger farmers, who elected to remain and change their system of farming. In Vermont we have a similar story, in Ohio the same. The Yankee farmers who came to Wisconsin were generally at home either small farmers or the sons of farmers large or small; while a certain proportion of the larger farmers, by reason of debt or desire to extend their business, also sold out and came west to buy cheap lands on the prairies or in the openings.

An agriculture which dates from before the time of Tacitus, and which acquired permanent characteristics from the influence of Roman merchants, monastics, and feudatories in Roman and medieval times, was bound to differ widely and even fundamentally from the agriculture of a far flung American frontier. The Germans who met the Yankee immigrants in primitive Wisconsin brought an inheritance of habit and training analogous to that of the English Puritan emigrants to New England, but with the difference that the Germans' training had continued two hundred years longer, on similar lines. They were old-world cultivators, the Yankees new-world cultivators.

Tacitus says in one place: "The Germans live scattered and apart, as a spring, a hill, or a wood entices them."[7]

[7] *Germania* (translated slightly differently in University of Pennsylvania *Translations and Reprints*), 11.

Nineteenth century German economists complained that German farmsteads were seated often most inconveniently with reference to the management of the farm lands pertaining to them. They had been established, in the days of long ago, by lakeside, brook, or river under conditions in which access to water was the most important single consideration. They had never been moved, although gradually the arable stretched far back from the dwelling, and the pasture perhaps was located in a wholly detached area.[8] This description applies to portions of northern Germany where farms were large and farming had the status of a regular and dignified business.

Many individuals and families came to Wisconsin from districts like Mecklenburg, Prussia, Pomerania, though in the emigrations of the 1840's and fifties the great majority were from southern and central German states. It will be one of the interesting inquiries in connection with our study of local influences in Wisconsin towns (*Domesday Book Studies*), how far the special regional inheritances of foreign born settlers manifested themselves in Wisconsin communities. The presumption, about the north German, would be that his farming operations would tend to be on a large scale, under a business system which—in this new land—would slough off such anacronisms as the dislocated farmstead, and present the features of an ideal establishment. But it may be that the forest was such a powerful leveler as to obliterate most of the regional distinctions among immigrants. Our chief concern, at all events, is with that great body of German farmers, and intending farmers, who came from the southwestern states of the recent Empire, especially Alsace, Baden, Württemberg, Rhine Palatinate, Rhenish Prussia, Hesse, Nassau, Westphalia—to some extent Bavaria and Saxony.

[8] J. H. von Thünen, *Der Isolierte Staat* (Berlin, 1875), 108 ff., "Ueber die Lage der Höfe in Mecklenburg."

The fundamental facts about the home conditions of these people, so far as they were farmers at home, were the smallness of their holdings, their intensive cultivation, and the almost universal village type of life. Travelers of about 1840 describe the typical middle Rhine country as a highly cultivated plain without division hedges or fences other than the tree-bordered roads, with no separate farm dwellings and with no livestock in sight. The crops of several kinds being arranged in various shaped fields, patches, and strips, the plain looked like the proverbial "crazy-quilt." Villages were huddled at the edges of woods, and occasionally in the midst of the cultivated area. Their houses, which were not arranged on a regular plan, were usually large stone structures, the farm yard, with tools, implements, manure and compost heaps, occupying a kind of court at the rear.

As a rule, all animals were housed winter and summer. Here was an important difference to the farming of the north, where large herds of cattle could be seen pasturing ample meadows, or ruminating in the shade of buildings or of woods. The soiling system was universally practiced in summer. Grass land being scarce and precious, feed for the cows was laboriously gathered along the brookside, in the open spaces of the forest, along all the roads, in the cemeteries, and the greens before the houses. The weeds and thinnings from the growing crops went to the same object. Vegetable tops were a great resource in late summer and fall, and patches of clover, while insuring green feed, furnished hay as well. In places the growing of sugar beets for the market was a leading agricultural enterprise, and the tops of the beets were carefully cured for winter feed.

The cultivation was intensive both in that it aimed at the maximum produce from given areas, and in that the crops raised included some which called for very special

care. Some sections grew tobacco, in connection with which much hand work was indispensable. This crop also called for care in seed selection, in germinating, and in preparing the ground for the reception of the young plants. Beet culture for sugar making involved perhaps not less care, and doubtless more hand labor. Of similar but less particularity was the growing of root crops for stock feed, the orcharding, which was general, and the vine dressing, incident to the business of special districts.

There were, of course, many farmers and farms in the region indicated and in other contributory regions, which were not so widely different from the average of those in America. Yet, on the whole, it can be said that the German husbandman, in training and habit, was analogous to our modern truck farmer or orchardist, rather than to our general farmer. He was a specialist in soils, in fertilizing and preparing them for different crops, in planting, stirring, weeding, irrigating; in defending plants against insect pests, seasonal irregularities, and soil peculiarities; he throve by hoeing, dragging, trimming, pruning, sprouting; by curing and conserving plants, roots, grasses, grains, and fruits. His livestock economy was incidental, yet very important. It supplied the necessary fertilizer to maintain soil productivity; it afforded milk, beef, pork, butter, cheese, wool. It gave him his draft animals, often cows instead of oxen, and economized every bit of grass and forage which his situation produced.

Improvement of livestock appears to have affected southwestern Germany prior to 1850 very little as compared with the pastoral countries of England, Holland, Friesland, and north Germany. The animals kept by the village farmers were therefore not remarkable for quality. But they were usually well housed, and the feed and care they received made up in considerable measure for the absence of superior blood.

The various states of Germany, by 1840, were maintaining schools of agriculture, a species of experiment stations for the dissemination of such scientific agricultural information as was then available. To some extent, therefore, farming was beginning to be scientific. But, prevailingly it was intensely practical, the appropriate art connected with the growing of every distinct crop being handed on from father to son, from farmer to laborer.

One could almost predict how farmers thus trained would react to the new environment of the Wisconsin wilderness. Taking up a tract of forested land or buying a farm with a small clearing upon it, their impulse would be, with the least possible delay, to get a few acres thoroughly cleared, subdued to the plow, and in a high state of tilth. Exceptions there were, to be sure, but on the whole the German pioneers were not content to slash and burn their timber. After the timber was off, the stumps must come out, forthwith, to make the tract fit for decent cultivation. Was it the Germans who introduced in land clearing the custom of "grubbing" instead of "slashing"? This meant felling the tree by undermining it, chopping off roots underground at a safe depth, taking out grub and all, instead of cutting it off above ground. In timber of moderate growth this practice proved fairly expeditious and highly successful, for once a tract was grubbed, the breaking plow encountered no serious obstruction. A good "grubber" among later immigrants could always count on getting jobs from established German farmers.[9]

To the American, who was content to plow around his stumps every year for a decade, to cultivate around them, cradle or reap around them, it seemed that his German

[9] In southwestern Wisconsin, about 1870, a respectable German farmer announced to his relatives the marriage of his daughter to a man who had arrived but recently and had the status of a mere laborer. To parry all questions about the suitability of the groom, who was known to be addicted to liquor and other vices, the farmer added: "I'm very willing to give him my daughter, for he is the best 'grubber' I've ever had on my farm."

neighbor was using some kind of magic to exorcise his stumps. The magic was merely human muscle, motivated by a psychology which inhibited rest so long as a single stump remained in the field.

The German not only used the heaps of farm yard fertilizer which, on buying out the original entryman, he commonly found on the premises, but he conserved all that his livestock produced, and frequently, if not too distant from town or village, became a purchaser of the commodity of which liverymen, stock yard keepers, and private owners of cow or horse were anxious to be relieved. The manufacture of fertilizer was a prime reason for stabling his livestock. The other was his fixed habit of affording animals such care. Not all Germans built barns at once, but the majority always tried to provide warm sheds, at least, whereas Yankee and Southwesterner alike were very prone to allow their animals to huddle, humped and shivering, all winter on the leeward side of house or granary, or in clumps of sheltering brush or trees.[10] The German was willing to occupy his log house longer, if necessary, in order to gain the means for constructing adequate barns and sheds.

Germans were not one-crop farmers. The lands they occupied, usually forested, could not be cleared fast enough at best to enable them to raise wheat on a grand scale, as the Yankees did in the open lands of the southeast and west. Their arable was extended only a few acres per year, and while that was being done the German farmers grew a little of everything—wheat, rye, corn, oats, barley, potatoes, roots. Clover was to them a favorite forage, hay, and green manure crop. In growing it, they used gypsum freely. This policy of clover growing, adopted gradually

[10] When John Kerler settled near Milwaukee in 1848, he bought a farm on which was no provision for sheltering livestock other than work animals. He built a barn at once, refusing to permit, for a single winter, the cruel American practice of leaving cattle out in the cold. His case is typical.

by all farmers, was one of the means finally relied on by the wheat farmers to restore the productivity of their abused soils.

In ways such as the above, German farmers helped to save Wisconsin agriculture in the period of stress when wheat growing failed and before coöperative dairying entered. They were not the chief influence in popularizing improved livestock. Credit for that innovation must be awarded to the Yankees. They had resumed in the eastern states the English tradition of breeding, and brought it into Wisconsin where, by means of state and county fairs and an active agricultural press, it was ultimately borne in upon the minds of all farmers, Germans among the rest.[11]

Neither did the Germans lead in developing the new agriculture, of which coöperative dairying was the keystone. Yankee leadership therein, too, was the dominant influence. Yet, it was the Germans, Scandinavians, and other foreigners—and numerically Germans were in the majority—who, by virtue of their agricultural morale, their steadiness in carrying out plans, their patience and perseverance, have made the dairy business of Wisconsin the great industry it has become.

Above all, the Germans persisted as farmers. They prospered not dramatically, like some of the more successful of the Yankee farmers, but by little and little they saved money, bought more land, better stock, and built better homes. When Yankee farmers, discouraged or impoverished by the failure of wheat, offered their farms for sale preparatory to "going west," Germans who had managed their smaller farms more carefully stood ready to buy; when Yankees who were tired of being "tied to a cow" wanted to go to Montana, Oregon, or Wyoming to raise steers by wholesale, on the ranching plan, they sold out to Germans who made the dairy farms pay larger dividends year by

[11] See the author's *History of Agriculture in Wisconsin* (Madison, 1922), *passim*.

year. When Yankee farmers retired to the city, or went into business, which in recent decades they have done by thousands, Germans were among those who were the keenest bidders for their farm properties. In a word, the German has succeeded agriculturally through the more and more perfect functioning, in this new land, of qualities imparted by the training and inheritance which he brought with him from the old world. On the whole, Germans have kept clear of speculation, preferring to invest their savings in neighboring lands with which they were intimately familiar, or to lend to neighboring farmers on farm mortgage security. In the aggregate, German farmers in Wisconsin have long had vast sums at interest. The Institute for Research in Land Economics (University of Wisconsin) has completed investigations which show that the nation's area of lowest farm mortgage interest rates (5.2 per cent or less) coincides very closely with the great maple forest of eastern Wisconsin, which has been held, from the first, predominantly by German farmers.

We have no desire to minimize the factor contributed to Wisconsin's agriculture by the Yankees. They were the prophets and the organizers of the farmers' movement. Their inherent optimism, their speculative bent, their genius for organization were indispensable to its success. "Anything is possible to the American people," shouted the mid-century American orator from a thousand Fourth of July rostrums, therein merely reflecting what the mass of his hearers religiously believed. When agriculture had to be remade in Wisconsin, the Yankee's intelligence told him in what ways it must be improved, and his tact, courage, and address enabled him to enlist and organize the means for remaking it. When the Yankee was convinced, by his farm paper or by the exhibitions, that a purebred animal was a good investment, his speculative spirit sent him to his banker to borrow a thousand dollars, and to a distant

breeder to make what his more timid German neighbor would call a "mighty risky investment"—for the animal might die! Finally, when local organization was required to secure a cheese factory, a creamery, or a dairy board of trade, the Yankee by virtue of his community leadership was usually able to effect the desired result.

Wisconsin's almost unique success in agriculture is due to no single or even dual factor. But among the human elements which have been most potent in producing the result, none is of more significance than the fortunate blend in her population of the Yankee and the Teuton.

THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT

HOSEA W. ROOD

ORIGIN OF THE G. A. R.

From the third day of February to the fourth of March, 1864, General Sherman led an army of about twenty-five thousand men from Vicksburg eastward across the state of Mississippi, to Meridian and back, for the purpose of destroying Confederate railroads. There was little fighting, not much to do besides tearing up the roads and burning the ties—this work, of course, being done by the men in the ranks.

Surgeon Benjamin F. Stephenson and Chaplain William J. Rutledge belonged to the Fourteenth Illinois Infantry. They were tent mates and close companions. Since there was not much for them to do on this rather quiet expedition, they rode along side by side and held converse about the close bond of friendship that was becoming more and more manifest among the comrades they had seen so long together. Their regiment had suffered severely in battle, and the survivors were being drawn more and more closely together. They said to one another that this comradeship would not be at all likely to come to an end with the conclusion of the war; that not only would the memory of common hardship and suffering, common dangers, the common loss of "bunkies" in battle, the hospital, or the prison pen, the recollection of jolly good times together in camp and on the march, unite them in the bonds of fraternity, but also the fact that they had fought for a common cause—the saving of our country and its free institutions from disunion. These two comrades were men of vision; they felt that the sentiment of patriotism should be cultivated

among the citizens of our republic, both old and young, in order that another war between different sections of our country might be made impossible. They agreed that no organized effort could better encourage and strengthen such patriotic sentiment than an association of those men who had proved their patriotism by their self-sacrificing service in the War for the Union. They dwelt much upon the good they hoped would come through an organization. They even went so far as to outline in their thoughts a ritual for use in their proposed association of Civil War veterans.

When the war came to an end, Chaplain Rutledge and Dr. Stephenson did not forget what they had talked about on the Meridian expedition; they soon began a correspondence concerning their proposed plan. In March, 1866, they met in Springfield, Illinois, and there spent some time together arranging a form of ceremony for the society they had in mind. Even before this meeting, Dr. Stephenson, after talking the matter over with several army comrades, had planned a service and even gone so far as personally to pledge some of them for Grand Army work. No records were made of these matters at the time, yet different persons have since told what was done then.

One of Dr. Stephenson's active associates was Captain John S. Phelps, who had served in Company B of the Thirty-second Illinois Infantry. Phelps was a young man, practical and energetic. He urged Dr. Stephenson to make a beginning at once and to muster a Grand Army post in Springfield; yet the organization was then only in its formative stage. After considerable correspondence between men interested in the matter, and a careful revision of Dr. Stephenson's draft of a ritual, he, calling himself department commander for Illinois, issued a charter for the organization of a post of the Grand Army of the Republic at Decatur, Illinois; and this post, on the sixth of April, 1866,

was mustered by Dr. Stephenson, assisted by Captain Phelps. Thus was the first Grand Army post organized at Decatur, Illinois, three days less than a year after the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox. It was known as Post Number One. Not long after, Number Two was organized at Springfield.

The first department convention of the Grand Army in Illinois was held in Springfield, July 12, 1866. What was then called a department convention came later to be known as an encampment, and all department and national meetings of the Grand Army are still so called. At this Springfield encampment General John M. Palmer was chosen department commander.

ORGANIZATION IN WISCONSIN

Before the Grand Army was organized in Illinois, various associations of soldiers had been formed under different names, some of which were manipulated for political purposes. In some of the cities and larger villages in Wisconsin had been formed soldiers' and sailors' leagues. These were not acting under a state organization, but were independent one of another. They had, however, common objects: the relief of indigent veterans; the securing of employment for those out of work; and the advancement in other ways of the interests of ex-soldiers and ex-sailors. General James K. Proudfit, late colonel of the Twelfth Wisconsin Infantry, was president of the league at Madison, and George F. Rowell secretary. When Comrade Rowell heard of the formation of a Grand Army post at Decatur, Illinois, he wrote to Springfield asking for information concerning the movement. In response he received copies of the constitution, with a request that the Grand Army be organized in Wisconsin. Copies of this constitution were sent to officers of other leagues. Correspondence with influential veterans in various parts of the state led General

Proudfit to issue a call for a convention in Madison, on June 7, 1866. On that date a large and harmonious meeting was held. Major Robert M. Woods came up from Illinois to give information and, if required, to aid in the organization of the Department of Wisconsin.

At this meeting resolutions were unanimously adopted to accept the plans of organization of the Grand Army of the Republic, and to urge all soldiers' and sailors' leagues to organize thereunder as posts of the Grand Army. Also the following was adopted as prepared by the committee on resolutions, chairman General Thomas S. Allen, later secretary of state:

Resolved, That we tender our grateful acknowledgment for the just and kindly spirit manifested by Congress in the passage of resolutions in favor of giving the preference in appointment to positions of honor and profit within the gift of the National Government, other things being equal, to those who faithfully served in the Union army during the war of the rebellion, and for the recent circular of the President of the United States of the same import, and that the propriety and justice of exercising such discrimination in case of those who have been disabled while in the service of their country are too obvious to be questioned. At the same time we disclaim any disposition on the part of the brave and patriotic men whom we represent, the volunteer soldiers of Wisconsin, to claim office as the reward of their services, or to place themselves in the position of clamorous office seekers. They regard, as every true American should, the independence of private life and the prizes that wait upon individual enterprises in the industrial and business pursuits open to all in this free land as offering incentives to a worthy ambition preferable to those offered by a greedy scramble for place and the favor of politicians; and they receive the fulsome flatteries and unsolicited promises of demagogues of whatever party assumes that the soldiers who risked their lives in defense of their country are a horde of greedy office seekers capable of being lured by promises of official patronage into the service of political tricksters, with feelings of profound disgust and indignation.

The officers elected at this first meeting for the Department of Wisconsin were: commander, General James K. Proudfit; adjutant general, George F. Rowell; quartermaster general, Edward Coleman; surgeon, Dr. L. H. Cary; council of administration, General Thomas S. Allen, General Jeremiah M. Rusk, Colonel A. J. Bartlett, and Colonel E. A.

Calkins. This was quite an array of generals and colonels. Later, the rules and regulations were so changed as to exclude the use of all such titles, and to require the term "comrade" to be applied to every member alike.

Since the Department of Illinois was not organized until July 12, 1866, Wisconsin, organized June 7, was the first by thirty-five days. Yet in the parades of the Grand Army at national encampments, Illinois is given the head of the procession because the order had its origin there, with the first organized post—that at Decatur, April 6, 1866. Wisconsin, however, always comes second in the procession.

On the ninth of June, two days after the organization of the Department of Wisconsin, the Soldiers' and Sailors' League of Madison held its regular session. At that meeting this question arose: Shall we reorganize as a post of the Grand Army of the Republic? After due discussion a motion to do so was carried, though not unanimously. The league then adjourned, and those not in favor of such reorganization withdrew, after which the comrades remaining took the Grand Army obligation, and elected as officers: Captain J. W. Talford, late of Company G of the Twenty-third Wisconsin, commander; Henry Sandford, of Company F of the Second Wisconsin Infantry, adjutant. There were seventeen charter members. The post was named after Cassius Fairchild, late colonel of the Sixteenth Wisconsin. The next day, June 10, the post was given the charter under which it is now working. It has the oldest charter of any existing Grand Army post. There was a time when the meetings of this post were suspended, yet the charter was kept and it now hangs upon the wall of the post hall at 118 Monona Avenue. The post at Berlin was chartered September 8, 1866. It has kept up an unbroken record, and is the oldest post in the order that has done so. Its members claim that it is the oldest Grand Army post in the world, yet Madison has the oldest charter. Though it

slept awhile, it was not dead. Its new roster for January 1, 1922, contains the names of ninety-eight members in good standing. Since 1896 it has borne the name of Lucius Fairchild, a charter member who died May 26 of that year. It has had in all 707 members.

CONSTITUTION OF THE GRAND ARMY

The declaration of principles in the constitution of the Grand Army of the Republic, as written by Adjutant General Robert M. Woods, contains the following schedule of the objects to be accomplished by this organization:

1. To preserve those kind and fraternal feelings which have bound together, with the strong cords of love and affection, the comrades in arms of many battles, sieges, and marches.
2. To make these ties available in works and results of kindness of favor and material aid to those in need of assistance.
3. To make provision, where it is not already done, for the support, care, and education of soldiers' orphans, and for the maintenance of the widows of deceased soldiers.
4. To protect and assist disabled soldiers, whether because of wounds, sickness, old age, or misfortune.
5. To establish and defend the late soldiery of the United States morally, socially, and politically, with a view of inculcating a proper appreciation of their services to the country, and to a recognition of such services and claims by the American people.

To this last section, at the national encampment in 1868, these words were added: "But this association does not design to make nominations for office or to use its influence as a secret organization for political purposes." It may be said in this connection that from time to time, in both department and national encampments, resolutions have been passed against anything of a political nature being discussed in post meetings, declaring that the Grand Army is not a political organization. Politics and Grand Army matters were to be kept separate. In some cases resolutions were passed requesting members of the order to wear neither their uniforms nor their badges at political meetings.

Here is the sixth principle established by the constitution of the Grand Army of the Republic:

6. To maintain true allegiance to the United States of America based upon paramount respect for, and fidelity to, the national constitution and laws, manifested by the discountenance of whatever may tend to weaken loyalty, incite to insurrection, treason, or rebellion, or in any manner impairs the efficiency and permanency of our free institutions, together with a defense of universal liberty, equal rights, and justice to all men.

Fraternity, charity, loyalty—these are the words in which are condensed the expression of the foregoing principles. From its organization they have been the legend of the Grand Army of the Republic. They express the thought of Chaplain Rutledge and Dr. Stephenson as they rode and talked together on the Meridian expedition. From the time when the Grand Army of the Republic was organized, these three—fraternity, charity, loyalty, "F, C, and L"—have been its cardinal virtues; and they will continue so to be until the last Grand Army man has gone into camp.

RAPID GROWTH AND DECLINE

The Department of Illinois was organized July 12, 1866, and there was so much enthusiasm among the young men in those days, that four years later the department commander reported to national headquarters the existence of 330 posts; yet there soon came to be as rapid a decline in both membership and the number of posts. Two years later, the adjutant general of the order visited Illinois to find out for himself the condition of affairs. He was told that there were then twenty-five posts in working order, when as a matter of fact there was only one—that at Rockford, which had been chartered October 3, 1866. In 1872 four posts were reported in working order in Illinois, and dues were paid on 246 members. After that there was again an increase in membership. There is no record of any department meeting in Illinois after the organization, July 12, 1866, until February, 1872, since which time encampments have been held every year up to the present.

