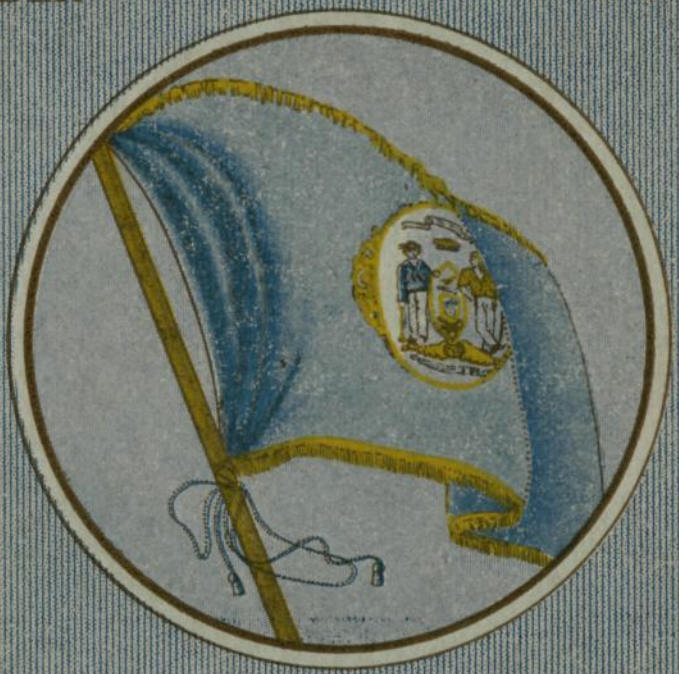
THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

DECEMBER 1919



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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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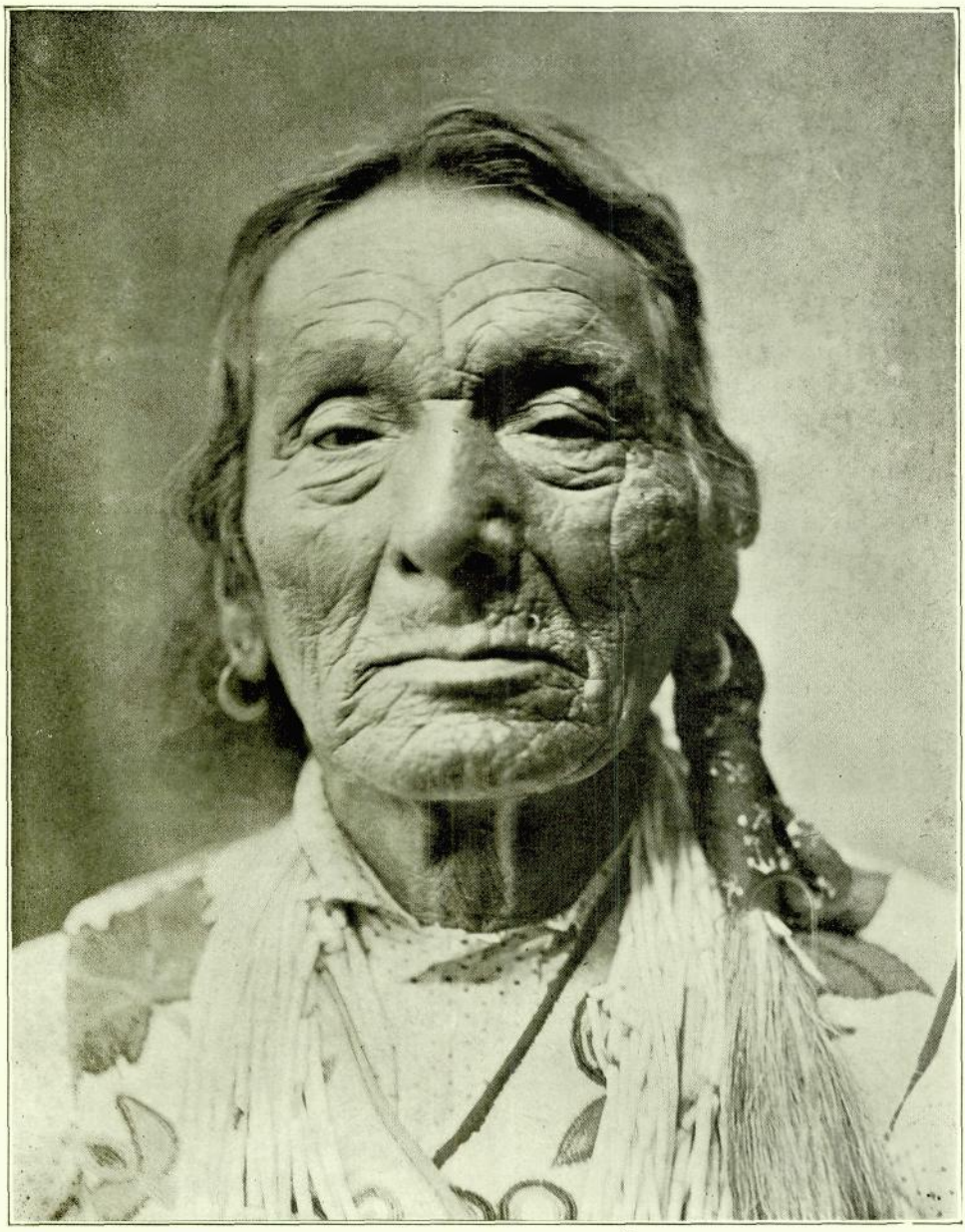


CHIEF MAY-ZHUC-KE-GE-SHIG

From a photograph supplied by Theodore Beaulieu

VOL. III, NO. 2 DECEMBER, 1919

THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

PUBLICATIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN. Edited by MILO M. QUAIFE, Superintendent