It may be said that from about the year 1868 until 1877

the membership of the order was very greatly reduced everywhere. There are no available records of the number belonging to the order during those years, but from 1878 we have the recorded membership for every year up to the present. In 1878 there were 31,016 members, and the number increased year by year, so that ten years later there were 372,960. Two years later there were 409,489, when the membership went over the top, and began again to decrease. In 1920 it had come down to 103,258, with 4604 posts in good standing. In the year 1919, 8931 members died. The average age of all the comrades at the present time is seventy-nine.

Some causes for the first falling off in membership were the following:

1. Records were carelessly kept, or not kept at all. Some department commanders declared that because of this lack of records and making of proper reports they could not tell how many posts there were in their respective states, and their membership dues for the support of the national organization were not paid. This lack of accurate business methods tended toward demoralization—as it does in every enterprise.

2. Very soon after the organization of the Grand Army, three grades of membership were established—*recruit*, *soldier*, and *veteran*. As a member passed from the lowest grade to a higher, he came into possession of greater privileges. It was at first thought that this graded system—first, second, and third degrees—would prove attractive, and be an inducement to the boys to come into the order, and then seek rank distinction. But it worked just the other way. The comrades had seen enough of rank in the army, and so did not care to perpetuate it as citizens. This graded system had much influence in reducing the Grand Army membership, and in 1871 it was abolished.

3. Though resolutions had been passed from time to time against bringing politics into the Grand Army, some members were inclined to attend political meetings, wearing their badges or uniforms. Those were exciting times politically, and occasionally some of the comrades manifested their partisanship as members of the Grand Army. In just so far as they did this they created a prejudice against the order—all this in direct opposition to its established principles. There were politicians bidding for what was called the "soldier vote," and they did—as they always do in such seeking for votes—a great deal of mischief. It took a long time for the Grand Army to rid itself of this outside political influence and the prejudice it induced. Yet in due time it was successful, and people came to know that the Grand Army never was a political organization. All along it has held to its fundamental principles of fraternity, charity, and loyalty.

4. One more cause for the loss in membership of the Grand Army soon after its organization was the fact that young men are apt, when a movement is popular, to go into it with enthusiasm; and then by-and-by, when it loses its novelty, to become indifferent. Many of the soldier boys just home from the war were barely out of their teens. As a sort of plaything the Grand Army was at first interesting—afterward not so much so. Fifteen years later those boys, grown to maturity, came to understand how much this organization for fraternity, charity, and loyalty was worth, and it began then to have a substantial growth. Since then the loss has been through old age, feebleness, and death.

GRAND ARMY ENCAMPMENTS, DEPARTMENT AND NATIONAL

A department in most cases comprises a state; in three or four of them there are two states. There are forty-four departments in all. Each of these departments holds an

annual encampment for the transaction of business, and a fraternal reunion. Every local post sends representatives, the number depending upon its membership. These meetings last two or three days. In the same city where the encampment is held, and during the same week, our allied patriotic societies hold their annual meetings. These societies are: the Woman's Relief Corps, auxiliary of the Grand Army; the Sons of Veterans, and their auxiliary; the Ladies of the Grand Army; and the Daughters of the Grand Army. The representatives of all these organizations coming thus together make up an attendance of several hundred people, all imbued with a common patriotic purpose. It is also a fraternal gathering with much of social enjoyment.

There are two especial features in the program of every Grand Army encampment—the camp fire and the parade; the camp fire in the evening of the first day, and the parade in the forenoon of the second day. For the camp fire some particularly strong speaker is secured, and there is such music as the local committee sees fit to provide. When it is practicable to do so, the presence of the commander-in-chief of the Grand Army is secured. It is not easy for him to visit every one of the forty-four encampments. He attends as many of them as he can. The encampment parade always draws a big crowd of people from both the city and the surrounding country. The boys and girls in particular —dismissed from school for the occasion—come with their flags and banners to look upon the patriotic pageant. Their youthful enthusiasm, as the old comrades march by, adds very much to the liveliness of the scene. Sometimes the members of the allied patriotic societies join the procession, which makes the parade all the more attractive. It has for some years been predicted, as the rather feeble remnant of the Grand Army has passed in parade, that, because the men are coming to be so old, they would not march at

another encampment; yet they have kept marching along, and will continue to do so as long as they meet in encampment. The parade seems to be the most essential feature of the occasion.

The business meetings at the national encampment, held every year in the early autumn, consist of certain national officers—present and past—and one representative for every two hundred members in good standing, with a member at large from every department. This made the voting strength at the encampment at Indianapolis in September, 1920, 1260, though not nearly so many were present. Not all chosen as representatives in any year are able to make the journey. Wisconsin was entitled in the encampment for 1922 held at Des Moines, Iowa, September 24–30, to thirteen representatives.

The Department of Wisconsin, as was the case in Illinois, increased rapidly in number of posts and membership. During the first month of its existence, five more posts were organized—Ripon on June thirteenth; Mazomanie on the fourteenth; Fond du Lac on the twentieth; Greenbush on the twenty-eighth; and Ahnapee on the twenty-ninth. The first annual encampment was convened in Madison, June 19, 1867. At that time fifty-one posts had been organized, yet only sixteen of them were represented at the meeting—by thirty-four delegates. Because so few regular reports were made, it was not possible to tell how many members were then in the department. Department Commander Proudfit had this to say in his address:

> There is one matter to which I wish to allude that has been a source of great regret and some discouragement to me. This is the neglect by many of the Posts . . . in not reporting to department headquarters. . . . The constitution requires quarterly reports by adjutants. Manifestly, if a district does not exist, reports should be made direct to department headquarters, for in no other manner can the department commander learn the number and conditions of the membership, unless he travels from Post to Post for that purpose.

This same neglect occurred in the Grand Army in Illinois, and it was so in other departments. The causes that led to a decreased membership in Illinois, and the order as a whole, operated also in Wisconsin—neglect of proper reports, grades of membership, politics, and a failing enthusiasm. I cannot tell just when the lowest point was reached, yet at one time there were only three or four active posts in the department. The organization was maintained, however, and held regular annual encampments until it came safely through that critical period of its existence. Also, the officers of the department made reports every year to national headquarters. All honor to the loyal comrades who, in spite of discouraging conditions, kept things going!

I have before me in a little pamphlet the proceedings of the first department meeting held in Madison, June 19, 1867; and I have volumes of reports of annual encampments from 1883 down to the present time, but no records between the first in 1867 and that of 1883; no one knows what became of the missing records. In an effort to find out about them I wrote to Comrade Griffith J. Thomas, now of Harvard, Nebraska. He was department commander in 1879, '80, and '81, and is one of the few active Grand Army men of the earlier days still alive. He replied, in part, as follows:

> I am indeed surprised and pained to learn that the records of the Department of Wisconsin for its first fifteen years have so totally disappeared. . . . There was a record book, in which the proceedings of the Encampments were duly recorded. There were other books all of which were kept up to date, and I know that all these were duly forwarded to my successor, Colonel H. M. Enos, at Waukesha, as soon as the proceedings of the last Encampment could be recorded. This shipment included all the books that had been sent to me by my predecessor, Comrade E. L. Hammond. That year, 1878, was when the order reached its lowest tide in Wisconsin, as shown by my statement above, when I was chosen to lead the boys out of the wilderness. . . . When I was made Commander, January, 1879, there were but three reporting Posts. Posts that should have reported refused or neglected to do so.

Post No. 1, at Madison, is an example. I could get nothing from them, not even an answer to my letters. I took the matter up with the Commander-in-Chief, and he authorized me to annul their charter, which I did. The Wolcott Post at Milwaukee was organized, and became No. 1, in place of Fairchild Post at Madison. This awoke the Madison boys to the real merits of the situation, and they pleaded with me to undo what had been done; but it was too late. The best I could do was to give them a new number, 11, and permit them to work under their old name. This was done by and with the advice of the Commander-in-Chief. . . .

The cause of this depression was due mainly to politics, though the change in the ritual—making three ranks of membership, and the legislation that accompanied it—was another detriment—too much ritual and too much expense—making it a virtual dishonorable discharge for every comrade who did not by a certain date choose to comply with the regulations and become *veterans*—third degree. . . .

The feeling at the Encampment of 1879 was that the Grand Army should be perpetuated; that it should be built up, and that those present would do everything in their power to enlarge the membership. I sent out printed matter broadcast, and wrote many personal letters to show that the order was not political, and recited the real objects to be attained by it. It was a long, hard struggle. The big reunion of all Civil War veterans at Milwaukee, in June, 1880, helped wonderfully to get things a-moving, and, once started in earnest, there was rapid progress, as the record of Commander Phil Cheek's administration—my successor—will show.

And now here comes a strange co-incidence, by which I am able to give you a newspaper account of the proceedings of the department Encampment of January, 1882, held in Milwaukee. I have just found it among some of my old papers here. It is taken from the *Republican and News* of that city—January 26, 1882. It contains my last address as department commander. I have no other records of those years, not even an account of the big reunion of 1880, for which the Encampment of 1879, at Berlin, was responsible. I would be only too glad if I could point you to where the department records from 1867 to 1882 could be found. It looks as though the hard work of those three years—1879, '80, '81—hard work, worry and final triumph, because of the fact that new interest had been awakened and confidence in the Grand Army restored—is to be forever lost. I know that I wrote many strong letters to men that I felt ought to be active in the work. I know that at the time of the Encampment of 1882 I arose from a sick bed to attend to it, and that I wrote my address for that occasion under the greatest stress that I ever before or since have written anything. It is certain that complete records were kept during the three years of my administration.

The address of Comrade Thomas at the close of his three years of service as department commander was complete in detail of the condition of the Grand Army in Wisconsin

at that time. He reports the order as having taken on a new lease of life after some years of depression, and he is greatly encouraged. He reiterates the objects for which the Grand Army was organized. He continues:

> Our objects are spread wide before the world, and challenge the admiration and veneration of all. It is in no respect a political organization. In our ranks today are all the illustrious soldiers of the war representing every shade of political and religious opinion. In its highest civic relation it ennobles to a loftier citizenship, to a warmer patriotism, and to a high faith in American institutions. There is nothing in it which conflicts with the most exacting personal duty or the strictest religion. In one respect only is it a seclusive organization, thus eloquently stated by our commander-in-chief in a recent address: "No child can be born into it; no certificate of nationality secures entrance; the millions of a Vanderbilt cannot purchase admission; no institution of learning can grant a diploma securing recognition. The only patent of nobility to which our doors will swing open is the bit of paper—worn and tattered it may be—certifying to honorable discharge from the army or navy of the United States during the war against rebellion."

Toward the close of his address Comrade Thomas said:

> We have met with opposition, and to a certain extent we shall still meet it; but, Comrades, the edict has gone forth, and the Grand Army of the Republic is bound to become a power for good in this beloved state of ours. It rests with us to show to those about us that we are actuated by a spirit of true *fraternity*; that there is that in our hearts which impels us to stand by a comrade though the whole world assail him. It rests with us to prove that ours is that *charity* which never turns its back upon a suffering soldier, or the widow or orphan of those who fell in our holy cause. It rests with us to show the people of Wisconsin that, having proven our *loyalty* to our country and our flag, we propose to continue loyal to every sacred trust committed to our keeping.

To Comrade Thomas and a few others like him belongs the credit of keeping the Grand Army of the Republic alive during the years 1870–80. Faithful, loyal, and devoted they were, and in due time they saw a wonderful growth in the patriotic order for which they had given so much time and service. Almost all the present posts in Wisconsin were organized between 1880 and 1890, and I presume this is the case in all other departments. Only eight posts of the 280 recorded in our Wisconsin Grand Army roster were organized before 1880, and only thirty-one since 1890. The

Grand Army as a whole reached its highest membership in 1890, when it was 409,489, in something more than 6000 posts. On the thirty-first of December, 1920, there were 4445 posts, with 93,171 members. December 31, 1921, there were in Wisconsin 158 posts, with 2433 members. During that year 291 deaths were reported. There were then only three posts which had more than fifty members each—Number One, Milwaukee, 146; Number Eleven, Madison, 98; Number Nine, Baraboo, 68. Three of the posts reported only one member each, and five only two. Reports were received from every post but one. Wisconsin reached its highest membership in 1889, when there were 264 posts, with 13,987 members. The state with the highest record in 1920 was New York, with 459 posts and 8795 members. The lowest was Alabama, with three posts and fifty members. It goes without saying that there is now and must continue to be rapid decrease in membership. Since, as previously stated, the average age of the comrades is now seventy-nine years, the Grand Army of the Republic will soon exist only in memory.

(*To be concluded*)

EMPIRE: A WISCONSIN TOWN

W. A. Titus

Of all the towns of Fond du Lac County, Empire is the most completely rural. It is, and has been since its separate organization in 1851, a hundred per cent farming community. It has never contained a village nor even a hamlet. It follows, therefore, that the men of whom we write were products of the pioneer farms of half a century and more ago. The families that settled in Empire prior to the Civil War were hardy, industrious, and above the average in culture and intelligence. This abbreviated township (it contains only thirty sections) has claimed as resident farmers two of the three territorial governors of Wisconsin, one United States senator, four Congressmen, three state senators—including the writer—a number of members of the Wisconsin assembly, four sheriffs and four district attorneys of Fond du Lac County. To this list of men who have become more or less conspicuous in the political field should be added a number of equally prominent farmers, lawyers, physicians, and business men.

The topography of the town was such as gave to men and boys a broad vision, an outlook over the extensive prairies to the westward that seemed world-wide to the restricted view of the early dwellers in the wilderness. From the farms upon the bold escarpment commonly known as "the ledge," Lake Winnebago and the Fond du Lac region lay almost at one's feet, and to the farmer boys the county seat, small though it was, seemed the gateway to a larger life; the infrequent visits to the city were long remembered events. With their inheritance of health and ambition, it is not remarkable that so many of the early settlers achieved a marked success. It is not possible within the limits of this sketch to deal with the careers of all, or even

of a majority of the citizens, past and present, of whom Empire is justly proud; but special mention is made of the most prominent, or of those best known to the writer.

Nathaniel P. Tallmadge was probably the most widely known in public life of all the Empire farmers. Before coming to Wisconsin he had served for fourteen years as United States senator from New York. It is said that when William Henry Harrison was nominated for president, the nomination for vice-president was offered to Senator Tallmadge, then at the height of his political power. He declined the doubtful honor, as so many public men have done since, and John Tyler received the nomination. By this narrow margin he failed to become one of the presidents of the United States. He became interested in lands in Wisconsin Territory, resigned from the United States Senate, and was appointed by the president territorial governor. He located in the town of Empire, which was his place of residence thereafter. He died in 1864 in his beautiful farm home "under the ledge," and sleeps on the topmost knoll of the original Rienzi Cemetery, which he had previously donated from his extensive farm. The old Tallmadge farm, now owned and occupied by Fred M. Ingalls, is located in section nineteen; it consists of land both above and below the ledge.

James Duane Doty was one of the outstanding figures in Wisconsin Territory. As judge, territorial governor, and Congressman in Wisconsin, and later governor of Utah Territory, he occupied the center of the stage in Wisconsin politics for many years. He early noted the desirability of Empire lands, and became in the early forties a resident of the town. The farm on which he lived is probably the most historic in Empire. Since its purchase from the government, it has been owned and occupied by Colonel Henry Conklin, Governor J. D. Doty, Lyman H. Phillips, State Senator Edward Colman, and Congressman Owen A.

Wells. The sheep industry, in which Empire long led, and the dairy industry, which has grown steadily to the present time, were both inaugurated on a large scale on this farm. The property is now owned by the Sisters of St. Agnes, and on it is located the creditable educational institution known as St. Mary's Springs Academy.

John B. Macy, an Empire farmer who became a member of Congress, was a native of New York, where he was born in 1799. He settled in Empire in 1850, and was in 1852 elected to Congress. His farm in section thirty was a model country estate, on which he lavished money for buildings, stone arch bridges, and landscape gardens. It was the best equipped farm in the town, and the buildings he erected still stand after a lapse of seventy years. The farm later became the property of Honorable David Giddings, who resided on it for many years. It is now owned and occupied by Elwood A. Quick. Mr. Macy was very active in interesting New York capital in Wisconsin railroad enterprises; it is said that the present Chicago and Northwestern Railway system was begun largely as a result of his efforts. He was drowned in 1856, when he jumped from the burning steamer *Niagara* about a mile off Port Washington.

Owen A. Wells, member of Congress from 1893 to 1895, was born in New York and came to Empire when a child. His father, James Wells, was one of the pioneers of Fond du Lac County, having settled in 1850 on the farm in section thirty-four which is still occupied by a son, Bernard Wells. James Wells was a remarkable man, both intellectually and physically. At a time when educational opportunities were meagre, he personally supervised the education of a large family, nearly all of whom became teachers or entered the professions. Owen A. Wells, now retired from law practice, is a highly respected resident of Fond du Lac.

M. K. Reilly, the fourth resident of Empire to become a member of Congress, is a native of the town where his father

settled at an early date. Mr. Reilly was graduated from the Oshkosh Normal School in 1889, University of Wisconsin in 1894, and University Law School in 1895. He was district attorney of Fond du Lac County for one term, and was elected to Congress in 1912 and reëlected in 1914. He is now engaged in the practice of law at Fond du Lac.

Among the members of the Wisconsin assembly who were one time residents of Empire may be mentioned Charles Doty, son of Governor Doty, who was elected in 1848 and served in the first session of the legislature after Wisconsin became a state. Isaac S. Tallmadge, a son of Governor Tallmadge, served in the Wisconsin assembly during 1853–54; he resided at the time on Cold Spring Farm, later owned by Frederick Phelps. He was succeeded by M. J. Thomas, a son-in-law of John B. Macy, who served in the assembly from 1854 to 1857, when he was appointed United States marshal. Thomas resided in Empire up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1859 in the railroad wreck at Johnsons Creek, on the occasion of the formal opening of the railroad line between Fond du Lac and Janesville. James Lafferty, a prominent Empire farmer, was a member of the assembly in 1874, and John Meiklejohn in 1882. Empire farmers who have recently been sent to the legislature are Herman Schroeder and Math Koenigs, the last named being the present representative from the first assembly district of Fond du Lac County.

Colonel Edward Colman, Neil C. Bell, Peter Brucker, and C. W. Keys, all Empire farmers, have served the county in the capacity of sheriff. Isaac S. Tallmadge, John McCrory, H. E. Swett, and M. K. Reilly, all Empire residents, have held the office of district attorney. David Giddings, who resided in Empire for many years, was for two terms, before taking up his residence in the town, a member of the territorial legislature, as well as delegate in 1846 to the first constitutional convention.

Colonel Edward Colman, an officer of the Civil War, was at one time the owner of the old Governor Doty farm in section seven, town of Empire. He was in 1866–67 superintendent of public property at Madison, was elected sheriff of Fond du Lac County in 1878, and state senator in 1882.

Colonel E. L. Phillips, a native of New York, in 1852 settled in section seven in Empire. While yet a resident of New York, he was elected sheriff of Onondaga County, a member of the New York legislature, and held a commission as colonel in the New York militia. He was elected to the Wisconsin state senate in 1860; in 1863–64 he was provost marshal of the Fond du Lac district. The quaint and elaborate farmhouse that he built is still standing.

Colonel Henry Conklin, also a native of New York, came to Empire in 1841 and settled on section seven near the "big spring" just under the ledge. Before coming to Wisconsin, he had been engaged in the Hudson River shipping trade in the same field with Cornelius Vanderbilt, who was his contemporary, neighbor, and friend. During this period he represented his district in the New York legislature for several terms. Financial reverses came to him in 1839–40, and he lost a considerable part of his ample fortune. In 1841 he gathered together the remaining portion of his property and came to Wisconsin, which was thereafter his home. His enterprises here were all on a large scale. He developed several water powers and built mills in different parts of Empire and other towns of the county. The most important of these, now known as "Leonard's Mill," is still in operation. It is the only remaining mill dam and pond in the town. Colonel Conklin was the first to attempt dairying on a large scale, but the lack of transportation and markets prevented a profitable return from the industry at that early day. He died in 1868 in the city of Fond du Lac, at the age of seventy-four years.

Gustave de Neveu was born in Savigny, France, in 1811, and was educated in the College of Vendome. His father, François Joseph de Neveu, when only nineteen years of age, was an ensign in the French fleet under d'Estaing that started from France to aid the Americans in their struggle for independence. The young ensign was wounded in an encounter with a British fleet, in which the French were worsted and obliged to return to the port from which they had started. Before his wounds were healed the fleet had again sailed, leaving him in France. His interest in America did not cease, however, and it was probably because of home influence that Gustave de Neveu, while yet a young man, resolved to visit America. He spent some time in New York as a teacher of the French language, but the interior lured him and in 1837 he joined an expedition to Green Bay. Thence he adventured as far as the Fond du Lac region, where he purchased a large tract of land in section thirty-one, town of Empire, his holdings including the beautiful lake that still bears his name. He was the first settler in Empire and built in 1838 the first house in that town. At that time there were only four other houses in all Fond du Lac County.

On the occasion of Mr. de Neveu's first trip from Green Bay to Fond du Lac, he traveled with Captain Frederick Marryatt, the well known English novelist, and a warm friendship sprang up between them. Mr. de Neveu was a young man of education, culture, and refinement, and it is easy to understand how a person of his type would appeal to Captain Marryatt, especially in a western wilderness where dusky savages or white adventurers were the usual companions. Marryatt urged young de Neveu to accompany him on his journey west of the Mississippi River, but the latter decided that Empire ended the long trail so far as he was concerned.[1] Since 1838, the de Neveu home has been

[1] For Marryatt's account of his meeting with de Neveu, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, 142.—Editor.

noted for its hospitality and social activities. A daughter, Emily de Neveu, still resides on the old farm, which has become a popular summer resort. Throughout his Wisconsin career Gustave de Neveu was a farmer, with occasional excursions into the fields of literature and politics. In 1881, although then seventy years of age, he planned a long trip through the then unsettled regions of the Pacific Northwest. Death overtook him near the close of the year, and his remains lie buried on the banks of the Columbia River within the state of Washington.[2]

Other early settlers in Empire were David Lyons, George Keys, John Keys, James Wells, M. Reilly, J. McCrory, B. F. Swett, T. Brownsell, B. Kaye, John Meiklejohn, George Meiklejohn, A. T. Germond, John Berry, J. Immel, D. H. Vinton, Hamilton Meekin, John Treleven, J. Isaac, L. H. Jennings, B. White, T. J. Burhyte, J. Menne, C. S. Pray, George Wright, George Shoemaker, the Freund brothers, George Titus, Daniel Graham, and William Edwards. A number of Scottish families early came to Empire, among whom may be mentioned Duncan McGregor, Alexander McGregor, Peter Ferguson, William Moffatt, and J. Campbell. Before the Civil War period, the people of Empire were from "York State," or else from England, Ireland, or Scotland. The Germans in most instances came in at a later date. One of the early German settlers was J. Immel. A son, John W. Immel, resides in Fond du Lac; as president of the Immel Construction Company, the Vulcan Iron Works, and the Clark Motor Company, he is well known throughout Wisconsin.

Although the population of Empire has never been large, it has been a place of sepulture for hosts who have crossed the "great divide." No other town in the county approaches it in the number of interments. Rienzi Ceme-

[2] See article by de Neveu in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1910, 153-164, accompanied by his portrait.—Editor.

tery, four miles from Fond du Lac, is unequaled in Fond du Lac County for size and beauty; it is located in sections eighteen and nineteen. Empire Cemetery, in section thirty-three, has long been a burial place for the residents of portions of Empire, Eden, Osceola, and Forest.[3]

Of social or quasi social events, the most common were the farm "bees," country dances, singing schools, and church donation parties. The "bees" were the culmination of a sincere desire on the part of the pioneer farmers to help one another, and especially to give assistance to a neighbor who had been ill or otherwise unfortunate. Where no such incentive existed, it was common enough to find a neighborhood group alternating the "bees" for the sake of sociability or the advantages of joint effort. Ordinarily there was a little liquor provided; it was not used to excess as a rule, but the workers were kept in a happy mood. Many of the stone-wall fences that still exist were the result of this community teamwork.

The country dances were simple, unconventional, and without any set time for closing, except that the young people must get home in time to feed the stock in the morning, and do the other morning chores. The people came from miles around to these dancing parties, using heavy draft horses and even oxen as a means of rapid transit.

The church donation party, an annual event, was one of the methods employed for maintaining the rural pastor. The net result was a miscellaneous collection of food and clothing, desirable or otherwise, some cash, and a jolly evening for all, from the grandparents to the children. The few roomy homes in the neighborhood were always in demand for these social affairs.

The pioneers who carved the fertile farms out of the wilderness have passed on, and hardly a thought is given to the efforts of these noble men and women who made possible the comforts and the luxuries of today.

[3] For a description of Empire Cemetery, see article by the writer, "Two Graves in a Rural Wisconsin Cemetery," in *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, iv, 426-430 (June, 1921).

MICAJAH TERRELL WILLIAMS—A SKETCH

SAMUEL M. WILLIAMS

In the title records of the earliest platted lands in the city of Milwaukee on the west side of the river are often found the names of Micajah T. Williams and Hannah J. Williams, his wife; as they did not live in Milwaukee, the question is often asked by those interested in the early history of Milwaukee: Who was Micajah T. Williams?[1]

To best know others, a knowledge of their forebears—some account of the past out of which their lives have come—is interesting, and as necessary as the background of the best pictures. A greater part of Mr. Williams' life is identified with Ohio than with Wisconsin; nevertheless his share in Wisconsin history is not inconsiderable.

Mr. Williams was born in Guilford County, North Carolina, June 3, 1792, near the place where, on the farm of his grandfather Richard Williams, was fought the battle of Guilford Court House. He was the eldest son of Jesse Williams and Sarah Terrell, and grandson of Micajah Terrell and Sarah Lynch—the Lynches having come to Virginia from Galway, Ireland, and the Terrells and Williamses from Wales, during or about the latter part of the seventeenth century. Most of Mr. Williams' ancestors were members of the religious Society of Friends or Quakers, and the older generations of them were slaveholders, by inheritance. Sarah Lynch Terrell, grandmother of Mr. Williams, was a devout woman, an elder in the Society of Friends. Her convictions against the evils of slavery, expressed during her last illness, were read in the Friends meeting in the section where she lived, and produced a decided effect. She exacted from her husband a promise that he would free their negroes, and she expressed the hope that her children would not marry slaveholders. The Quaker discipline at that time prohibited only the buying and selling of slaves. Soon after her death, her husband freed their

[1] The Milwaukee *Evening Wisconsin*, October 15, 1895, gives a short account of Micajah T. Williams among a group of sketches of the founders of Milwaukee.

negroes and removed with his family from Virginia to Guilford County, North Carolina, where their daughter Sarah Terrell married Jesse, son of Richard Williams, and they became the parents of Micajah T. Williams.

General Greene and General Cornwallis both refer to the fact that they left their sick and wounded in the care of the Quakers of the neighborhood of the battle ground of Guilford Court House. Among the officers of General Greene in the battle of Guilford Court House was Colonel Charles Lynch, a great-uncle of Mr. Williams, who raised a regiment of riflemen and joined General Greene, rendering yeoman service as a first-class fighting man, having previously, however, lost his standing in the Society of Friends by reason of his military connections. In his home district about Lynchburg, Virginia, during the Revolutionary War period, in the absence of the necessary local government, Colonel Lynch with several other leading men of the district organized a court of criminal jurisdiction, without the consent of the voters, for the trial and punishment of Tories, thieves, outlaws, and persons communicating with the enemy. The fighting colonel was made judge of the court. The prisoner was given a fair trial, and if he could prove his innocence, was released, but if found guilty, was punished, though no case exists where the punishment was death. Modern "lynch law" does not possess the quality of mercy that characterized the judgments of Colonel Lynch, yet the modern law has seized upon and bears his name.

During the Revolution many Tories lived in the Blue Ridge section of southwestern Virginia. In 1780 they formed a conspiracy, organized companies, and did actually attempt to levy war against the Commonwealth; but Col. Wm. Preston, the County Lieutenant of the then County of Montgomery, on the west side of the Blue Ridge, and Col. James Calloway, the County Lieutenant of the County of Bedford, on the east side, aided by Col. Charles Lynch and Capt. Robert Adams, Jr., (army officers) and other faithful citizens, did by timely and effectual measures suppress said conspiracy. Whenever a conspirator or Tory was captured he was tried before a sort of drum head court martial, and Col. Lynch, acting as judge, condemned them to receive various punishments, generally so many lashes. After the war many suits were instituted by citizens of this region for this infliction (without due process of law) of Lynch's Law, *as it was called:* and the general assembly of the State, in October, 1782, found it necessary to pass an act, that relieved them of prosecution on the ground, that "the acts of the Judge

Lynch's Court might not be *strictly warranted by law*, although justified by the *imminence of the danger*."[2]

Mr. Williams received his education in the schools of Lynchburg, Virginia, where with his brothers and sisters he was sent from their home in North Carolina. Lynchburg was founded by John Lynch, a great-uncle of Mr. Williams and a brother of the fighting colonel.

In 1811 Micajah T. Williams, at the age of nineteen, with a view to the selection of a home in what was called the Western Country, made a journey on horseback from North Carolina through Virginia, Ohio, and the territory of Indiana. The next year he went to Cincinnati to reside, and two years later his father's family followed, making the journey with a four-horse wagon, a two-horse carriage, and a saddle horse for his mother, who rode the entire distance. Their route was doubtless along the old Wilderness Road through the Cumberland Gap.

The question may be asked: Was negro slavery an influential cause that brought Micajah T. Williams and his father's family from North Carolina to Ohio? In all probability it was. One of the historians of the southern Quakers writes:[3]

> The prophetic voice of their preachers was heard, telling them of the judgments of the Almighty that were coming upon the Southland because of her bondsmen, and warning them to flee lest they be partakers of the chastisement. One minister in particular visited every meeting house in Georgia, South Carolina and lower North Carolina, preaching a day of vengeance and warning the Friends to escape. The result was that the entire body of Friends in the region, and many from the other parts of North Carolina and from Virginia and Maryland, emigrated to Ohio, Indiana and other Western States—

to the land covered by the precious Ordinance of 1787.

Mr. Williams began his career at Cincinnati as clerk of the board of supervisors. Very soon after, he appears in the editorial corps of the *Western Spy*.[4] At that time the proprietor of the newspaper, Captain Joseph Carpenter, was absent in the North-

[2] *The Green Bag* (Boston), March, 1893, from an article on "Lynch Law," by Alexander Brown. See also material on Colonel Lynch and the Loyalists of Virginia, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xxiv, *passim*.

[3] Fernando G. Cartland, *Southern Heroes: or Friends in War Time* (Cambridge, Mass., 1895).

[4] For the history of this newspaper, see R. G. Thwaites, "Ohio Valley Press," in American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, xix, 338-339.—EDITOR.

western Army, in command of his company of infantry under General William Henry Harrison. During the winter of 1813, Captain Carpenter died on his way home from the army, and was buried in the woods by his servant. Mr. Williams and others volunteered to go and bring his body to Cincinnati; this they accomplished, carrying the remains on a sled hundreds of miles through the woods in the month of February. Through his association with the *Western Spy*, Mr. Williams wielded a powerful influence for the progress of public improvements in the state of Ohio, while the state in its infancy was struggling with the great question of transportation.

On March 2, 1818, at Zanesville, Ohio, according to the marriage ceremony of the religious Society of Friends, Williams was married to Hannah, daughter of Aquilla and Elizabeth Jones, of Baltimore, Maryland. She had come from Baltimore on a visit to her grandfather, Moses Dillon, making the journey on horseback. She was a woman of unusual decision of character, of dignified, quiet manners, in harmony with her breeding as a Quakeress. Though the marriage is said to have taken place at Zanesville, Ohio, the fact is, there was no Friends meeting there, so they rode horseback forty miles to Plainfield, where they were married.[5]

In 1820 Mr. Williams was elected to the General Assembly from Hamilton County, Ohio; he was reëlected for the session of 1822–23, and made speaker of the House for the session of 1824–25. It was during these sessions of the legislature that Mr. Williams brought to bear his great influence upon the promotion of public improvements in the state, which at that time consisted in the building of canals connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River. Honorable Alfred Kelley writes of him:

> His sagacious mind was early impressed with the important fact that Ohio needed nothing so much as cheap and expeditious means of conveying to the best market the surplus products of her luxuriant soil. . . . Alive to the interests of his adopted State, anxious above all

[5] Their children were: Major Charles H. Williams, Baraboo; Granville S. Williams, Cincinnati; Elizabeth W. Perry, Cincinnati; Alfred K. Williams, Washington, Kansas; Sarah W. Thomas, Oakland, California; George F. Williams, Milwaukee; and John Edward Williams, Madison. All of them are now deceased, except Mrs. Sarah W. Thomas, who in her ninety-fifth year now lives with her daughter, Mrs. Robert Ritchie, in Oakland, California.

things for her prosperity, he stood ready to lend the whole energy of his intellect and the large share of influence he possessed to the accomplishment of his great task.

En route to the city of New York in the fall of 1823, Mr. Williams made a personal inspection of every part of the line of the Erie Canal in that state, which was then nearly completed. It has been said that "he walked the entire length of it"—which can hardly be taken in a literal sense. He examined the locks, aqueducts, bridges, embankments, and informed himself of the practical construction and cost of each part. His pocket notebook, in which he made entries of his observations at each step upon that journey—with diagrams on the mode of carrying the canal through swamps, over rivers, around the sides of hills; with estimates of the capacity of different kinds of earth and clay for holding water, of the requisite quantity of water to be supplied by feeders, of the amount of evaporation to be provided for, dependent on the season of the year, weather, etc.—is interesting evidence of his capacity for the mastery of detail, and of the careful preparation he made for the wise and successful fulfillment of the enterprise of constructing the Ohio canals.

Mr. Williams and Alfred Kelly were designated acting commissioners in the construction of the canals. Samuel Forrer, who was one of two engineers under whom the canal routes were located, and who was connected with the work from its beginning to its completion, says in a letter on the subject:

> Under the law just passed, the Ohio Canal, connecting Lake Erie at Cleveland with the Ohio River at Portsmouth, and the Miami Canal extending from Cincinnati to Dayton, were constructed by and entirely under the supervision of Mr. Williams and Mr. Kelly. These gentlemen disbursed the millions of dollars expended, constructing near four hundred miles of canal; and as a closing commentary on the character of each, it can be said without fear of contradiction that not a dollar was ever lost to the State by the act of either, no bond or security was ever required of either; and, as the sequel shows, none was ever needed—and yet these faithful agents at no time received salaries exceeding one thousand dollars a year.[6]

[6] In the abstract of expenditures made by the canal commissioners for March 1—May 31, 1827, on the Miami and Ohio canals, are the following items: Samuel Forrer, resident engineer, three months, $350; Jesse L. Williams, assistant engineer, three months, $135; Byron Kilbourn, assistant engineer, three months, $135; C. E. Lynch, Jr., assistant engineer, three months, $90; Garret Vliet, rodman, three months, $36; L. Bayliss, axman, three months, $27.

In 1830 Mr. Williams was nominated by the Democratic party of Ohio for the United States Senate. The Whig candidate, Thomas K. Ewing, was elected by one vote. It is related that a member of the Ohio legislature, Joseph Ridgway, an old personal friend of Mr. Williams, but a Whig, said to him, "Mr. Williams, I should be glad to see you representing the state of Ohio in the United States Senate, but if I vote for you I must vote against my party; I leave it to you to say what I shall do."

Without hesitation Mr. Williams replied, "It is your duty to vote with your party, sir."

Although Mr. Williams had been a Democrat, yet in 1840, when General Harrison was the Whig candidate for president, he united with that party, giving as his reason, "that the tariff the Democratic party opposed, was a necessity for the people, that the Democratic party was much more of a Southern than a national party." At that election he went to the polls with his two sons, Charles and Granville, and after they had voted, he turned to his friends and neighbors there assembled and said, "Gentlemen, this is the proudest day of my life, when with my two sons we cast three votes for General Harrison."

When the United States Bank was crushed out of existence, during the administration of President Andrew Jackson, a branch of the bank at Cincinnati closed its doors. Mr. Williams saw clearly that another bank must be established to take its place. Calling together the prominent men of both parties, he carried through the legislature the act of incorporation by which the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company was organized. He then became its president, and retained that office until shortly before his death. The affairs of the institution continued in a prosperous condition at least ten years after Mr. Williams' death, and it enjoyed full confidence of the public until the great financial panic of 1857.

Through appointment by President Andrew Jackson, Mr. Williams became, April 15, 1831, surveyor general of the Northwest Territory, succeeding General Lytle, and held that position until March, 1835. Prior to this period Wisconsin was a part of the territory of Michigan, and was in possession of the Indians, though the advance guard of white settlers had begun pushing in

at the southwest corner of the state, attracted by the lead regions, and at Green Bay, attracted by the waterway and fur trade. No land in Wisconsin was thrown open for settlement and purchase from the United States until after the Black Hawk War and the subsequent treaties with the Indians.

Mr. Williams was always interested in the growth and development of the new country. From an early date he had been familiar with its promising advantages. His position as surveyor general of the Northwest Territory gave him the opportunity to help in securing the results of their sacrifices to those who in good faith and with great hardship had settled or squatted upon the lands of Michigan Territory west of Lake Michigan, before they were surveyed and purchasable through the United States land office opened at Green Bay.

Morgan L. Martin, in a letter to James S. Buck, says:[7]

I first visited Milwaukee and spent there the 4th of July, 1833. There were no claims or improvements of any description, save the trading establishment of Solomon Juneau, and a small cabin occupied by his brother Peter. The land was still owned by the Government; had not been surveyed, nor was there any law of Congress under which claims for pre-emption could be made. . . . On the 10th of June, 1834, an act [of Congress] was passed extending the pre-emption law of 1830, under which a pre-emption was secured to the lands occupied by Solomon Juneau. . . .

Samuel Forrer, in a letter, speaks of Mr. Williams as surveyor general:

Mr. Williams was at that time regarded as the most reliable and influential politician of his party in Ohio; and yet the most ardent political opponent could enter his office at all times in the perfect confidence of finding in the chief the courteous, gentlemanly and intelligent man of business. No mere partisan consideration operated upon him in the organization or conduct of his business operations. His chief clerk and a majority of his assistant clerks were opposed to him in politics. His deputies in the field were selected purely because of their fitness for the place.

He was remarkable for the facility with which he made himself acquainted with the duties of any trust he assumed, however minute or comprehensive. In this new office [surveyor general of the Northwest] he necessarily had many intelligent visitors from among the pioneers of his district, none of whom ever left his office without obtaining all the information they sought, if it was possible to obtain it. And certainly

[7] James S. Buck, *Pioneer History of Milwaukee* (Milwaukee, 1890), i, 40-41.

none ever left without contributing to the stock of knowledge of the Surveyor General in regard to the climate, soil and every marked characteristic of the district of country known to the visitor.

Mr. Williams had early been deeply impressed with the idea that somewhere along the western shore of Lake Michigan, between Chicago and Green Bay, there would be a great city. He had so favorably known Byron Kilbourn as an engineer of ability, courage, and integrity in the work of constructing the Ohio and Miami canals, that after Mr. Williams had terminated his official term of surveyor general of the Northwest Territory, in March, 1835, he bought of Mr. Kilbourn, December 14, 1835, a half interest in the lands preëmpted and patented by Mr. Kilbourn on the west side of Milwaukee River. He also bought other property in the same locality, and was guided by Mr. Kilbourn in the subsequent struggles in building up the early settlement of "Milwaukee on the west side" of the river, in its competition and rivalry with "Milwaukee on the east side" of the river.

The following letter, dated Milwaukee, February 27, 1837, from Byron Kilbourn to M. T. Williams, is interesting and historical:

DEAR SIR

Mr. Clybourn was here some 10 or 12 days since and I obtained a full settlement with him—having sold out his remaining interest here. I was enabled to square off accounts with him, nearly; he still remaining in my debt only about $200—[8]

I have now made out a statement of receipts and expenditures up to Dec 31, 1836, which shows a balance due you of $9,875.70. I have nearly this sum in hand and propose to use it for the present in payment for work now progressing, but to be refunded out of future receipts. The business being now in my own hands entirely, I shall be able at any time to make out a statement and dividend without delay—and shall do so 1st July next, and sooner if desired. My proportion of receipts has been entirely consumed and a little more, in building &c. in addition to my part of road & street expenditures. My buildings alone have cost rising $13,000, having been done under the most disadvantag[eou]s circumstances. In Ohio the same work could have been done for less than $5,000. But it was important in the highest degree that the pro-

[8] Clybourn Street, Milwaukee, was named for this Archibald Clybourn, early settler of Chicago. In 1836 Clybourn was one of the proprietors of Kilbourn's new town, probably on the claim of his half-brother James Clark, a half-breed who had had a post at Milwaukee. As this letter indicates, Kilbourn and Williams early bought him out.—EDITOR.

prietors should do something in the way of improvement and business, by way of giving an impulse, and to counterbalance in some degree the efforts on the other side made by the proprietors there—Douceman is a man of wealth, and has expended as much, or more than Juneau, having built a warehouse, store and one or two dwelling houses. Martin has built two verry respectable houses, and several other original owners of minor interest have contributed considerably in actual improvements. This action on their part, together with a year the start of us,[9] has given them an apparent advantage thus far, and it is necessary that we should take a similar course to turn the tide in our favour. That we can do so is obvious, and that the means will be tried, I hope is also certain. The effect produced by taking the lead in improvements may be seen by that arround my residence—although so far up the river, there is now a verry respectable village arround me, a verry small part of which I have good reason to believe would not be here, but for the commencement made by me. From Block 50[10] to Spring Street [Grand Avenue], it is now pretty well improved; but between my house[11] and B. 50 it is still vacant, and requires filling up to give a connected appearance to the town. Your lots are situated about the middle of this space, which if improved with one or two good buildings, would mend the appearance of the town, give tone to improvements in that quarter and enhance the value of other surrounding property, more than the cost of the buildings—and the buildings would rent for a fair interest. I will therefore ask whether you would be willing for me to have a good building erected on the corner of B. 47 and a warehouse or storehouse on the corner of B. 49, or either—and if so, to send me a description of the size and value of the buildings you would choose to erect.

Times begin to brighten with us, several good sales have been recently made at second hand, and building is commencing with a brisk air. As soon as navigation opens, and lumber can be received, our mechanics will have full employment; and there will be business for as many more as soon as we can get them. Some time back L 1 B 72 was sold for $5,500—L 1 B 59 $5,000— L 2 B 59 $4,500 and about a week since L 3 B 59 at $5,000—$1,000 in hand, the remainder in 6, 12 & 18 mo. Should the times mend a little we may hope for some good operations during the coming season.

I have been, and am now, labouring with all dilligence in the matter of roads to secure their proper locations, and by next Fall, if you will make us a visit, I feel sanguine in demonstrating to you that the business of Milwaukee is to be done on the W. side. My bridge over the Menomonee marsh will give Walkers Point a cooler, as all agree who look at its bearing on the business of the place—and as to a bridge over the river, I consider it out of the question; but if they should succede contrary to all expectation, in erecting it, I will take good care that they shall have no use of it—for we can construct a couple of small steamboats

[9] The rivalry of "Milwaukee east of the river" and "Milwaukee west of the river" had part of its roots in the priority of the former.—EDITOR.

[10] Where the Second Ward Bank now stands.

[11] Kilbourn's residence was then on the corner of Third and Chestnut.—EDITOR.

for harbour use, and pass them through the bridge so frequently that it can never be closed. It will cost us less to do this, than it will them to build the bridge, and the bridge will be of less use to them than a ferry.[12] It wants a strong pull &c. and the story is told.

I have purchased and paid on joint a/c fr. 5 in Sec 5, T 7 R 22 for $1,000 which makes our mill tract and privilege there complete.

I hope you will make some improvements here, as I believe it would be money well expended, even if no return should ever be had from it direct.

Verry Respectfu[ly]

M. T. Williams Esq BYRON KILBOURN

I recd a letter a few days since from Messrs Dwelle and Warren giving notice that my plats[13] were completed and ready to be sent off by first opportunity if so directed by you or me. If Mr. Vliet is coming out soon it would be well to send them by him—but if he is not *certain* of starting soon, I will ask of you the favour to write to A. Buttles Esq of Columbus and ascertain whether he will come out early, and if so request him to fetch them. I presume they could be sent to him by the stage or by some passenger. I hope they will arrive [soon] as I am daily in want of them—and have been greatly disappointed [at] not receiving those sent by Vliet, which with him performed the [tour] of the N. W. and then I suppose returned to Cin[a].

If you see Mr. Vliet just mention to him that claim ju[mping] is the order of the day, and that in all probability before he arrives here his claims at Minnomonee falls will be occupied [by] families. Several persons have been talking of this, and I think unless he is here early and secures them by *occupation*, he will loose them. Jack knife and non-resident claims are getting much out of fashion.

B. K.

In all Mr. Williams' relations with Milwaukee, his only visit to the young city was made in 1842, when it had grown to have a population of *two thousand;* and during that period and up to the date of his death in 1844, at the age of fifty-two years, all his affairs connected with the city he helped to found were in charge of Mr. Kilbourn and Increase A. Lapham. Mr. Williams was a man of large and commanding figure, friendly and pleasing personality, unquestioned integrity, of wide political influence, unlimited energy and industry, of whom John Hustis, of Hustisford, Wisconsin, said: "He was one of the most delightful men I

[12] These sentences indicate the feeling that led to the "bridge war" of Milwaukee. On the original manuscript is written by a later hand, possibly Kilbourn's: "The Bridge spoken of over the Menomonee that was to be a cooler to Walkers Point was not built until 1842 when I waded the marsh and took soundings for the road to cross the bridge when built."

[13] "Plats of Milwaukee City West Side no doubt the same of which I sent you one some time since"—pencilled note on the original manuscript.

ever met—a man of marvelous intellectual resources and commanding force of character—and I passed as much time in his society as I could, during the two weeks in 1842, that he spent in Milwaukee."[14]

[14] In the preparation of this sketch great use has been made of prior productions by Williams' daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth W. Perry; by his nephew, Robert W. Carroll; and by John G. Gregory, of Milwaukee.

KATE DEWEY COLE—AN APPRECIATION

Kate Dewey was born at Cassville, Grant County, Wisconsin, on February 12, 1854, the daughter of Nelson and Catherine (Dunn) Dewey. Her father was the first governor of the state, 1848–52; while her maternal grandfather, Charles Dunn, was the chief justice of the supreme court of the territory, 1836–48. Judge Dunn's wife was the daughter of Judge Otho Shrader, who came to America about 1795 in order to live in a country with a democratic form of government—giving up, it is said, the "von" and the "Sch" in his name on doing so. He settled in southern Pennsylvania, and married there into a family of German (Pennsylvania Dutch) extraction, named Lenhard. In 1805 he was appointed by President Jefferson one of the three judges of the just formed Louisiana Territory. The settled parts of this territory, stretching from the southern line of Arkansas to the northern boundary of the United States, and from the Mississippi River on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the northwest, were then very few, and the three judges held their courts at St. Charles, St. Louis, and (Judge Shrader) at Ste. Genevieve, in eastern Missouri. The last-named place was just across the Mississippi from Kaskaskia, which was from 1809 until 1820 the capital of Illinois Territory.

Judge Shrader died about 1811, and his widow and two daughters then found a home at Kaskaskia, and a friend and guardian in Nathaniel Pope, United States judge of Illinois. It is a tradition in the family that one or both the girls went on horseback each fall and spring to and from Lexington, Kentucky, where was the nearest good school. Either at Kaskaskia or at Vandalia, the second capital of Illinois, one of the Shrader girls married Charles Dunn, clerk of the legislature and member of the House of Representatives. His family seat was Shepardsville, Kentucky, near Louisville, where, as eldest son, he was heir to a large plantation, with a full complement of slaves. But as he did not believe in slavery, he gave up his patrimony and moved to Illinois, a "free" state. He saw service in the Black Hawk War

CATHERINE DUNN DEWEY, MOTHER OF KATE DEWEY COLE

After a painting by James R. Stuart, in State Historical Museum

(1832), and upon his appointment (1836) to the territorial court, he removed to Wisconsin.

Kate Dewey's father, Nelson Dewey, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, within only a few miles of her recent summer home. He grew to manhood in middle New York State, to which his father had migrated, and thence he himself emigrated in 1836 to Wisconsin. Thus German, Virginia, and Kentucky ancestors united in the person of Catherine Dunn, and the united stream found its way to Wisconsin—there to be joined by a New England flow, of which was born Kate Dewey.

She passed her childhood on her father's estate near Cassville, and in Lancaster, Grant County, with long and frequent visits to her grandfather's home at Old Belmont, Lafayette County, the first territorial capital. When she was prepared for college, the family removed for a time to Madison, where Kate was graduated in the University class of 1875. Two years of European travel and study added a mastery of the modern languages to the foundation of Greek and Latin laid in the University. After several years of teaching, she met Theodore Cole (Wisconsin University 1871), and in 1885 became his wife. Thereafter she lived at St. Louis and at Washington until her death at the latter place July 13, 1922. The following appreciation was written by her classmate Fannie West Williams:[1]

In the death of Kate Dewey Cole, in Washington, D. C., last July, the University lost one of the most brilliant minds and unusual personalities that ever received and honored its degree.

Kate Dunn Dewey, B. A. 1875, wife of Theodore Cole, 1871, was by inheritance, training, and affection a true daughter of Wisconsin, and ever loyal to its University, where she received her formal education . . . . Three years of teaching in a Milwaukee high school, a later year in Germany and France, and some years of teaching in a fine girls' school in Washington sharpened and broadened her mind, and extended her stimulating influence over a wide and varied circle.

This brilliant intellect and fascinating personality were what attracted strangers; but what held her grateful friends were her

[1] *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*, November, 1922, 22.

implacable honesty and contempt for pretense; her unswerving loyalty and deep affection; her unflinching courage and unfailing sense of humor—qualities of the heart rather than of the mind. Her activities in recent years centered about her home in Washington, where she was one of the leading spirits in the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and an active promoter of the National Club House.

She is survived by her husband and by one son, Felix, who is in the United States consular service at Berlin, Germany.

Truly democratic by nature and by intention, every human being, of whatever race, color, or condition, was her potential friend. To many a person, in many a state and country, something vital and precious has gone out of life with the death of Kate Dewey Cole.

DOCUMENTS

A SWISS FAMILY IN THE NEW WORLD: LETTERS OF JAKOB AND ULRICH BÜHLER, 1847–1877[1]

TRANSLATION AND NOTES BY LOWELL J. RAGATZ

Jakob Bühler, one of my paternal great-grandfathers, was a native of Felsberg, Canton Graubünden,[2] Switzerland. He was by occupation a carpenter, and was a friend of my other paternal great-grandfather, Bartholomew Ragatz, an architect and magistrate of Tamins of the same canton. The latter sent his eldest son Christian to America in 1841 to select a suitable home in the new world, and in 1842 he moved with his wife and nine other children, via Galena to the town of Honey Creek, Sauk County, and took up a homestead there.[3]

[1] The sources for the Swiss settlement at New Glarus, Green County, were published by our Society in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, 411–445; xii, 335-382; xv, 295-337. For the settlement of Swiss in Sauk County we have heretofore had little material. We are glad to present to our readers these letters so recently garnered in the old world by a descendant of the Sauk County Swiss.—EDITOR.

[2] The French name for this canton is the Grisons.

[3] The old home of the Ragatz family was Milan, Italy. The name was originally spelled Ragazzi. In the eighteenth century, following a religious-political disturbance, members of the family fled to Switzerland. There the spelling of the name was changed to Ragaz. Bartholomew, the first of the Swiss line of the house to come to America, adopted the spelling Ragatz. This is now generally followed by members of the family in America, while the spelling Ragaz is employed by those in Switzerland, and Ragazzis are still to be found in Milan. For the Ragatz family in America, see G. Fritsche, *Die Evangelische Gemeindschaft in Wisconsin Während Achtzig Jahren, 1840-1920* (Cleveland, O., n.d.), 30–31, 40, 45, 47, 54–56, 59, 74–75, 94, 101–102, and especially 144–145; John S. Roeseler, "The Evangelical Association on Lomira Circuit," in *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, iv, no. 4 (June, 1921), 398, 413; and *Portrait and Biographical Record of Berrien and Cass Counties, Michigan* (Chicago, 1893), 296-297.

Bartholomew Ragatz was the organizer of the first Evangelical church in Sauk County, and long served as a lay preacher. Meetings were held in the Ragatz home from 1844 to 1851, when a log church and parsonage were erected on land deeded to the Evangelical Association by him. A stone church replaced the log one in 1875. This was destroyed by fire in 1904; in the same year the present structure was built. The official name of the congregation has always been the Ragatz Evangelical Church. Two of the Ragatz sons, Oswald and John Henry, became Association pastors. Ninety-one of the former's parishioners were massacred in the Sioux uprising near St. Peters, Minnesota, in the early sixties.

The diary of Reverend Henry Esch confirms some of the above statements. In July, 1851, Esch opened the Sauk Mission with Bartholomew Ragatz, Agnes Ragatz, Heinrich, George, Bartholomew, Oswald, Thomas, and Julius as members.—EDITOR.

His reports of the prospects offered by that portion of Wisconsin, sent to his old friends, were so favorable that in the spring of 1843, forty-one families followed him to Sauk County, while still others came at a later date. They gave to the community a distinctly Swiss tone, which three-quarters of a century has not entirely effaced.

Among the later comers was Jakob Bühler. He left his home in Felsberg with his wife and eight children, and came to the town of Honey Creek in 1847. Bartholomew Ragatz had provisionally selected land for him near his own homestead. This selection was approved, and the Bühlers spent their last money, fifteen dollars, in the purchase of livestock. Several Ragatz-Bühler intermarriages subsequently took place.

The originals of the following letters are in my possession. They were secured from distant relatives in Felsberg in the summer of 1922. They had been found among the papers of George Bühler, the recipient of all but one of them, after his death more than twenty years ago. They are written in German. Some purely personal matters have been omitted in the translations.

Jakob Bühler died in 1882, his wife in 1890. Of their children, two are still living—my paternal grandmother, Katherine Bühler Ragatz, of Madison, and Ulrich Bühler, writer of the last two letters, on the old home farm in Honey Creek. Numerous grandchildren and great-grandchildren are found throughout the state, but the majority of them are living in or near Prairie du Sac, Sauk County. The name is now generally spelled Buehler.

LE HAVRE, 2 Brachmonat [June] 1847

DEAR BROTHER GEORGE: I am writing to tell you of our journey. We went from Zurich to Siflen, and from there to Paris, by oxcart. Traveling in this fashion is not easy.[4] From Paris

[4] My grandmother, who was nine years of age when the trip was made, recalls many interesting incidents connected with it. A large company of Swiss people made up the caravan party. Such groups were led by Frenchmen who furnished oxcarts for the hauling

one goes by water.[5] At first the boats are drawn by from two to four oxen. After one and one-half days ours was attached to a tug, and from there on we traveled more rapidly, clear to Le Havre.

In the harbor there, the ship masts are so thick that one is reminded of the naked trunks in a burned-over forest. Cotton and rice-flour from America were being unloaded. I can't describe them exactly, as we couldn't look at them closely.

As regards the ship we are taking, all is satisfactory. We put our trust in God that all will go well. We from Graubünden have been apportioned among three ships. Those taking the first boat left the rest of us in Siflen, and took the train from Basel. . . . We understand that the innkeepers got considerable money out of them; we were told that they had been on a spree after getting here. We arrived on May 25, four days after they had sailed. Tomorrow we will follow them.

George Bühler's child died in Sendire, about midway between here and home, and was buried, so they tell us, in the children's plot, in the center of the cemetery.

There is something to write about K——also. He got drunk in Sila. The money for his trip and expenses in America was in George Bühler's hands. He started a rumpus about this money, and was quieted only when a couple of our party hit him over the head. Two days later he was all right again and asked for George Bühler. I told him that Bühler had gone by train, and had the money. Then he stormed! Bühler left K——'s money with the innkeeper, Ruffli, in Le Havre, for safekeeping when he sailed, and Ruffli has the money now but won't give it to K—— until our boat leaves, lest K—— get drunk again and lose it. More about K——. He had a fit on the way here. He fell and bumped his head so that the next day his right eye was swollen shut. He said, "This is the third time." The others in our party

of baggage, small children, and the sick. Everyone else walked. In this particular caravan there were three families from Felsberg, the von Eschens, the Haases, and the Bühlers, and a young Mr. Nold, all bound for the town of Honey Creek. A constant lookout had to be kept against robbers, especially in the mountains. A few cattle were driven along to supply fresh meat. Vegetables and other foodstuffs were bought en route, each family buying what it could as best it could. Prices ranged rather high.

[5] Much of the freight between Paris and Le Havre and vice versa is still carried on the Seine barges.

thought him drunk. We who know have said nothing, and they don't know the real facts.

You can imagine what it means to travel with a big family. One always needs money, money, money. It costs about one Swiss *batzen*[6] a day a person, for a family that has brought only personal effects, and no provisions along. This is what I must write from France; from America I can, perhaps, write something more cheering. We are all satisfied with our Le Havre innkeeper, Herr Ruffli, and with our guide, Mach. We recommend Herr Ruffli to anyone who is headed for America; he is held in high esteem along both train and water routes.

If anyone who is fond of hunting intends to go to America, he should leave his gun at home, for in Le Havre, the best kind of double-barreled one can be bought for from 25 to 30 gulden,[7] and it can be tried out before the bargain is closed. Other things are all expensive, however.

Dear brother and sisters, we are well and send greetings to all the relatives and friends. I will write to you and others from America. I have not yet forgotten Felsberg.

JAKOB BÜHLER

P. S. Early one moonlit morning in Alsace, after we had gotten out of the mountains, the baby asked, "Father, are we going to ride clear to Heaven?"

SAUK PRAIRIE, 21 Wintermonat [December] 1847

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTERS: At last I will write you a letter. I am able to tell you, thanks be to God, that we are all well, and we hope that you are the same. The reason we didn't write before was that while on the way we sent you two letters, one from Le Havre and one from Albany.[8] Now I will give you an account of the trip.

[6] The French centime-franc standard was adopted as the official coinage system of Switzerland in 1850. Before this, there had been no uniformity, the then standards, as the gulden, varying in value from canton to canton. The old names have continued in colloquial usage, though not always with the original values. The *batzen* is the equivalent of 14 Swiss centimes, i.e., of about three cents in American money.

[7] The gulden is an old Swiss standard of value, used only colloquially today. Its value varies in the different cantons from 170 to 230 centimes. The gulden referred to here is the gulden of the Grisons, worth 174 centimes, or 35 cents American money. The guns were therefore priced at $8.75 to $10.50.

[8] The latter was not found.

We went by wagon from Zurich to Paris. We saw many large and beautiful cities and many wonderful things along the way. From Paris to Le Havre we went by water on a tow-boat, which was drawn by oxen for a time, after which we were hooked onto a tug, and towed in that way to Le Havre. We had to wait there for eight days while our ship, the *Magnolia*, was being unloaded. We sailed on the ninth day. Vomiting began inside of a quarter of an hour. This was caused by seasickness, which lasted two to three days for most of us, though from eight to fourteen for a few.

The ship went so swiftly that we were out of sight of land within half a day, whereas land is generally seen from four to five days [when the wind is not favourable]. We were in no storm, but we had such strong wind several times that the ship made as much as ten to twelve miles in an hour. We saw big fish which we thought to be some thirty feet long, and some six feet thick. We also saw schools of smaller ones. We also saw swallow-like birds which kept traveling with the ship. They rested from time to time on the water.

On the thirtieth [of June], we saw the New York lighthouses, and on the thirty-first [sic] we entered the harbor. You can well imagine what joy there was among us! It was otherwise when we got into the town. We were met by a crowd of swindlers. Each one wanted to take us to his inn. One told us, "This innkeeper is a rascal"; another, "That fellow is a robber," so that we scarce knew with which one we dared to go. At length a man led us to a German innkeeper who treated us nicely. His name is Hambacher Schloss. He showed us a good place to arrange for steamer and railroad accommodations.

We went by steamer from New York to Albany, and from there to Buffalo by tram, all for $6.00, and from there to Milwaukee for $3.00 a person. Most of those who traveled with us had to pay $12. One has to be on his guard in arranging for tickets, because anyone bringing persons to the office to take passage gets a percentage. It is best to let the innkeepers arrange this. Since they know English, they can tell one what is printed on the tickets, for if "baggage free" doesn't appear on them, one is cheated.

The lakes from Buffalo to Milwaukee are rather rough, and so large that one does not see land. We had a bad steamer. One evening an iron shaft one foot thick broke, and we traveled the whole night until we came to an island, on the power from one water wheel. We had to wait there for three days until another steamer came and picked us up.[9] From then on, everything went well until we got to Milwaukee.

There interesting things happened again. It was necessary for us to go overland. Transportation people came to us and asked, "Do you want to strike a bargain with us?" I asked, "How much do you want to go to Sauk Prairie with four chests and the family?" They said from $20 to $23.

Several among our party bought oxen and wagons, and so furnished their own transportation. Three from Sais, one from Vabzeinen, Heinrich Kleinens of Praden,[10] and myself made a deal with two of the haulage men with four wagons for $72.

For three nights we slept in the open, and for two under shelter, on the way to Sauk Prairie. The town[11] is still small. It stands on the banks of the Wisconsin, which will doubtless soon have many ships on it.

Quite unexpectedly our niece Bessy met us. She welcomed us heartily and took good care of us until we had built some shacks on our land. The logs for the big house are ready now, and if all goes well, I will build it this winter.

George von Eschen has his house completed already, and moved in on the 13th.[12] . . . Franz was held up in building his house because of the fever. . . . Now he is well again and will live with von Eschen over winter; he has planted a nice piece of rye already.

Von Eschen, Nold, Haase, and myself chose land together, our holdings touching at the center. Each of us has eighty acres.

[9] My grandmother recalls that while the party was waiting to be rescued, some of the enterprising young women secured work washing clothes. One housewife supplied her new laundress from the ship with soft soap. The latter mistook it for soup, with somewhat disastrous results for herself. The Swiss immigrants saw their first colored person—a young negress—at the same place.

[10] These are hamlets near Felsberg, with populations from 100 to 300 each.

[11] Prairie du Sac. The river was then crossed on a ferry boat a little below the location of the new bridge, recently completed. There was no island in the middle of the river there at that time, as there is now.

[12] The von Eschen home contained a stone stove. The Bühler home had only an open fireplace. Hence baking was long done at the von Eschens'.

There are 1035 *klafter*[13] in an acre, according to Ragaz. We are about a quarter of an hour away from magistrate Ragaz, who had his eye on this land for us. Schreiber and Bernhard Bühler are about an hour from us. We are two hours from town.

The land which we picked out is very level and has little underbrush on it, so that we can plow it. Woods and spring water are close by. I have plowed four acres already and have planted three with rye and one with wheat. In spring I intend to plow four to six acres more. A mill is being built about an hour away from us.[14]

In this region there are chiefly folks from Graubünden, some fifty families, I should say.[15] Agricultural products are quite expensive compared with other places. A quarter[16] of rye costs ½ dollar, wheat somewhat more, a quarter of potatoes cost 12 *batzen*,[17] and a pound of meat (30 *lote*),[18] 6 *bluzger*.[19]

Hans and George and I hired ourselves out for several days digging potatoes. The three of us received 10 quarters of potatoes a day and board.

Tell Christian Straub that he can earn nothing here by his trade, for everyone here has iron stoves, with which there are enough metal cooking utensils. For folks who want to work, it is best here to take up a piece of land and to work on it. . . .

And now I will close, wishing all of you a happy new year. We all send hearty greetings to you, brother, sisters, and brothers-

[13] Or 4047 square meters. The *klafter* is an obsolete unit of surface measurement. It equalled 4 square meters.

[14] Lodde's Mill, on Honey Creek, still in operation.

[15] The most interesting figure from a romantic point of view who was on Sauk Prairie about this time was Count Haraszthy of Austria. For a sketch of Count Haraszthy, see Wis. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 1906, 224-245.

[16] The Swiss quarter, an old standard of quantity replaced by the litre-hectolitre system three-quarters of a century ago, but still in colloquial use today, must not be confused with the official English unit of the same name which equals 8 bushels. The former has a value of from 15 to 30 litres, according to the canton. The quarter of the Grisons, here in question, equals 30 litres or .85 of a bushel. The price of rye was therefore 59 cents a bushel.

[17] One hundred and sixty-eight centimes or about 34 cents American money. See note 6. The price per bushel, 40 cents.

[18] A *lot* (plural *lote*) equals half an ounce. The use of this unit of weight has now come to be restricted largely to precious metals.

[19] The *bluzger* is a colloquial standard of value employed only in the Grisons. It equals 2.2 centimes. This price of less than 3 cents a pound for meat on Sauk Prairie is corroborated by contemporary account books. There was at that time no market for cattle raised there other than Milwaukee, which meant long overland driving. Hogs could not be driven. Hence little stock was raised beyond that required for personal use and local sales.

in-law. Greet all our other relatives and old neighbors for us. I will look for an early reply.

JAKOB BÜHLER

SAUK PRAIRIE, 19 Wintermonth [December] 1848.

DEAR BROTHER: We were very glad to get your letter and to learn that your wife and child and yourself are all well. We are too, thank God. . . .

Dear brother, you ask about coming to America. If you had a large family, I would advise you to do so, for those who have large families and grown children can get along nicely because food can then be raised with little work. [But you have only one child] and the journey is hard.

This region is rather cold, because there are only low hills between which the north wind blows very strongly. But at that, not all of the cattle are stabled. As a result, they are a sad sight by spring. During the summer time they are as well off as those in Europe.

I can't tell you much about the progress we are making. I have thirteen acres under plow now. There are 1037 *klafter*[20] to an acre. The wheat and rye which we sowed a year ago were failures, because we, newcomers that we were, plowed too late. We hope for better luck this coming year. The ground is already covered with snow.

Here there is very little fall or spring. Early last May I ran across some wild-grape vines that scarcely showed signs of life, and at the end of the month they were already in bloom, and at the end of June there were already wild grapes on them. This is how rapidly things grow in summer time!

There are places on the bluffs where one can scarcely work his way through for the number of grapevines. They say that grape shoots brought over from Europe won't grow here, that only seeds from there will.[21] I was glad to get those which brother-in-law

[20] See note 13.

[21] A great deal of interest in raising grapes was being shown around Prairie du Sac just at this time. Two years before, in 1846, Jacob Kehl had arrived from Germany, and in the belief that that region would be suitable for wine production, he terraced the hills across the river from the town and set out many vines. Large quantities of grapes were subsequently grown by him, a wine press was set at work, and considerable wine was produced. It was stored in two cellars back of "Round Bluff." The venture proved less

Florian brought me. The vine cuttings which I brought along with me froze last winter. I want to send you wild-grape seeds. The wild grapes have such a strongly colored juice that one can write letters with it.

We in the new world don't need many of the things one has in the old. So far there hasn't been much fruit around here, but this year many trees were set out, and in a few years there will be plenty. There are wild apple trees about. In the older towns there is fruit enough. In this part of the country there are plums, little cherries, walnuts, hickory nuts, hazelnuts, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, huckleberries, currants, gooseberries, etc. . . .

There are four kinds of oaks. The acorns of one of them are like hazelnuts. There are cedars on the bluffs, very much like those in —— 's [name illegible] garden. There is a sort of pine, almost like the *arve*.[22] Larch trees[23] grow in wet places, where the cattle can't go in the summer time.

As for animals, there are deer which are gray and white, rabbits, badgers, marmots, and raccoon. Sometimes the latter are as large as beavers. There are big and small squirrels, as in the old world. There are others, and another kind of water animal of which only the skin is good.[24]

There are turtles. There are also wolves. One hears now and then that they have torn apart a pig. When a number of grown pigs are kept together, the wolves don't touch them. There are also porcupines. Not far away from here there are bear.

As for birds, there are eagles, hawks, geese, ducks, woodcocks, and prairie chickens. The latter are something like partridges, though their flesh does not taste as good. There is a smaller kind of fowl, too, which tastes good. These multiply at a great

remunerative than had been expected, and recourse was had to general farming. Some of the terraces and the partially caved-in cellars can still be seen. The farm is now owned by John Kehl, a son of the grape grower. Up to within recent years, at least, he still had a considerable supply of this old wine in his possession. Mrs. Jacob Kehl is still living, and has her home in Philadelphia.

[22] The *arve* is a variety of pine peculiar to the Grisons region of the Alps and to Siberia. It is rather small, has a very gnarled trunk, and five needles develop from each bud. The French name is *pin du Boston*, or in patois, *l'arole*.

[23] Also called tamaracks.

[24] The muskrat, in all probability. This animal is still trapped in the Honey Creek country.

rate, laying twenty to twenty-four eggs.[25] Many of these are shot and netted in the corn fields.

There are swallows, too, canaries, and blackbirds. . . . Many of these go away in the winter. In spring, there are pigeons which come in regular clouds,[26] so that one feels glad when they finally go away again. In the states where they stay, the crops are not large. . . .

There are snakes here which can go on the water and on land. The rattlesnakes are of different sizes. There are black and yellow speckled ones. If one doesn't bother them or step on them, one need not fear them. They don't come after one. When one gets near to them, one hears their warning rattle. They get a rattle in the third year. So one can tell their age. I killed one that had thirteen rattles, and so was fifteen years old. There aren't so many here because it is too cold. Farther south there are more.

I must close because Bühler[27] is leaving today. I haven't the time to recopy this; there are doubtless mistakes [in spelling] in it. Dear brother, let the relatives in Chur share in this letter. I haven't time to write another letter to them, it is not that we want to forget them. We all send hearty greetings, especially to dear mother in Chur. Greet for us those in Felsberg who ask about us.

Elsbeth married Litscher of Haldenstein or Chur last summer.

The wild-grape seeds I am sending are to be planted in the fall. Plant the melon seeds two or three together, in holes from three to four feet apart.

[JACOB BÜHLER]

SAUK CITY, March 9, 1855.

DEAR BROTHER: I received your letter and learned that you are well. You may, God be praised, learn the same of us.

[25] The quail.

[26] Passenger pigeons. My grandmother recalls how they could be seen flying in long lines from Ferry Bluff at one end of Sauk Prairie, to the Baraboo Bluffs at the other end.

[27] Bühler carried this letter with him. The early Swiss settlers entrusted few things to the mail. Most letters and parcels were given to returning fellow-countrymen for personal delivery. An aged inhabitant of Tamins recalls how persons arriving from America had as many as fifty letters with them, for distribution throughout the village and countryside.

Hans intends to go to another place with his wife and child in spring if he can sell his land here. He has eighty acres and a house on it. Others are going from here, too. . . .

Elizabeth and Zedonia are well off with their husbands. Each one has a boy and a girl.

You write that you had sent me song books. A short time ago a woman told me that she got a letter from Hans Ländi, 150 miles from Sauk, [in which he said] that there were song books for me with him. But I can get them in spring.

Leonard Bühler came here unexpectedly in January. He has visited all the Felsbergers. He says that now he can believe what most of them wrote—when someone [from here] writes about the land or cattle he has, you can believe him, because no one claims to have more than he [really] has.

My sister's son from Tusis wrote me a letter too; he has doubtless received the answer long since. He should come straight along to America. If one is willing to work, he and his will soon have an abundance of food and can [even] sell some.

I would like it if all the Felsbergers were here, without exception, for even those who get along well in Felsberg could make out better in America. Judging by what Leonard says, prospects in the old home town don't look very bright.[28]

We can't thank God enough that we are in America. We have had a good harvest. I wouldn't have written much about it, only Leonard asked one and then another, and then he said, "I'll write to the old home town about it," and since he is doing so, I'll write [about it] too.

We got 280 quarters of wheat, 236 of oats, 349 of corn,[29] 250 of potatoes last summer. The wheat and oats were threshed in one and one-half days. The price of the threshed grain here is, the wheat, 5 francs a quarter,[30] oats 51 *bluzgers*,[31] corn 62 *bluzgers*,[32] potatoes also 62 *B*. the quarter.

[28] The period from about 1840 to 1860 was one of great depression in Switzerland. This explains in part the great exodus to America during those years.

[29] Corn has the colloquial name *türken* (also spelled *dirken*) in the Grisons. This word was carried to America and is still occasionally met with among the old Swiss settlers in Wisconsin. It was once thought that this grain had come from Turkey.

[30] That is $1.00 per 30 litres, or $1.17 per bushel, using the Grisons standards. See note 16.

[31] Twenty-two cents per 30 litres, or 26 cents per bushel, with the Grisons standards. See notes 16 and 19.

[32] Twenty-seven cents per 30 litres, or 32 cents per bushel, Grisons standards. See notes 16 and 19.

The corn is planted for cattle and hogs. We have twenty hogs [and] thirteen cows, not counting three calves we expect to get. The potatoes are shipped south almost every year because they don't have enough good ones there. We have 160 acres of land. Thirty-two acres are cultivated and we intend to get about ten more into shape this summer.

You are doubtless wondering how we do our work. We can do it without hired help. Work here in America is carried on differently than [it is] in the old home. With the big scythe one [person] cuts two to three acres [a day]. One or two rake, one or two bundle, and then they place twelve and twelve sheaves together. So, at last, when evening comes, rows [of sheaves] stand in the field.

When they are dry (the little bundles), they are brought together, each kind in a separate pile. . . . We had one such pile of winter wheat, two of summer [wheat], and one of oats.

I can also tell you something about deer hunting. Altogether I have killed twenty-two and George four. There is hardly time enough for this now, there is so much work on the farm. But rabbits and prairie chickens are caught and shot much in winter. In hunting, Florian is the master.

Cholera appeared in our region last summer; especially in the little town several were taken off by it, though the most of these were dissolute livers. In the country, it carried off one woman and two children.

Last summer, in addition to the field work, we raised the house and barn and moved them nearer to the road. The road goes between our land and Franz Haase's.

We wonder how the relatives in Chur are; if mamma and the others are all well. We are waiting for a letter from them.

I'll write something about the Dülieser affair too. I examined the thing myself, since otherwise I couldn't have arrived at a proper conclusion. On some points I didn't exactly agree with them, but on the whole, we are of the same opinion. Through cleansing and conversion one can reach Heaven. We have been going to their church for almost two years. People who are inclined towards God lead a different life than do those who are not so minded.

We would gladly invite you to make us a visit if it weren't so far, so that you could see for yourself how things go with us. For we really have a nice piece of ground. Towards the north, through hay land, comes a nice little brook. In the summer time there come many fish which we catch. . . .

And now I will close. I hope that you will be able to understand what I have written even if it isn't written according to rules, for I don't have much writing to do in America.

We extend many greetings to you and to the relatives in Chur. If they are still living, also greet for me old Aunt Anna Danüser and my godmother Elizabeth von Eschen.

JAKOB BÜHLER

P. S. Let the folks in Chur read this too.

SAUK CITY, 2 J[anuary], 1856

DEAR BROTHER: Since I have an opportunity to write a few lines [I will say] that we are, thanks to God, all well and getting along nicely, and [that] we hope the same of you.

Otherwise I don't think of much to write. Jacob ——— [name illegible] has doubtless told you how things go with us. Otherwise you can find out from our neighbor Möli, who is now on a short visit in Churwalden.

I am sending you a little summer-wheat seed. You can sow it in March. It is very easy to thresh. I have still another kind something like this which is too hard [to thresh]. . . .

This summer we got 318 bushels of wheat . . . of oats 237 bushels. Next summer we are going to plant 50 bushels more of summer wheat. A bushel of wheat is worth a bit over a dollar now.

I will close. We remain faithful [to the memory of other times] and wish you a good new year. You may greet for us whoever asks about us.

JAKOB BÜHLER

AMERICA, June 19, 1856.

DEAR FRIEND AND OLD CHUM [George Danüser]: I've been wanting to write you a letter for a long time, for I thought that you would be wondering how we are getting along in America.

Well, in the first place, I'll tell you that I am well and like being in America. Still, I'd like to be among you all again. Perhaps I will be sometime again, too. If it weren't so far, I'd long since have come on a visit.

I'd like very much to know how all of you young folks in the old fatherland are. I suppose things have changed a great deal since I came to America. From what I hear, you must be having harder times even than when I was still there. Hard times are unknown here. To be sure, things didn't go so well [for us] during the first two years, but now we are in comfortable circumstances. There is no lack of things to eat. We have a surplus.

I can tell you exactly how we stand. We have 22 acres of wheat planted, 11 acres of oats, 6 acres of corn, ½ acre of potatoes, and the prospects are fine for a bumper crop. Last year we got 318 bushels of wheat, 256 bushels of oats, 250 bushels of corn, 100 bushels of potatoes.

You wonder perhaps, how we can work such a large farm. Sickles aren't s d here, because things are done in a different way, by which one man can cut two to three acres [in a day]. There is another kind of machine drawn by two teams of horses with which 14 to 18 acres of wheat can be cut [in a day]. And so it goes with all work here—everything is done faster than in the old country.

I can tell you what we have in the line of livestock. We have 14 cattle, 2 horses, 5 sheep, 14 hogs, and a great number of chickens. Now you know about how we are fixed.

Anybody who is willing to work can get along in America, for pay is much greater here than over there. I did at one time, it is true, work out for 6 months for only 6 dollars a month, but if I want to work out now, I can get 16 to 18 dollars [a month] from a farmer all through the summer.

I am thinking about going away from here after harvest time in order to make some money, to a place where I can earn 18 to 20 dollars a month—working in the woods, for I am thinking about buying a piece of land in a new region.

I have also heard that George Danüser in the lower part of town and George Danüser in the upper part of town[33] and Christian Danüser on the little circle[34] would like to come to America. You can tell them to come right along, for I know that after they'd have been here a short time, they wouldn't want to go back, for it would be better for all [the] young folks, for boys and girls [in Felsberg], if they were here.

It would certainly give me great joy if some of my old friends were to come at last. I recall many things as well as if they had happened just recently. Best of all, I remember how I climbed the fruit trees with you. I remember very well how we stole Stitzler's pears.

Fruit is still not plentiful around here. There is, to be sure, some wild fruit, but it isn't as good as that grown in orchards. There are many plums almost as good as tame ones. The wild apples are sour, and the wild grapes, of which there are very many, are also sour.

My best friend is Jakob Schneller. I wonder if you are still all unmarried, those of you of my age. I am.[35] In America most of the girls get married at 16 to 18 and the men from 20 to 22.

And now I must close, but must first say that you mustn't be surprised that I can't write better, for you know that I was young when I came to America, and I attended no German school. I could write better in English, but I thought you wouldn't be

[33] In 1842 an avalanche from Mount Calanda nearly destroyed Felsberg. It came to a stop just behind the village proper, but rolling stones did great damage. My grandmother, then four years of age, has a vivid recollection of the event. The terror-stricken inhabitants fled, and not daring to return to their homes for weeks, built shelter huts farther down the valley. Money was collected throughout Switzerland to aid the sufferers. As stones continued to fall, some of those who had had their homes destroyed built new ones with their share of the donation money on the site of the shelter camp. This has grown to be New Felsberg. Old Felsberg, reoccupied in due course, is divided into an upper and a lower part. Others of the sufferers came to Wisconsin. Among these was Jakob Bühler, whose home had been partially destroyed. The story of the great landslip has been told many a time about the firesides of Sauk County. A woman tending her cow is said to have been buried alive. For years, the persons who had returned to Old Felsberg slept with their clothes bundled beside them. Small slides still occur, but as they are held back by the large one, they have long since ceased to be a matter of concern.

[34] A portion of Old Felsberg.

[35] Ulrich Bühler was married on February 16, 1860, to Emeline Bennett, a native of New York and a great-great-granddaughter of Josiah Bartlett, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Their fiftieth wedding anniversary, in 1910, and their sixty-second, in 1922, were the occasions for large gatherings of relatives and friends at the old Bühler homestead.

able to read my letter then, and so I had to write it in German. . . . You can read this letter [to others] if you wish.

Give my greetings to all who ask about me; give them to Peter Schneller in particular, for me, and to Zidonia Danüser. Give my greetings to Margaret Danüser and the whole family. Greet all the young ladies for me and tell them that they should write. It would please me greatly to hear from them, for I like very much to read letters from the old fatherland. I'll be expecting an answer from you soon.

ULRICH BÜHLER

SAUK CITY, May 17, 1877.

DEAR UNCLE GEORGE: We received your good letter of April 27 today[36] and see by it that you are still in good health. Since father can't write readily any more, he asked me to write for him. . . .

I judge by your letter that old age has not yet begun to tell on you. On my part, I can tell you that my parents, considering their age, are still well and robust, especially mother, who doesn't seem a bit older than sixty, although she is almost eighty, and still has the use of all her powers. Father shows his age somewhat at times. My parents live with my youngest brother, who was married some years ago, and they have no worldly cares. . . .

Elias von Eschen . . . lives in Sauk City and has a furniture store. We see each other often. We generally talk about hunting then. He told me how he went hunting with you on the Ruchgerstabada and Garunis,[37] and that you shot a marten there.

There is still quite a bit of game here, and one doesn't have to have a hunting license. There is a closed season for big game in the summer, but from October to mid-January, anyone who cares to can hunt. I killed two deer with the gun which you sent me. Brother Christian also shot a big stag two years ago. He was pretty thin, but still gave 180 pounds of meat, and big horns. Brother George has also shot a number of them, and father most of all.

[36] Twenty days for a letter to go from eastern Switzerland to south central Wisconsin compares very favourably with the service of today, when the time averages twelve days for the same trip.

[37] These are two mountains north of Felsberg.

There is much target shooting, generally with turkeys for prizes. A year-old turkey weighs from 15 to 18 pounds and is set up for a dollar. Ten men then shoot in order, one shot each, at numbers on the target. The one who has the highest number gets the prize. In this way 15 to 20 such fowl are shot for in a day.[38]

There are two tame deer here which were caught and are often shot for. The person who wins one lets him be shot for again. We shot for them several times, but did not have the luck to win one. The distance is generally 250 to 280 paces, and our rifle doesn't shoot accurately. If you have a good rifle and have no use for it, it would give us great pleasure if you would send it to us by Mr. John Prader who will visit you. . . .

And now I will close, and hope for an early reply. We greet you, also Aunt Anna and all the relatives in Felsberg and in Chur.

Your nephew,

ULRICH BÜHLER

[38] Shooting for fowl is still a leading sport among menfolk of Prairie du Sac and Sauk City, especially at Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year time. Geese, ducks, turkeys, and chickens are as a rule all included among the prizes. The position of target tender is rather lucrative, and small boys vie with one another to secure it.

DIARY OF A JOURNEY TO WISCONSIN IN 1840[1]

Monday May 31st 1841—Our company being ready and all things prepared we Left Racine about 3 o'clock PM for Iowa. Our company consisted of 4, besides the driver, viz. Moses Vilas D. S. [Deputy Surveyor] formerly from [blank in MS.] Co. [blank in MS.] Chas. Smith from Orange Co. Vermont Eleazer Barnum Coburn, from Orange Co. Vermont, and myself. The day was fine and we went by way of Mount Pleasant as far as Rochester 24 miles Put up at [Peter] Campbels

Teusday June 1st 1841—We left Rochester 6 AM. Day clear & very warm. Traveled on the U. S. Road to Janes Ville.[2] Camped a mile beyond the River 45 miles to-day

Wednesday 2nd Started 6 AM. Passed over an extensive high rolling Prairie in a North Easterly direction in order to pass round the heads of Bass Creek, thence South westerly thro. some fine Bur Oak openings a few miles when we came to Sugar river Pra. a beautiful level piece of land separated from the river here by a strip of openings very rich soil. Crossed about 2 miles below Centre Ville & stopped on the west bank for noon. The day was clear & very warm and a bathe was quite reviving to our faculties. this is 20 miles from JanesVille Our road was south of the bluffs and we came to a Hoosier settlement about 5 miles from the river. Passed thro. New Mexico on NE. cor. of Sect. 3, T. 1, R. 7. The Co. seat of Green Co. has lately been removed from this place to Monroe on Sect. 35 in the town north.[3] This like many other Wis. towns has a house or two a Tavern & Store Camped 2½ miles beyond at [O.C.] Smith's saw mill on a branch [Honey Creek] of the Peekatonokee [Pecatonica]. Here we find Maple, Bass, Black walnut &c Burr Oak having disappeared.

[1] The following is the concluding installment of the diary of Frederick J. Starin, publication of which was begun in the September, 1922, number of this magazine.

[2] In 1838 the territorial legislature petitioned Congress for an appropriation for a road from Racine to the Mississippi. Congress responded in 1839 by appropriating $10,000 for such a road. This appropriation was utilized for the eastern portion of the road, which was opened by 1840 as far as Janesville.

[3] New Mexico, which is now included in the city limits of Monroe, was platted in 1838 by Judge Jacob Andrick, a settler from Indiana. He succeeded in having his town named as the county seat by the territorial legislature. Meanwhile, having neglected to record the plat, the rival owners of the site of Monroe secured the removal of the county seat to their town.

Thursday 3rd Started at 6. Crossed Skinners Creek at a saw mill. The Peekatonokee just at the Junction of the two branches,[4] Hunters Ferry, Spafford's Creek near its mouth.[5] Wolf Creek at the saw & grist mill near its mouth. Bebas store &c. Platte Mounds in sight N. W. Passed the first lead diggings on the Pra. 3 or 4 miles NE. of Gratiots grove[6] on the N. E. side of which we camped for the night. Day Clear & very warm.

Friday 4th Started at 6. Passed thro. Shulsburg a settlement of miners, pits or shafts have been sunk in this vicinity on almost every acre, thence S West to [Dennis] Murphys Mill & Furnace on Fevre river Here we saw a few Pine trees on the bank Thence S.W. to Sinsinewa Mound the residence of Gen. G.[eorge] W.[allace] Jones surveyor Gen of Iowa and Wiskonsan.[7] The mound is a circular elevation commanding a very extensive prospect. The General's house is about half way up facing the southeast. 6 miles from here to Dubuque where we arrived 3 PM. Crossed the River in a horse boat after dismissing the team. Distance to the Island one mile, & ¼ mile to the opposite bank. Islands appear to be confined to the west shore at this place

This town appears at first sight to be settled wholly by french yet there are quite a number of Eastern people, especially the professional & trading community. The scenery on the river is wild and picturesque consisting of high rocky bluffs and deep ravines. we pitched our tent on the Catfish creek 2 miles southeast of town—at night we had a heavy thunder shower accompanied with a hard S.E. blow. The day was warm & sultry except a cool shower 2 PM.

Saturday 5th Very warm and sultry. Coburn & I went to town this PM.

Sunday 6th Very warm & sultry. Attended church at the school house a few rods from our camp.

[4] Skinner's Creek enters the Pecatonica in section five, town one, range six east.

[5] Named for Omri Spafford, killed in the Black Hawk War.

[6] Gratiot's Grove was a fine piece of timber just south of the present Shullsburg. It was settled in 1825 by the Gratiot family from St. Louis. See description in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, 245-249, 267-269.

[7] James D. Doty, who was appointed territorial governor in 1841, insisted on the spelling *Wiskonsan*.

Monday 7th To day we expected to leave but the General did not come over and we were detained very warm

Teusday 8th The General came over this morning about ten o'clock and after r[e]ceiving our instructions & buying some provisions we struck our tent about 3 P. M. & decamped. Having employed Mr. Grafford's team & driver to take us to our Ground Camped on Prairie creek this night where we found Mr. Weldon and his company encamped. During our stay at Dubuque the weather was uniformly very hot & sultry and we as uniformly had a heavy shower every afternoon or evening accompanied with a great deal of thunder & lightning & wind. The first night our tent came near being blown over (15 miles to day)

Wednesday 9th Passed Muquokity [Maquoketa] falls & mill, & Muquokity South Branch camped 1½ miles from the Wapisipinacon 30 miles to day.

Thursday 10th Passed the river 4 miles to Russels 16 to Jenkins the last settler Camped about a mile east of the east line & one north of the South line to T 86 N. R 7 W on a small spring brook (26½ to d[a]y)

Friday 11th I Rode back with the team to Russels on my way to Mr Chaplin's 12 miles S. E. of there, to employ him as Cook & packer with horse & wagon arrived there on foot about 6 PM

Saturday 12th He not being at home I spent to-day waiting for him.

Sunday 13th He returned about noon and having made the necessary arrangments I left about 3 PM. & traveled as far as Mr. McKinney's 22 miles where I arrived about 10 o'clock after running about the prairie some two hours without any Road & it being so dark & cloudy as scarcely to be able to distinguish any object

The first time I ever was benighted on a Prairie

Monday June 14th 1841—Arrived at our camp about 8 o'clock this morning found it deserted and a good dish of beans cooking which were not unpalatable. Our men had commenced work on friday last

Teusday June 15th 1841—On returning from our work this evening we found at our camp Mr. Woodbri[d]ge from Marion

with a horse & wagon to take Mr Chaplin's place he having been unable to obtain a horse, and Mr Durham from the same place seeking employment

Wednesday 16th Moved our camp to-day to Sect 10 T. 86 N R 7 W on the Wapisipin [Wapsipinicon] river

Thursday 17th Cold & rainy day was completely wet all day having to wade the river four times. Mr. Durham assisted us

Friday 18th Mr Durham left us

Saturday June 19th Finished E ½ of this town

Sunday June 20th I rode to Marion to-day with Mr. Woodbridge It is a pleasant place situated on a high roll of prairie bordering on the timber of the upper Iowa or Red Cedar river which is about 5 miles distant & contains 2 Hotels one store two Groceries & a courthouse being the County Seat of Linn Co. besides a number of small dwelling houses, has about 90 inhabitants 7 Doctors 4 or 5 Lawyers one Blacksmith &c Left town about 2 o'clock and after having several showers to wet us completely we arrived in sight of the river about dark it still continued to rain and it was with much difficulty & after putting down to the river several times that we found our camp completely drenched

Thursday 24th Moved camp to-day to South part of Sect. 6. Near the river a good spring

Friday 25th Finished Town 86 Range 7 yesterday & commenced on T 86 R 8. to day

Saturday 26th Mr. Woodbridge and I went to Marion to-day for provisions.

Sunday 27th Left Marion to day 2 PM. arr. at Camp 6 o'clock. Staid at Phillips

Thursday 24th Smith taken sick to day PM

Monday June 28th 1841—Finished first tier. Difficulty with Woodbridge

Teusday 29th. Moved camp this AM to Grove & spring on 16. About ten o'clock I was taken with a fit of vomiting as I supposed in consequence of drinking too freely at the spring, remained at the camp and took a dose of Hygean Pills this PM.

Wednesday June 30th . . . .

This morning feeling quite well I went out on the field as usual but before running a mile was taken with sickness & vomiting, and was compeled to return to the camp a distance of 3 miles which under the most excrutiating pain in my back & head and the heat of an oppressive sun I accomplished in as many hours.

Thursday July 1st 1841—Was greeted this morning with a visit and cordial shake (not of the hand) from my old friend the ague about 7 o'clock. Mr. Vilas went to the settlement in quest of an assistant Employed Mr. Stivers. Mr. Woodbridge sent him his compliments to day by Mr. Chambers Const. in the shape of a summons & attachment with which he was greeted on his return

Friday 2nd Had a shake this morning.

Mr. Stivers commenced work

Saturday 3d Shake rather lighter.

Sunday July 4th 1841—A light shake this morning From the effects of medicine and as I then supposed the ague combined I had become so weak as to be unable to walk a few rods—without fainting, & therefore concluded I had better seek some more suitable situation Accordingly Mr Coburn went to the settlement about 4 miles distant and engaged Mr. Speakes to take me to his cabin who came with two yoke of cattle & wagon for that purpose about 3 PM.

Monday July 5th 1841—Mr. S. went to Marion 20 miles to have Dr. Cummings visit me

Teusday 6th The Dr. arrived about 9 o'clock AM. Pronounced my disease a union of the ague & Flux known but little except in the south & western part of the U. S. Not only a dangerous but contagious disease. Escaped shaking this morning for the first time. Pronounced me in a very bad condition having let the disease progress since Thursday last. Mr. S. returned about 5 or 6 P M.

Wednesday 7th Sent Mr. S's boy to Marion for Oil, sugar rice &c. Dr. found me better

Sunday 11th Mr. Vilas was here this PM. Finished Town 86 Range 8 yesterday. Was gratified to find that I had been gradually overcoming my illness day by day untill now I was able

to sit up long enough to wash & change my clothes The Dr. stopt visiting me on Friday. Mr. V. was on his way to Marion to attend Woodbridge's suit on Teusday

Wednesday 14th Moved Camp from 16 Grove

Sunday July 18th 1841—During the past week I have gained steadily, so that to-day I made an essay at walking out with Mr. & Mrs. S. to Mr. D's field

Monday 19th Walked to Mr. Lockhart's this AM. and had a delicious feast on wild honey & returned to Mr. S's about noon & ate a good dinner, about 4 P M experienced certain symptoms of a return of the ague. Very warm

Wednesday 21st Had chills & fever about 1 PM.

Friday 23d Had shake & fever about 11 AM.

Sunday 25th Had slight shake about 8 AM Mr. Osburn from the camp called on me Camp on Sect. 3 T 87 N R 8 W on the river

Dr. Beaumont's experiments on the susceptibility of digestion of articles of food results[8] Boiled Rice 1 hour, Sago, Tapioca, Barley, B'ld milk 2.15 hours, Tripe & pigs feet 1 h. Fowls & Beefs Liver 2.30 Hard Eggs 3.30 Soft, do 3, Custard 2.45, Trout 1.30 Fresh fish 3, Beef rare roast 3, Dry roasted 3.30 Salt Beef with mustard 2.30 Pickled Pork 4.30 Raw do, 3. Fresh mutton 3.15 Veal 4, Wheat bread fresh 3.30 corn bread 3.15 Sponge cake 2.30 Succotash 3.45 Apple dumpling 3. Sour mellow apples 2, sweet mellow do. 1.30. Parsnips B'ld 2.30. Potatoes do 3.30 do roasted 2.30 Raw cabbage 2.30 with vin. 2 Boiled cabbage 4.30

Sunday August 1st 1841—Have had a remission of the ague since last Sunday and gained gradually during the week.

Messrs. Coburn & Stivers came in from the camp to day for provisions.

Monday 2nd Election for the town of Washington Linn Co. held to-day at Mr. Magonigh

Teusday 3d Assisted Mr. Speak in securing a bee tree this evening.

Wednesday 4th Mr. S. & I sent to Grove on 16 in quest of bees.

[8] For Dr. Beaumont and his experiments, see *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, iv. 263-280.

Thursday 5th Mr. Downes raised house I went to Mr. Osborn's this P M. on sect. 9 Town 85 R 8 west. Mr. O. arr. home

Friday 6th Rode to Mr. S.s

Saturday 7th Mr. O. & Mr. O. Jr. Left this morning for the camp which we found on Sect 26, T. 88 N. R 8 W. Load of Provisions

Sunday Aug. 8th Spent most of the day hunting bees. Rained some. Sam. Osborn returned

Wednesday Aug. 11th I went out to-day with the company.

Thursday Aug. 12th Finished Town 88 N. R 8 W.

Friday Aug. 13th Cut a bee tree this A. M. PM. moved to T 87 N R 7 W.

Saturday 14th Messrs. Maxwell & Osborn returned home.

Monday August 16th 1841—Commenced on T. 87 N. R. 7 W.

Thursday 19th Finished a whole tier to-day.

Sunday 22nd Maxwell went home for Team

Monday 23d Finished the job to day—87

Teusday 24th Team came out

Wednesday 25th This morning we left the Wapisipinicon river for home. Camped 7 miles above Charles ford on the Makoqueta near Mr. Beardsley's. Rainy night.

Thursday 26th Passed the ford & Cascade & camped on White Water creek.

Friday 27th Rainy day arrived at Du Buque 3 P M Camped on the Catfish

Saturday August 28th 1841—Ascertained to-day that on account of the probable non-confirmation of the appointment of Gen. Wilson by the Senate no money could at present be obtained from the Office

Sunday 29th Smith, Coburn & I visited the resting place of Dubuque's remains to-day, 2 miles south of the town on a high bluff on the west bank of the River north of the mouth of the Catfish creek His bones lie on the surface & are protected by a small stone building at one end of which a cross has been erected by the Catholics bearing the following inscription "Julien

Dubuque Mineur de la mines De L'Espagne Mort La 24th Marse 1810 Agé 45 ½ anné"[9]

Monday 30th Mr. Vilas visited Gen Wilson to-day.

Teusday 31st Moved camp to an island in the river to-day & Mr. Lockhart left for home.

September 1st 1841—Left Dubuque to-day about 11 o'clock A. M with Mr. Grafford's team passed Sinsinewa Mound Camped on Fevre River one mile above Murphy's Mill & Furnace

Thursday 2nd. Passed through Shulsburg camped ½ mile east of the west branch of the pekatonica at a vacant house on S[blank in MS.] T[blank in MS.] R[blank in MS.]

Friday 3rd Passed thr'o Hamilton's diggings[10] Camped on the little Sugar river

Saturday 4th Passed thro Sugar river diggings Crossed Rock River at Humes' Ferry, and camped on Rock Pra. Near Mr [Elisha] Newhals.

Sunday 5th Left the wagon at Johnstown & proceeded on foot to White Water where I arrived about 1 o'clock PM.

Teusday 7th Left White Water with horse & wagon for Turtle Pra. arrived at McKonkeys 1 PM Passed thro Delavan on my return & stopt at Mr. [Benjamin] More's

Wednesday 8th Passed thro Johnstown and arrived at White Water about noon. Rainy

Thursday Sept. 9th 1841. Drew a load of lime & siding from Slocum's Rain

Saturday 11th Democratic meeting at Freeman Pratt

Sunday 12th Started for Milwaukkee with team about noon, Staid at Mr. Billings'.

Monday 13th arrived at Milwaukee 4 P. M.

Teusday 14th Started for Racine On Horseback

Wednesday 15th Returned from Racine this P. M.

Thursday 16th Left Milwaukee this morning Staid at Mr. [Lyman] Hill's Mukwonago.

Friday 17th Arrived at White Water 4 P M

[9] For a sketch of Julien Dubuque, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, 320; *Annals of Iowa*, third series, ii, 329-336.

[10] William S. Hamilton, son of Alexander, had a smelter and mining outfit at the present Wiota. See *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, iv, 35-38.

Steam Boat Erie lost by fire on Lake Erie the 9th of August and over 200 lives lost.

Fire and Explosion at Syracuse on the [blank in MS.]th, and over 30 lives lost

T. R. Le Baron commenced selling goods at White Water about the 15th of Sept.

Sunday Sept. 19th 1841—Mr. Curtiss Called & Mr. & Mrs. F. L. Pratte.

Friday 24th To-day we experienced a cessation of the Equinoctial storm which commenced on Thursday 16th inst. from which time to this neither moon, sun or star has been visible. Being the most cloudy weather ever known in Wiskonsan by the oldest Settlers. Party at the Hotel this evening

Friday Oct. 1st 1841—Traced a line on Sec. 36, for H. I. S. this AM. Run line between 33 & 4. For D. J. Powers—this P. M.

Saturday 2nd Run the East line of the E ½ of the N.W. ¼ of sec. 29, T. 4, R. 15. For Hacket

Sunday 3d. Messrs Ps & I visited Mrs Bradley

Monday Oct. 4th 1841—Left White Water to-day about noon rode with Alva Smith to Milwaukee staid at Mr. Hill's.

Teusday 5th Arr. at Milwaukee 5 P M.

Wednesday 6th Left By S.B. Illinois Capt Blake about noon. Wind S.E. Course NE Very heavy sea Rough Cloudy night. Nearly all passengers sick.

Thursday Oct. 7th 1841—Passed the S. B. Missouri at the Manitou I's. this morning. Wind N. W. Co. N. N. E. Arr. at Mackinaw 5 P M—were detained in wooding till 9, in evening. Garrison here 73 men[11] Wind W. Co. E. E. S. E.

Oct. 8th Arrived at Presque Isle, 4 a. m. wooded & left about 8 a. m. Lake smooth at Sun down.

Oct. 9th Wooded at Newport before day light arr. at Detroit 10 a. m. wooded and left at 1 P. M. Wind S. of W. Passed North of Cunningham's Island at sunset arr. cleveland 11 o'clock wooded at Fair Port, 2 a. m. 10th Oct. Left Daylight Co. E of N. E. very fine weather—Arr. at Buffalo

[11] In 1841 Fort Mackinac was garrisoned by a part of the Fourth Artillery, Captain Patrick H. Galt in command.

5 o'clock P. M. Got on board canal boat Edwin Dean Capt. Wm Drum, this evening. Left Buffalo Monday morning Oct. 11th arr. at Lockport 9 o'clock evening

Wednesday Oct 13th arr. at Rochester 2 a. m. Two Buildings were on fire opposite the Republican office. Left 12 m arr. at Fair Port evening

Thursday Oct. 14th Passed Clyde 5 P. M.

Friday Oct. 15th arr. at Jordan 8 AM. at Geddisburg 5 P. M. Were detained in consequence of the opening of a new lock at Lodi.

Saturday Oct. 16th 3 p. m. Took Boat Amherst Capt. C. Cook

Sunday 17th Passed New London 9 a. m. arr. at Utica 9 o'clock in the evening

Monday 18th Passed Little falls 7 o'clock a. m. Arr. at Fulton Ville 9 o'clock in the evening.[12]

. . . .

Tuesday Sept. 7 47. Left home on the Packet Boat Montzeuma Capt. ———— Arrived at Utica 7½ P. M. Fare $1.25 Changed to Boat Onondaga Capt. Myers—

Wednesday Sept. 8-47—Clear warm Arrived at Syracuse at noon. Fare $1.50 Changed to Boat, ———— Capt Pc Bromley

Thursday Sept. 9-47. Rain last night, & part of to-day Arrived at Rochester 4 P M. Fare $2.50 Took cars 6, P. M. Fare ———— $2.50 Arrived at Buffalo —— 11 P M. Stopped at Huffs Hotel.

Friday Sep 10, 47. clear warm. Found the girls Harriet Ann & Jane Eliza, yet on board the Canal Boat, wating for me— Took Steam Boat Illinois Capt. Blake left Buffalo, 7 Eve. arrived at Cleveland

Saturday Sept. 11, 47. clear warm—about Noon, started out at 3 p. m.

Sunday Sept. 12, 47. cold

[12] Starin spent the time from October 18, 1841, until April 16, 1842, in and about Fultonville, New York. As the incidents of his diary are not connected with Wisconsin, we omit this portion thereof. There is then a gap until September 7, 1847, when the diary recommences.

Found ourselves at anchor, near the mouth of Detroit river in a fog bank. Arrived at Detroit 9 o'clock, aground on the Flatts at Noon. Passed Port Huron & Fort Gratiot eve. run all night and

Monday 13th Sep 47—Hard north wind very rough, cold till noon to day. Were obliged to turn at Saginaw bay, run back 10 miles & hove to finally returned to the St Clair river for wood. Wooded in the eve. below port Sinai—Laid over night—

Tuesday 14th Sep. 1847—Cold N. W. wind—S. B. Canada left Buff. Sat. morn. Passed us below Detroit. S. B. Baltic left Buff Thursday Eve, aground on the flatts & Driven back from lake Huron, left her at Port Sinai this morning. SB Madison Passed us in the night. We started at 7 this morning. Passed SB Madison 11 oclock at night arrived at Mackinaw

Wednesday 15 Sep 1847 at 7½ o'clock morning, at Manitou Island 5 P. M.

Thursday 16th at Sheboygan 6 morn, arrived at Millwaukee, 12 M. Put up at the City Hotel.

Friday 17, Sep. 1847. Rainy Started for White Water—with Mr. Kinne. Staid at East Troy, Thayer

Saturday 18th I Rode to White Water with Mr Leva Pratt by way of Palmyras &c—Called on F. L. & Widow Pratt Eve—

Sunday 19th Called at P Muzzys & P Pratts.

Monday 20th Wrote home &c. Plowed PM.

Tuesday 21st Helped H.[enry] J. S.[tarin] Sow his wheat

Wednesday 22 I went to Milford with F. L. Pratt & N Pratt & wife returned with us.

Thursday 23. Ela & I went to Delavan—

Friday 24. Returned via Elkhorn &c

Saturday 25. H & I went to look at my land— &c—

Sunday 26. Called at Widow Pratts &c

Monday 27. Rode to Meads &c. Horse back—

Tuesday 28. H & I rode to Bark River Woods

Wednesday 29. Leveled Creek & Spring—4 ft

Thursday 30. Run line bet. Mrs Tripp & self Aaron Ostrander present—

Friday Oct 1st I went to Branch Mill &c &c.

Saturday 2 Helped H. J. S. Build Fence at Ba[blank in MS.]

Sunday 3th Att church Priest Kinne[?], Ela & I,

Monday 4, Oct. 1847. Went with H J S. for load corn & prepared to start for Milwaukee—

Tuesday 5th Started For Millwaukee morning Staid at Prairie Ville over night Jones Hotel—Mr. Cook rode with us.

Wednesday 6th Arrived at Millwaukee noon. Put up at U States Hotel—

Thursday 7th Left Milwaukee 2½ o'clock PM on Boat Henrik Hudson.

Friday 8th Arrived at Mackinaw, 9 o'clock Eve.—

Saturday 9th At Presque Isle 6 oclock AM

Sunday 10th Aground on St. Clair Flatts From noon till 5 P. M.—At Detroit 9 oclock Eve—

Monday 11th arrived at Cleveland 6 oclock morn & Laid till noon—

Tuesday 12th arrived at Buff. 6 o'clock Morning, took cars to Niagara Falls & Lock port. Took packet evening at L. P. for Rochester

Wednesday 13th arrived at Rochester—by Bt Louisiana Capt. Warren. 7 oclock morn—

Thursday 14th at Syracuse 7 o'c morn Boat S. America Capt. Vedder. at Utica 9 eve Capt Grand

Friday 15th arrived at home at noon by Boat Albany Capt Brown—

[*Concluded*]

EDITORIAL COMMENT

WHY AN AFFIDAVIT?

The Anglo-Saxon legal system, whose traditions America inherited, makes much of the sanctity of an oath; and it is true that in court procedure the sworn statement does appear to possess a certain validity above and beyond the mere informal, unattested statement. In historical matters, however, it would seem that the only significance of the attested statement is in the identification of the authority. For the slightest examination of professed historical statements claiming to be attested by notaries will show that such attestation adds nothing whatever to the credibility of the facts alleged.

In the preceding number of this magazine I alluded to a sheaf of affidavits which had been supplied to our Society in the supposition that they afforded striking and perhaps conclusive evidence on what, to the assembler of them, was an exceedingly important question—the moral right of the state of Tennessee to a certain body of manuscript documents which, for about eighty years, have been in the possession of this Society and of Dr. Draper, who was their collector. That these affidavits, signed by men and women of undoubted sincerity and unquestioned truthfulness, reveal admirably the weaknesses of a species of evidence often relied upon, but always without justification, can perhaps be summarized best by giving an example.

John Doe, great-grandson of General James Robertson, who was the founder of Nashville, Tennessee, grandson of Dr. Felix Robertson the son of General James Robertson and first child born at Nashville, whose mother was a daughter of Dr. Felix Robertson, testifies:

> I have often heard both my grandfather and mother speak of their interview with Dr. Lyman C. Draper; that they gave him a large amount

of information and facts relating to the early days and events of the settlement at Nashville, also letters and documents relating to the early history of Tennessee; that Dr. Draper promised to present them with a copy of his book on Tennessee when completed, and would return all papers entrusted to him. My mother made her home with me; was highly educated, literary in her tastes, and a fluent and entertaining writer; two years the junior of Dr. Draper, and both died the same year. When quite advanced in years she repeatedly said to me that Dr. Draper's procrastination was a great disappointment to her; that if she possessed the information and papers given Dr. Draper, she would write a history of the Nashville settlement and refute the "absurd" statement that General Robertson was totally uneducated and was taught to read and write by his wife—*this from the lips of Mrs. General Robertson herself.*

Now what were the facts? At least four years before Dr. Draper could possibly have had an opportunity to call upon Dr. Felix Robertson, custodian of the Robertson family papers, Dr. Robertson had given all of the Robertson papers to the Nashville University Library. In the year 1840 Nathaniel Cross certifies:

The Correspondence, etc., of Gen. James Robertson, who has been styled the "Father of Tennessee," was obtained from his son, Dr. Felix Robertson of Nashville, with permission to select from it such papers as might be considered worth preserving; inasmuch however as many of those, that were of a private nature, contained allusions to political occurrences and Indian border troubles of the day, *it was deemed best to preserve the correspondence entire* [Editor's italics]. I accordingly arranged them in chronological order and had them bound in these two volumes.

The contents of those two volumes included, according to a description given in the *American Historical Magazine*, published at Nashville, "Fragments of the correspondence of this remarkable man, consisting of copies of letters written by himself, and preserved among his papers. . . . Most of the copies of his own letters and of contemporaneous documents are in General Robertson's own handwriting." If, therefore, the good lady mentioned by the affiant we have quoted was particularly anxious to prove the absurdity of the statement that General Robertson was illiterate, her opportunity to do so was at hand. Living, as she did, in Nashville, it was only necessary for her to take the walk to

the University of Nashville Library, in order to find the full collection of the Robertson papers, many of them in General Robertson's own hand. Those papers were in Nashville in 1844, when Draper visited the library and made copious extracts and summaries of them, filling an entire notebook. They never were lent to Dr. Draper by Dr. Felix Robertson, who had parted with their possession; they never were lent to Dr. Draper by the library of the University of Nashville, Draper having taken in the form of notes made by himself at Nashville all the data from those papers which he was ever likely to need. The papers remained in Nashville. They were there in 1887, when Theodore Roosevelt, in writing his *Winning of the West,* sought them out. He says in the preface to volume one, "I had some difficulty in finding the second volume but finally succeeded." It can be asserted without hesitation, that Draper had in his collection not a single General James Robertson paper which was derived from Dr. Felix Robertson either directly or indirectly. And yet the myth, originating no one knows when or how, that Dr. Felix Robertson had lent to Draper a great body of his father's papers is now embodied, at the instance of a public official of the state of Tennessee, in eight distinct and separate affidavits.

It is hardly necessary to repeat that the process of attesting statements of this sort before a notary adds nothing to their historical value.

1923

So long as "birthday" parties, greetings, and gifts continue to be fashionable, the meaning of anniversaries cannot be shrouded or unclear. They are seasons wherein men look before and after, taking refreshment, sober counsel, or warning from the past and applying its lessons to the future. However completely on a given anniversary

the incidents of one's life may be reviewed, if this review fails to issue in a "birthday resolution" which affects the new year, the occasion has been imperfectly utilized.

Anniversaries of states are analogous to the birthdays of individuals, and when the people of a great commonwealth are able to unite in thought and sentiment for the purpose of celebrating an event common to all, the opportunity for a fruitful effort both to revive the memory of the past and to plan the growth of the future has in it unique possibilities.

Turning back in imagination to a time now a quarter of a millennium in the past, to the year 1673, we can even then discern in the midst of pervading barbarism the promise of a civilized life in the region which is now Wisconsin. In the glorious month of June, in that year, the native red men along the Fox-Wisconsin waterway saw the bark canoes of Jolliet and Father Marquette, with their seven white occupants, as they glided across our state on their adventurous voyage to determine the geographical relations of the Father of Waters.

This event lies at the very foundation of our history as a civil community. Another event, similarly significant for the political history of Wisconsin, is the admission of our state into the union in 1848, just seventy-five years ago.

What can be done to celebrate these two coincident anniversaries? How can they be made of maximum significance to our people? Can this Society help the state government and the legislature in developing plans? Can it aid the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Federated Women's Clubs, the Department of Public Instruction, and other agencies which naturally are equally interested with ourselves in making the most of the unique opportunity signalized by the number representing the year we are now in—1923?

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at New Haven, Connecticut, from Wednesday, December 27, to Saturday, December 30, 1922. The program, which was rich and varied, included conferences on American history in general, on Hispanic-American history, on Mississippi Valley history; on the work of historical societies; legal history; agricultural history; British imperial history; philology; ancient history. There were eight stated dinner and luncheon conferences, and three notable evening addresses.

The first of these addresses, presented on Wednesday evening, was that of the president of the Association, who, this year, was a former University of Wisconsin professor, Charles Homer Haskins, now dean of the Graduate School of Harvard University. His subject was: "European History and American Scholarship." The address, which gives evidence at once of profound scholarship and deep insight into America's practical relation to world affairs, was printed in the January number of the *American Historical Review*. On Thursday evening Sir Robert Borden, of Canada, spoke to a large audience on "Certain Aspects of the Political Relations between English Speaking Peoples," and on Friday evening Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes delivered his now famous address in which the presentation of America's plan for meeting the present European crisis submerged the formal lecture.

One of the most impressive functions connected with the convention was an informal dinner-luncheon tendered to President Haskins by some of his former students. Of these there were two groups: an older group, men who sat under Haskins' instruction in the halls of Wisconsin University during the years 1892 to 1906; and a younger group of Harvard men. Dean Guy Stanton Ford, of Minnesota

University, one of the Wisconsin group (and as he intimated, the most venerable appearing member of that group), acted as toastmaster, with the felicity for which he has become widely known. The remarks of Dr. Haskins in reply to the encomiums of a number of his admirers were evidently charged with deep emotion.

THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* has no desire to monopolize the name of our great commonwealth as a title feature. Yet we recognize the opportunity for confusion which results from the announcement by an organization entirely distinct from the State Historical Society, of the prospective publication of a monthly periodical called the *Wisconsin Magazine*. A number of letters have come to us which are designed for that periodical, even some of our own members having made the inference that this Society was behind the new venture.

We regret the fact, not by reason of any doubts as to the character of the new monthly which is promised, and which has our best wishes, but because mistakes of this nature always give rise to embarrassment, and embarrassment begets disgust, which in this case would react to the detriment of both the Historical Society and the promoters of the *Wisconsin Magazine*. Let our readers be perfectly clear, therefore, that no connection exists between that monthly and our *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, which will continue to be issued quarterly.

JOSEPH SCHAFER

COMMUNICATIONS

EARLY DAYS OF RHINELANDER

I have had it in mind for some time to write in regard to the little article that appeared in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*[1] about the early days of Rhinelander. This was in the nature of a reply to an inquiry which had come from a woman in Rhinelander. The whole matter was of peculiar interest to me because it happened that for a brief time during the month of June, 1882, after the Milwaukee, Lake Shore, and Western Railroad (now the Chicago and Northwestern) had been built as far as Monico Junction, and was in process of grading from that point to Wisconsin River, I was on the site of the coming city and saw the whole region before there had been any attempt made to start a town.

As a college student, I went up with the late B. F. Dorr, an experienced "timber cruiser," to look over 840 acres of woodland in township 36-9, lying south of Pelican River, most of it within two miles of the present city of Rhinelander. This land we had entered at the land office of Wausau, paying the government price of $1.25 an acre. We had a dog tent, and spent a week on the land. We met the railroad surveyors at their camp, which was located on about the highest ground within the present city of Rhinelander, near the confluence of the Pelican and Wisconsin rivers. When we crossed the Pelican, we found on the southerly bank the cabin of a French-Canadian "homesteader," who, it seemed, had lived there many years. Unfortunately he was not at home, and we failed to get from him much information about the locality which he could undoubtedly have furnished. His cabin was the only permanent structure of any kind that we saw in all that region of many square miles.

On our land we found much good hardwood timber—maple, birch, oak, popple, basswood—and a few acres covered with hemlock and Norwegian pine. On one quarter-section there was an excellent stand of sugar maple. The trees had been tapped

[1] June, 1922.

repeatedly, and the Indians had stacked their birch-bark sap buckets at the close of the preceding season. One of the small lakes or ponds, so numerous in that part of Wisconsin, bordered part of the land. I think it very probable that the site of the "homesteader's" cabin, and possibly a portion of our own land, which we later sold, is now within the limits of the city, though of this I am not certain.

I believe the article in the magazine made no mention of the government dam in Wisconsin River at Pelican Rapids. This was a part of the system promoted by Congressman Pound, with a view of holding the waters of tributaries to the Mississippi until the dry season, when they could be used to raise the level in the lower river. I am not sure just when this dam was constructed, but the government engineers must have been at work there for some time, and probably records of the work can be found at Washington.

Raftsmen, of course, had known of Pelican Rapids since the first logging operations on the upper Wisconsin. I note that the magazine article speaks of the name Pelican Station having been used to denote the site of the present city of Rhinelander. This may have been true for the few months preceding the completion of the railroad to that point, but at the time we were there the spot was known far and wide as Pelican Rapids (the "rapids" referring to the Wisconsin and not to Pelican River).

In locating the boundary lines of our land we followed the field notes of the government survey, made twenty years before. In most cases we found the section corners and "quarter posts," by the aid of blazes on "bearing trees," without great difficulty. "Frank" Dorr, my companion on this trip, deserves to be remembered in connection with the history of northern Wisconsin. He was a practical land surveyor, and there were very few townships of what was then known as the northern wilderness which he had not at one time or another visited. During the seventies and eighties he traversed on foot the whole region north from Wolf River to the Michigan boundary. More than one thriving town is built on the land which he had surveyed when it was in a state of nature.

As stated in the magazine article, the Rhinelander family of New York was then in control of the railroad property. The chief engineer of the railroad at that time was Mr. Rumele of Boston. Several of the young men in the engineer's camp that we visited were from Boston. It is likely that some of these railroad surveyors are still living, possibly in the vicinity of Rhinelander.

I cannot close without a word of appreciation for the little magazine. I enjoy every number of it, and for me, as an old Wisconsin boy, it is one of the most interesting magazines printed.

WILLIAM B. SHAW, *New York City*

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION OF 1860

Carl Schurz, in his *Reminiscences*, I, 4, says: "Memory not seldom plays treacherous pranks with us in making us believe that we have actually witnessed things which we have only heard spoken of, or which have only vividly occupied our imagination."

I believe that when M. P. Rindlaub communicated his interesting recollections of the Chicago convention of 1860 (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, March, 1922)—where he relates how, from his "seat in the reporter's gallery," he observed that "shortly after the convention was called to order, John Hanks, a cousin of Abraham Lincoln, carried two weather-beaten rails, which Lincoln had split, onto the platform, where they were received with tremendous enthusiasm"—his memory played him one of those treacherous pranks which Schurz mentions. The incident of the old fence rails occurred not at the national convention which opened at Chicago on May 16, 1860, but at the Illinois state convention held at Decatur, May 9-10, 1860. See the following *Lives* of Lincoln: Tarbell, I, 339-340; Herndon and Weik, II, 170; Arnold, 162; William E. Curtis, 27; Charnwood, 165.

While Mr. Rindlaub unquestionably saw those two fence rails in Chicago, it could not have been in the convention hall, for they stood in the hotel parlor at the Illinois delegation's headquarters. See Nicolay and Hay, II, 283-284; Hazelton, in Phantom Club *Papers*, third series, 15.

ROBERT WILD, *Milwaukee*

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

Since the last issue of the magazine, the Society has mailed to its members and subscribers two publications—the *Proceedings* for 1922 and the first volume of general studies for the *Wisconsin Domesday Book*, entitled *A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin*, by Joseph Schafer. The *Proceedings* contains a paper by the Superintendent on "The Draper Collection of Manuscripts," which was presented at the annual meeting of 1922. It is an answer to the challenge of a sister state concerning the Society's rightful title to its famous Draper Collection. It is hoped that every member and friend of the Society will read it with thoughtful care. The *History of Agriculture in Wisconsin*, although not aiming at a complete history of the subject, has been carefully written from the best sources, and constitutes an introduction to the intensive local studies which are to follow in the *Domesday Book* series. The illustrations have been chosen with great care, and many of them have never before been published, while some of the maps have been drawn or adapted for the purposes of this volume. As agriculture is still the major industry of Wisconsin, it is believed that this volume will meet a wide acceptance and a hearty welcome.

During the three months' period ending January 10, 1923, there were forty-two additions to the membership roll of the State Historical Society. Ten of these enrolled as life members, as follows: Dr. Wendell A. Anderson, La Crosse; Frank T. Beers, Washburn; Rev. Joseph W. Berg, Milwaukee; Jesse E. Higbee, La Crosse; Maurice E. McCaffery, Madison; Charles McPherson, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Elliott M. Ogden, Milwaukee; Dr. Harry A. Sifton, Milwaukee; Richard I. Warner, Sheboygan; G. S. Wehrwein, Madison.

Thirty persons became annual members: George O. Banting, Waukesha; William Bloomer, Waukesha; Herman Bremmer, Muscoda; Martha S. Dixon, Milwaukee; John J. Esch, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Herman L. Fritschel, Milwaukee; Nellie I. Gill, Waukesha; Nathan Glicksman, Milwaukee; John G. Graham, Tomah; Daniel W. Greenburg, Portland, Ore.; Alfred L. Hall, Plymouth; Mabel V. Hansen, Hartland; Charles F. Harding, Chicago, Ill.; Charles J. Hute, Rochester; Charles J. Kasten, Milwaukee; Marie A. Kasten, Madison; Harold M. Kuckuck, West Salem; Julius A. Laack, Plymouth; Martin H. Meyer, Milwaukee; Rt. Rev. Karl A. Mueller, Watertown; Mrs. J. B. Noble, Waukesha; Natalie C. Notz, Milwaukee; Charles Pfeifer, Plymouth; William F. Pflueger, Manitowoc; Elsie F. Schmidt, Lake Mills; Adolph J. Schmitz, Milwaukee; Charles F. Schuetze, Waukesha; Fred A. Shafer, Boyceville; Benjamin D. Stone, Tripoli; Martin J. Torkelson, Madison.

The high school at Plymouth and St. Clara Academy at Sinsinawa have been added to the list of Wisconsin school members. Charles L. Hill, Rosendale, changed from annual to life membership.

HENRY COLIN CAMPBELL

At the annual meeting of our Society in 1904, Henry C. Campbell of Milwaukee was elected curator to fill the unexpired term of Honorable John Johnston of the same city. Mr. Campbell was reëlected in 1906, and at every triennium since that time, until his death. His interest in our history was not only intense, but he made through the medium of the Parkman Club of Milwaukee a contribution of substantial worth. We give to our readers the following appreciation of Curator Campbell, written by a fellow member of the Parkman Club, Gardner P. Stickney:

Much has been written and said these recent days about the accomplishments of Henry Colin Campbell in his chosen profession and in club and civic life. In each of these lines he achieved success, reaching in each a rank accorded to but few.

The outstanding qualities of his character were a courtesy for the opinions of others without yielding his own, and a tireless energy in gathering and sifting information along any lines of investigation which attracted his attention. In none of the interests in his very active life were these qualities more clearly manifested, than in his studies of various men and episodes in early Wisconsin history.

Henry Campbell's interest in the history of his native state was shown first by his study on Radisson and Groseilliers (Parkman Club *Publication Number 2*, 1896). The merit of this monograph was recognized by students at once. The modest edition of two hundred copies was soon exhausted, and even now, after a lapse of twenty-six years, requests are received for occasional copies. The following year his "Père René Ménard" was presented to the club and printed. This paper met with as cordial a reception as its predecessor. These papers established Henry Campbell's reputation as an historical student, careful as to his facts and logical in his conclusions. For many years thereafter he was an occasional and welcomed contributor to the publications of the State Historical Society, the *American Historical Review*, and other journals.

Each member of the Parkman Club was pledged to prepare each year one paper embodying careful research in some topic relating to the history of the Old Northwest. One month before the presentation of the paper, its writer was expected to give the other members a memorandum showing the subject, leading authorities consulted and sources examined, and general line of argument. The paper was divided into at least two sections, with discussion following each section. These discussions were valuable and very interesting. They were led by William Ward Wight, later president of the State Historical Society, Henry E. Legler, who became librarian of the Chicago Public Library and a leader in his profession, Dr. Joseph S. LaBoule, professor of ecclesiastical history at St. Francis Seminary, and Henry Campbell. These men if present, always participated in the discussion, and they were accustomed to prepare themselves by something more than a cursory glance at the memorandum. This was particularly true of Henry Campbell. He took his membership in the club as an obligation, and it was his pleasure to

take part in every meeting. Many a paper in its completed form contains some revision or addition suggested by him in these discussions.

Careful in preparation, because it was his habit, tenacious in opinion, because he believed only in what was right, kindly and often humorous in criticism, he exercised a fine influence on his associates of that time. This influence broadened to include many more with the increasing responsibilities of his later years.

LANDMARKS

A special committee on landmarks was appointed by this Society in 1919, under the chairmanship of Honorable P. V. Lawson; upon his death in December, 1920, Honorable John Hazelwood was appointed chairman and held the office until his removal from Madison last year. The Society regrets to chronicle the death of Mr. Hazelwood at Milwaukee, January 9, 1923. He was a man deeply imbued with a love for Wisconsin, her history, and her beauty. His loss will be keenly felt by the Wisconsin Archeological Society, the Friends of Our Native Landscape, as well as by our Society. His efforts were influential in the campaign to save Aztalan's ancient remains for the state.

The Landmarks Committee of our Society, as now constituted, comprises Harry E. Cole, Baraboo, chairman; O. D. Brandenburg, John G. D. Mack, and Mrs. E. H. Van Ostrand, Madison; Senator W. A. Titus, Fond du Lac; and Judge A. H. Long, Prairie du Chien. The committee is planning for a midwinter meeting at Madison and a field meet on Labor Day, for which announcement will be made in the next magazine.

Markers are proposed for the Van Hise rock at Ableman, and for a bear effigy mound in Devils Lake State Park.

The Society is also coöperating with other organizations in landmarks activities. The Daughters of the American Revolution for Wisconsin are especially interested in this movement. The state chairman, Mrs. W. L. Olds, has addressed every chapter on the subject, and is developing enthusiastic coöperation. The recent activity of the D. A. R. consists in the purchase by the Prairie du Chien chapter of the ruins of Fort Crawford. This is a notable act of state patriotism, for the remains of this famous fort where Zachary Taylor once commanded, and Jefferson Davis wooed his daughter, where Black Hawk was imprisoned, and many noted officers have lived, were fast disintegrating. The chapter is making plans to preserve these remains from further ruin.

The members of the Waubun chapter at Portage have purchased a small piece of land where three roads meet at the site of Fort Winnebago. They propose to unveil a tablet there upon Memorial Day. They are also increasing the value of their marker already erected at the portage to Jolliet and Marquette, by placing thereon a tablet with facts concerning the carrying place.

The Elkhorn chapter has erected a marker at Linn to mark the site of an old trail in that vicinity.

A notable achievement of the D. A. R. is the erection by the Rhoda Hinsdale chapter of Shullsburg, of a tablet to mark the site of the battle of Pecatonica. See an account of the unveiling ceremonies in the *Proceedings*, 1922.

Several years ago the Buffalo County natives then resident in St. Paul and Minneapolis organized for a yearly outing, which has been maintained until the present. September 10, 1922, they dedicated a tablet to the pioneers on the courthouse square at Alma. Addresses were made by Mayor John Meile; by O. F. Rabbas, president of the society; by S. G. Gilman of Mondovi, Theodore Buehler of Alma, and F. Fugina of Fountain City. In the space behind the tablet was placed the first newspaper of the county, issued in 1856; and the names of all the settlers who arrived before 1857. A copy of these names has been sent to the Historical Library.

Early in May the Sauk County Historical Society will unveil a tablet to mark the site of the first schoolhouse in the Baraboo valley, in Baraboo, 1844. Wallace Rowan, W. H. Canfield, and Lewis Bronson selected the site for the building, and E. M. Hart was the first teacher. Several persons who attended school in this building are still living. In this log structure Reverend Warren Cochran, December 18, 1847, organized the first church in the Baraboo valley—the Congregational. See account of its anniversary in another column.

Another interesting project which is well under way is the plan to mark the homestead of General Henry Dodge, the first governor of the territory, not far from Dodgeville. Lina M. Johns, a teacher in the high school at that place, prepared for the *Dodgeville Chronicle* of November 23, 1922, an historical sketch narrating the important events in our history connected with this now almost deserted spot. The Woman's Club of Dodgeville is interested in erecting a marker at this historic site.

THE WATROUS PAPERS

The late Colonel Jerome A. Watrous passed almost his entire life in Wisconsin, and was deeply versed in its history and biography. His well known patriotic zeal made him familiar with every phase of Wisconsin's share in the Civil War, with which by means of the Loyal Legion and the Grand Army of the Republic he kept in constant touch. As might have been expected, therefore, the papers from his sanctum, which his widow has given the Society, relate very largely to the four years of the War between the States. Sketches of Wisconsin regiments in action, anecdotes of Wisconsin soldiers and officers, descriptions of Wisconsin memorials and celebrations—all from the facile pen of Colonel Watrous—comprise a large and valuable portion of this collection. For he spoke of what he knew, and of times and events in which he had a share. Among the most interesting of his Civil War papers are the original manuscripts belonging to Captain Joseph Bailey, who in 1864 made the Red River dam which enabled Admiral David Porter to capture Port Hudson on the Mississippi. Bailey was a Wisconsin lumberman and familiar with methods of raising waters to float craft.

In 1910 Colonel Watrous engaged in a controversy over the action of Virginia in placing the statue of Robert E. Lee in the rotunda of the national capitol. Some of the G. A. R. officials were offended by this. Watrous, who was a generous soul and had long had pleasant relations with the South, vigorously commended Virginia's action and earned the gratitude of the men who had worn the grey. Concerning this chivalrous episode there is a large group of letters and papers.

During his sojourn in the Philippines and also during the World War, Colonel Watrous' patriotism took on new phases, both of which are well illustrated by his papers. During his journalistic career he had occasion to "write up" many separate Wisconsin localities. The original manuscripts of these articles are among his papers; they are replete with interesting anecdotes and stories concerning many personalities of the various sections of the state.

After his retirement from active service, which occurred scarcely a year before his death, Colonel Watrous began an autobiography, which from his ability as a writer as well as his deep knowledge of Wisconsin promised interesting results. Unfortunately he had covered only the period of his boyhood, the document coming to an end in 1858; it describes, however, most entertainingly a child's experiences in pioneer Wisconsin, and the hardships encountered and endured. We plan to present some portions of this manuscript to our readers at no distant day. These papers, with a Watrous genealogy and some personalia, constitute a gift the Society is glad to possess—the Jerome A. Watrous papers.

THE AYLWARD PAPERS

The untimely death of Honorable John A. Aylward, in November, 1916, removed a man of mark and promise from the state. Born in 1861 at Black Earth, Dane County, Mr. Aylward graduated at the State University with the class of 1884, proving even while in college to be a formidable debater and a clear-thinking logician. Entering the legal profession, he devoted himself not only to his private business, but to the welfare of the community. A lifelong Democrat, he was twice candidate for governor on the minority ticket, and a hard worker at the several campaigns. In 1912, occupying a position of influence with his party, he successfully conducted a primary campaign, which placed upon the Wisconsin state ballot the name of Woodrow Wilson for president. This was the opening gun of the Wilson candidacy, and had much influence in securing his nomination at the national convention, to which Mr. Aylward was delegate at large. Thereafter he was in the councils of the administration, and influential with the leaders of the government at Washington. He was appointed district attorney for the federal court of the western district of Wisconsin, and held that office until his death. He was interested in all the larger movements of his time, and rendered notable service during the early years of the World War, although not living to see America's participation.

One member of the last law firm with which he was connected was Michael Olbrich, now legal adviser of the state executive. Mr. Olbrich

has secured for the Society the papers of his former partner, John A. Aylward, ranging in time from 1901 until 1916, and comprising much information concerning the history of the Democratic party and larger political movements in the period before the World War.

HONOR FOR GENERAL BRAGG

General Edward S. Bragg, loved of Wisconsin people "for the enemies he made," has been awarded a belated recognition by his home town of Fond du Lac. During the general's lifetime a marble bust of him was cut by Robert Powrie, a skillful artist and a personal friend; this sculpture is considered by the Bragg family as the best likeness of of the general. Powrie, however, had refused to part with the marble until last autumn, when he offered it to the county of Fond du Lac, which secured the statue. It is to be placed in the county courthouse as a permanent memorial to the soldier statesman Wisconsin delights to honor. It will also stand as a memorial to the artist, who has since the date of the purchase joined the vast majority of the silent dead.

LINCOLN AND THE SCOTCH LAD

We condense from the *Milwaukee Journal* of June 18 the following true story:

One of the chief features of the state fair at Milwaukee in 1859 was a plowing contest and a prize which was awarded to the plowboy who turned the straightest furrow. A young Illinois lawyer, who had just given an address on agriculture before the assembled farmers, took great interest in the plowing contest, which followed his speech. The victor was a Scotch lad who had come to Milwaukee but two years before from the land of Robert Burns. Jamie Bryden, as he stepped forward bashfully to receive the prize, felt his hand grasped by the tall speaker, who gazed at him admiringly and asked, "What is your business, young man?" "I'm a feed merchant," Jamie replied proudly, having a few months before established a business of his own. Laying his large kind hand on the youth's shoulder, Lincoln slowly shook his head. "You never learned to plow that way in a feed store," he said. Bryden hastened to explain that he was a Scotch farmer's son, not long from the old country, whereupon his interlocutor gave him a pleasant smile, and commented on the value of Scotch methods of farming.

His life long, Mr. Bryden enjoyed repeating this story of Lincoln. His true hero, however, was Robert Burns, and to James Bryden, Milwaukee is indebted for the Burns statue unveiled July 4, 1895.

A memorial to the Lincoln campaign of 1860 has recently been presented to the city of Waukesha, and placed in its Cutler Park. This is a small brass cannon which was carried in procession during the campaign, and dubbed "The Railsplitter" in compliment to the candidate.

THE STOCKBRIDGE CENTENNIAL

In four years more the state will begin centennial observations of the first settlements on its southwestern border. Meanwhile, in October, 1922, at Gresham, in Shawano County, was celebrated the centen-

nial of the first band of Stockbridge Indians to settle in Wisconsin. This tribe has followed the famous advice of Horace Greeley, migrating successively from Massachusetts to western New York, thence to the Fox River valley in Wisconsin, where their first home and mission was at South Kaukauna. In *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, xv, 39–204, may be read the interesting diary and reports of one of their early missionaries, Reverend Cutting Marsh. Their home was at first called Statesburgh; some years afterwards the tribe removed to Calumet County and founded Stockbridge, east of Lake Winnebago. At this period there was much restlessness, and many of the Indians wished to remove entirely from Wisconsin. No such exodus, however, took place; but in the fifties of last century, the Stockbridges retroceded to the government their reservation in Calumet County, and removed with their friends the Menominee to Shawano County, where their reservations adjoin. John W. Quinney was the principal chief of the tribe when they came to Wisconsin; his activities are recorded and his character eulogized in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, iv, 303–333, under the title of the "Last of the Mohicans." He was, however, by no means the last, since his grandson, Jameson M. Quinney, still officiates as the oldest of the elders of the Stockbridge church at Gresham, and is custodian of the Bible presented to his tribe before the American Revolution by the reigning king, George III. Among the famous missionaries of this Indian group have been Reverend Jonathan Edwards, Reverend John Sergeant, and Reverend David B. Brainard. Their first Wisconsin missionary was Reverend Jesse Miner, who succumbed to the hardships of Wisconsin's winter climate, and died at Statesburgh, March 22, 1827.

CHURCH ANNIVERSARIES

Some of the oldest churches in the state celebrated their founding in October last. The Congregational church at Hartland kept its eightieth birthday with appropriate song and sermon. In Racine, St. Luke's Episcopal Church held a four days' festival and issued a booklet in commemoration of its advent in 1842. The Whitewater church of the same name and the same denomination has held continuous services for eighty years, since the time this young settlement was first organized in a log schoolhouse by the Reverend Richard T. Cadle, first Episcopal missionary to Wisconsin.

Three-quarters of a century of the First Baptist Church of Madison was celebrated during the last winter. The Congregational church of Hartford attained the same age in last October. During all the autumn the Archbishopric of Milwaukee has been holding commemoratory services of the founding of its Cathedral of St. John in 1847. In the same city Trinity Evangelical Church, corner of Ninth and Prairie, celebrated its diamond jubilee October 15 to 22. The *Sentinel* published pictures of the first and present-day buildings used by this congregation.

In 1847 a colony of Hollanders organized the First Reformed Church of Milwaukee, which now worships at Tenth and Harmon streets in that city. Only two of the charter members of this church still survive.

The First Congregational Church of Baraboo held in January an eight-day celebration of its seventy-fifth birthday. The program honored the memory of twenty-one former pastors, and of its eight pioneer founders.

In fiftieth anniversaries Bay View, at the southern end of Milwaukee, specialized last autumn—St. Luke's Evangelical Lutheran, Grace Presbyterian, and Bethany churches of that neighborhood all holding celebrations. St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran of Stevens Point and Our Saviour's Norwegian Lutheran Church of Marinette both held golden jubilees in 1922. Fifty years ago last summer a Sunday-school was organized in the western part of Oshkosh, which by December grew into the Algoma Methodist Episcopal Church. This event was celebrated with three days' services last December.

After chronicling the happy celebrations of many flourishing churches, it is sad to report the abandonment of a rural church, whose building, first erected in 1849, was wrecked last autumn. This was the Episcopal Church of the Holy Communion, erected on Bloom Prairie, near Bloomfield, Waukesha County, by the Reverend William H. Whiting, under the Episcopal supervision of Bishop Kemper. It contained the first pipe-organ installed in Wisconsin, and was a fine hewn oak structure with a tower. The descendants of its pioneer parishioners have nearly all removed from the neighborhood. Last spring the tower blew down in a storm; thereafter the church authorities decided it was best to wreck the old building rather than to leave it to ruin and disintegration. So the Holy Communion Church of Bloom Prairie is no more.

A CIVIL WAR NURSE

Mrs. Susannah Van Valkenburg, now living in Oshkosh, is one of the few Civil War nurses who yet remain with us. She was with her husband in 1863 at Alexandria, Virginia, where she made a twelve-foot board room in the soldiers' camp into a home where the "boys" delighted to come and be mothered. She solicited money from the soldiers in their winter quarters, and bought dainties for the sick boys in the hospitals—jellies that made their eyes sparkle; warm, nourishing soup which helped in their restoration. It is said that she even cured a dying lad, by making for him "biscuits like my mother used to make." In 1864 she received a regular appointment from the Christian Commission, and regularly visited the hospitals of Alexandria.

Now, sixty years afterwards, Mrs. Van Valkenburg devotes her leisure time to making beautiful laces, which she gives to many prominent persons whom she admires. Queen Elizabeth of Belgium graciously accepted a collar from this American woman; and during Mrs. Harding's recent illness Mrs. Van Valkenburg sent a tribute of flowers worked out in lace. For this gift she received a letter from the White House, which she cherishes as her greatest treasure.

Sixty years as guardians of the health and welfare of Racine citizens have stood three physicians, father, son, and grandson, all bearing the same name—John Goldesbrough Meachem. The eldest Meachem

came to the city just as the Civil War was causing Camp Utley to be built within Racine's borders. For two years he had charge of the camp's regimental hospital; three times he served his adopted city as mayor, and was trustee of Racine College from 1874 until his death 1896. His son was but six years old when brought from New York State to Racine. He followed in his father's footsteps as a physician, after education at Rush Medical College, Chicago. In 1872 father and son coöperated in establishing St. Luke's Hospital; the son is on the faculty of the Chicago College of Physicians and Surgeons, and at present is vice president of the Wisconsin Hospital Association. John G. Meachem III is also a graduate of Rush Medical College, has studied in London and Paris, and has been for several years the efficient partner of his father in active practice. In all, this family has contributed an aggregate of one hundred and eleven years' service to the citizens of Racine.

Sailing vessels have almost disappeared from the Great Lakes, except where used as pleasure craft; therefore Milwaukeeans who watch the port arrivals were interested to see a schooner enter the harbor at a recent date. This schooner was the *J. H. Stevens*, built in 1866; reduced from her proud position of full schooner rig, she carries now but fore- and mainsail, and ignominiously depends upon a gasoline engine for motive power. How are the mightly fallen! The *Stevens* motored over from a Michigan port to Milwaukee with a load of potatoes.

The December, 1922, issue of our magazine chronicled the advent of the first electric lighting plant in the West at Appleton in September, 1882. Janesville proved a close second, for its first lights appeared December 7, of the same year. The dynamo was connected with the Janesville Machine Company Works, and there were ten patrons in the business section of the city. This plant was not an Edison type, but one of the electric arc lights under the Weston patent.

We have mentioned in another column a history of the pioneer lawyers of Manitowoc. That city was the home of a delightful celebration when the bench and bar united to honor the fiftieth anniversary of the admission to its ranks of Honorable Lyman J. Nash, late revisor of statutes for the state. Mr. Nash is still in active practice, and is identified with the higher life of his community in many substantial ways.

MUSEUM NOTES

Mr. Brown, chief of the Historical Museum, spoke before the Lion's Club at the Park Hotel, Madison, December 8, 1922, on "The Mission of the Museum"; before a chapter of the same organization at Sheboygan, December 19, on "The Preservation of Sheboygan County Indian Memorials"; and before the Century Club at Madison, January 7, 1923, on "Madison's First Settlers."

The Historical Museum has prepared for use of teachers of art in the high schools of the state an "Indian Decorative Arts" loan collection. This consists at the present time of about thirty 10 x 18 cardboard

sheets upon which are mounted colored drawings of American Indian art motives reproduced from designs on aboriginal articles of dress, earthenware, implements, and other materials in the Museum and in the leading museums of the eastern states. The art of many tribes is thus represented. Each sheet contains from four to six designs. Wherever possible, the Indian significance of these is given. It is the intention of the Museum further to extend this collection as the need for it arises. A loan of it may be obtained by schools, upon application to the Museum.

A notable Christmas gift received by the Museum is the council pipe of the former noted Wisconsin Winnebago chief Yellow Thunder (Wau-kaun-cha-ze-kah). It is presented by W. J. Langdon of Sumner, Washington, members of whose family have had it for years. The flat wooden stem of this great pipe is thirty-two and one-half inches in length, and its heavy mottled red bowl is six and one-half inches long. The latter is a particularly fine example of Indian stone carving, and is inlaid at both the bowl and the stem with several encircling lead rings. It is highly polished. It makes a valuable addition to the collection of pipes of notable Wisconsin chiefs which the Museum owns. One of the earliest of these dates back to 1820.

Yellow Thunder, the war chief, was born about 1774 and died in 1874. He figured prominently in the early history of southern Wisconsin. In 1828, he and his squaw, "The Washington Woman," were members of a party of Winnebago who went to Washington to interview the President. He was buried on a small piece of land which he owned in Delton Township, Sauk County. The Sauk County Historical Society has erected a monument over his remains. An oil painting of him hangs in the Indian history room of the Museum.

Recent gifts to the State Historical Museum include two Chippewa Indian yarn bags, presented by Mrs. W. S. Marshall, Madison; an old mariner's compass given by Mrs. J. A. Cadman, Stevens Point; old children's scrap books, by Alice Jackson, Madison; an Austrian pewter medal given to wounded World War soldiers, 1918, by Senator W. A. Titus, Fond du Lac; Geneva hand fluter (1866), tin spice boxes (1872), and tea strainer (1880), by Mrs. L. E. Stevens, Madison; tin diploma used by the State Board of Pharmacy for thirty years, H. J. Ruenzel, Milwaukee; thirty samples and patterns of wool embroidery (1870–1880), dance and reception programs (1869–73), by Mary E. Hazeltine, Madison; horse-collar machine, Frederick Bodenstein, Madison; Confederate shell, C. M. Larson, Madison; World War soldiers' aluminum identification tags, by F. C. Thiessen, Madison. The late John A. Hazelwood of Milwaukee presented a small collection of Indian stone implements made by him years ago in Jefferson County. The College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin has presented a butter bowl, butter ladle, milk pan, tin skimmers, butter printer, churn, and cheese press—a complete exhibit illustrating early home butter and cheese making in Wisconsin.

On the evening of November 6, 1922, an exhibit of homecoming posters and statuettes prepared by students of the applied arts department of the University of Wisconsin, and students of the art courses of the Madison high school and University high school, was shown in the north hall of the Museum. This exhibit was of a competitive character, the prizes for the best poster and the best statuette being two silver cups of unusual design. There were about fifty entries in the poster contest, many of them being of notable excellence. Seven clay statuettes were entered. The judges of the exhibit were Professor W. H. Varnum, A. N. Colt, Frank Riley, and Arthur F. Worth. A number of students and others came to view the exhibit, which remained in place for parts of two days.

The Wisconsin Archeological Society issued in February a new publication entitled *Monona,* in which the Indian history, and the native sites and earthworks on the shores of this beautiful Madison lake, are fully described. Charles E. Brown is the author of this publication, which contains information based on investigations conducted between the years 1908 and 1922. The total number of aboriginal earthworks formerly existing on and near the shores of Lake Monona is shown to have been 170. There were fourteen distinct groups of these, the largest and most important of which were located in East Madison, at Fairhaven Point and Fairhaven, in the Frost Woods, at the outlet of the lake, in South Madison, on the dividing ridge, and on Oregon Street. The principal Indian village sites were on both sides of the outlet, in East Madison and in the region between Ethelwyn Park and Hoboken. This publication is the fourth of a series of pamphlets describing the Indian history and remains of the five Madison lakes, those previously issued covering Lakes Mendota, Wingra, and Waubesa,

The July to November, 1922, issue of the *Wisconsin Conservationist,* which has just made its appearance, contains among others, short articles, on "Groups of Indian Mounds," "Indian Names of the Madison Lakes," "Lakes and Streams of Wisconsin," "The Earthmaker," and "Winnebago Legends."

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. William Ellery Leonard ("Wisconsin") is associate professor of English in the University of Wisconsin. He has published several volumes of poems, as well as two plays, *Glory of the Morning* and *Red Bird,* based on events in Wisconsin history.

Superintendent Joseph Schafer ("The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin") is preparing a series of articles under this title for the magazine, of which this is the second.

Hosea Whitford Rood ("The Grand Army of the Republic and the Wisconsin Department") is custodian of the G. A. R. headquarters at the state capitol. When a boy of sixteen he enlisted in Company E, Twelfth Wisconsin Infantry, and served throughout the Civil War, being mustered out July 16, 1865.

Honorable W. A. Titus ("Empire: A Wisconsin Town") is state senator from Fond du Lac. He has been a frequent contributor to our magazine; this article, concerning his native town, was contributed by request of the editor.

Samuel M. Williams ("Micajah T. Williams") prepared this sketch of his grandfather's life at the request of the editor. Mr. Williams, a son of Major Charles H. Williams, of Baraboo, is a lawyer at Milwaukee.

Lowell J. Ragatz, B.A. University of Wisconsin, 1920, took honors on his thesis, and has had two years of graduate work at Wisconsin and University of Pennsylvania. He sends us these interesting documents ("A Swiss Family in the New World: Letters of Jakob and Ulrich Bühler") from Paris, where he is continuing his studies.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Swedish Year Book. (St. Paul, 1922)

The historical societies maintained by our hyphenated Americans are all doing excellent work for the future of historical studies of American origins. The Swedish Historical Society of America, formerly centering in Chicago, has now removed its headquarters to Minneapolis. The library of this society has been incorporated with that of the Minnesota Historical Society on terms advantageous for both societies. After an hiatus of five years, the Swedish Society has once more issued a *Year Book*, for 1921–22. This contains several excellent articles on Swedish-Americans of note, and a number of typical letters from American immigrants written to friends and relatives in Sweden. These are printed both in Swedish and in an English translation, and form useful sources for the history of the Northwest.

Pioneer Courts and Lawyers of Manitowoc County, Wisconsin: Collections and Recollections. By James Sibree Anderson. (Manitowoc, 1922)

It is fortunate for the history of the state, when one of its influential and active pioneers undertakes the history of his own profession, and as thoroughly sets forth both the personalities and the institutions as Judge Anderson has done in this small book. The sketches, originally appearing in the *Manitowoc Pilot* in 1920–21, are well worthy of the larger circulation they will have when gathered into this volume. The bar and bench of Manitowoc has been and is still a notable one. Its presiding judges have been among the leading legal forces of our state; it has furnished judges to the supreme and other state courts; while one of its living members was appointed the first permanent incumbent of the office of state revisor of statutes. The Society is grateful to Judge Anderson for his *Collections and Recollections*, and hopes his example may prove an incentive to others to follow in his footsteps.

James W. Bashford. By George R. Grose. (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1922)

Bishop Bashford is one of the exceptional men that Wisconsin has sent into the broader field. His biography by the president of DePauw University devotes the first two chapters to the Wisconsin portion of his life, being concerned with his "Early Years" and his days as "A College Student." James W. Bashford was born in Lafayette County, whither his father had migrated from New Jersey; while from his mother he inherited a Scotch-Irish strain from Virginia, Kentucky, and Illinois.

While a small boy he saw his cousin, John B. Parkinson, leave for the gold mines of California; and it was the same cousin who taught the school where young Bashford was prepared for the University. It was

the University of pioneer days which he entered in 1867; nevertheless there were professors there of the highest rank, and before his graduation Bashford came under the powerful influence of President John Bascom. It seems difficult to connect such men as Bishop Bashford, President W. E. Huntington, and Reverend I. S. Leavitt with college pranks; but his biographer assures us that Bashford was a "real boy," by relating some of his mischievous escapades. He was also concerned in "student activities," and with the late George W. Raymer of the *Democrat* founded the *University Press*, the predecessor of the *Daily Cardinal*. Bashford's senior oration was on "James Gates Percival," which made so profound an impression that plans were immediately laid for the erection of a monument to that neglected genius. It was while Bashford was still in college that he determined his life work, a choice which led him to the theological school at Boston, to the presidency of Ohio Wesleyan, and ultimately to the bishopric, the highest office in his church. When elected bishop in 1904, he at once chose for his field the mission in China, saying that from boyhood he had longed for the opportunity of working there. Of his great work for China, his resistance to the Japanese demands of 1915, his aid to the Chinese republic, this is not the place to speak. His death in 1919 removed from this world an eminent and noble son of Wisconsin.

Life Under Two Flags. By James Demarest Eaton. (New York, 1922)

This book is an autobiographical sketch of a missionary son of Wisconsin, who was graduated at Beloit in 1869. Samuel W. Eaton was a pioneer Congregational minister in Wisconsin, who in territorial days came by stagecoach to take charge of a log schoolhouse church at Lancaster. There his son James was born in the year Wisconsin was admitted to the union. "These," he writes, "were the days when prairie schooners were a common sight . . . when the Virginia rail fence was ordinarily used to make an enclosure; . . . when at times the heavens were almost darkened with enormous flocks of migrating pigeons; . . . when venison and bear meat could be had for our table; when in the winter our father would get a hind quarter of beef, . . . pack it in snow to be dug out at intervals for feeding his four hungry boys." Of these boys, two became physicians, one, president of Beloit College for over a quarter of a century, and the fourth, our author, home missionary to Oregon and foreign missionary to Mexico, for a lifetime of service. Now in well merited leisure in California he has written a brief sketch of the varied experiences of his life. The early and the college days are of especial interest to Wisconsin readers.

History of Langlade County. Compiled by Robert M. Dessereau. (Antigo, 1922)

A feature of this volume which distinguishes it from many other county histories is the unusual wealth of detailed records and statistical matter it contains. The list of settlers in 1880, the military records of the county, the records of the towns, their officers, and the records of schools, churches, even cheese factories within the towns; the apparently

complete reports on industrial, agricultural, commercial, and fraternal institutions, impart to the book something of the character of a compendious gazetteer. If this detracts somewhat from its claims as a literary venture, it enhances its value as a work of general reference.

We have had no opportunity to test the accuracy with which these records have been gathered and transcribed, but we welcome the book as a new and apparently very useful contribution to the local history of northern Wisconsin.

Printed as it is on good, clear paper, from apparently new type, profusely illustrated and handsomely bound, it makes a pleasing impression. It contains 352 double-column pages.

SOME WISCONSIN PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

The College of Agriculture has issued an historical pamphlet entitled *Fifty Years of Dairy Progress and Plans for Fifty More.* History is presented graphically in this small brochure, conditions of progress being illustrated in page after page of poster-like sketches. One of the earliest declares that "Fifty years ago in the days of the brindle cow, the dash churn, the butter bowl and the grocery store market, commercial dairying in Wisconsin was of little importance. The entire dairy output was worth less than a million annually." By competent leadership, science, and invention, this form of agriculture has been developed until now the yearly output is ten billion pounds of milk, which furnishes a quarter of Wisconsin's total income. Nor are our dairymen satisfied with the results attained. Plans are already making for increased production, marketing improvements, and continued growth.

The State Parks of Wisconsin is the title of a pamphlet issued last year by the Conservation Commission, full of interesting information on the location, natural features, and historical importance of this kind of public property. There are now nine parks, as follows: Devils Lake, Door County Peninsula, St. Croix Interstate, Nelson Dewey, Pattison, Perrot, Cushing Memorial, Brule, and Jenkin Lloyd Jones at Tower Hill. The state has also a small reserve at Old Belmont, the first capital. Among the parks with historic associations is the Nelson Dewey, at the mouth of Wisconsin River, with its outlook over the place where two and a half centuries ago the Mississippi River was first seen. Ascending that stream to Perrot Park one encounters famous Mount Trempealeau, discovered in 1680, at the base of which lies the site of one of the earliest French posts in Wisconsin. The associations connected with Tower Hill are mentioned in the preceding issue of this magazine. Cushing Park is a memorial of Civil War days. The commission announces its purpose to preserve the most historical and most unique sites in our entire beautiful state.

The twentieth volume of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters *Transactions* contains an appreciation of the Swedish

naturalist Thure Kumlien, resident in Wisconsin 1843 to 1888, by the late Publius V. Lawson. Kumlien was one of Wisconsin's most eminent scientists, who for over forty years after his immigration to Jefferson County conducted a large correspondence with European savants and prepared specimens for the museums of both Europe and America. In 1881 Kumlien's abilities were recognized by his appointment to the curatorship of the Milwaukee Museum of Natural History, where he labored earnestly until his death in 1888. His descendants live near his early Wisconsin home. An article from the pen of his granddaughter appeared in the September, 1922, issue of this magazine.

The Platteville Normal School has issued a special bulletin in memory of Professor Duncan McGregor, so long connected with that institution, who died May 30, 1921. Dr. McGregor was a man with whom the old world enriched the new. He was born in 1836 in Scotland, educated at the University of Aberdeen, and immigrated in 1857 with his father's family to Waupaca County. Enthusiastically accepting his new citizenship, he enlisted in the Civil War and emerged a captain. Thereafter his entire life was devoted to his chosen profession of teaching. He was a member of the Platteville faculty from 1867 to his demise, for two terms—1879–94, 1897–1904—serving as its president. For many years he was on the Board of Normal School Regents, and from 1911 to 1915 acted as private secretary to Governor Francis McGovern. His career was an honor to his adopted state.

The University of Wisconsin has issued within the last year three *Studies* of unusual value to historical students. That by Michael Rostovtzeff, professor of ancient history, is entitled *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B. C.* It shows that ancient history is not an ancient subject, since it is based on papyri discovered as recently as 1915. Essentially an economic study, it relates to the period of the early Ptolemies, concerning whose administration little has hitherto been known. The Greek usurpers of the Egyptian throne were faced with the necessity of restoring and consolidating the economic life of their recent conquest. The correspondence of the manager of an estate near Philadelphia (now Gerza in the Fayum) affords Professor Rostovtzeff the opportunity of setting forth the systematized irrigation, the leasing system, the methods of the distribution of seeds, the raising and harvesting of grains and oil plants, the grazing of herds, and the relations of peasants and owners in this distant land and epoch. Even in that time strikes were a menace, and friction engendered between the Greek conquerers and their subordinates made labor troubles on this large estate.

Professor Wayland J. Chase, associate professor of history and education, has translated and annotated a Latin textbook of the medieval schools, known as *The Distichs of Cato*. The vogue of this series of moral maxims was so great that it was used even as late as the eighteenth century. It was a Latin *Poor Richard's Almanac*, some of

its maxims being "Love thy wife"; "Keep thy word"; "Be moderate with wine"; "Fight for thy country"; "Be not easily imposed upon."

British Criticisms of American Writings 1815 to 1833 is William B. Cairns' recent contribution to American literary history. Answering Sidney Smith's sneering challenge, "Who reads an American Book?" Professor Cairns has authoritatively proved that the prejudices engendered by the War of 1812 quickly passed, and that Washington Irving, James Fennimore Cooper, William Cullen Bryant, and others commanded from the British attention not unmixed with respect.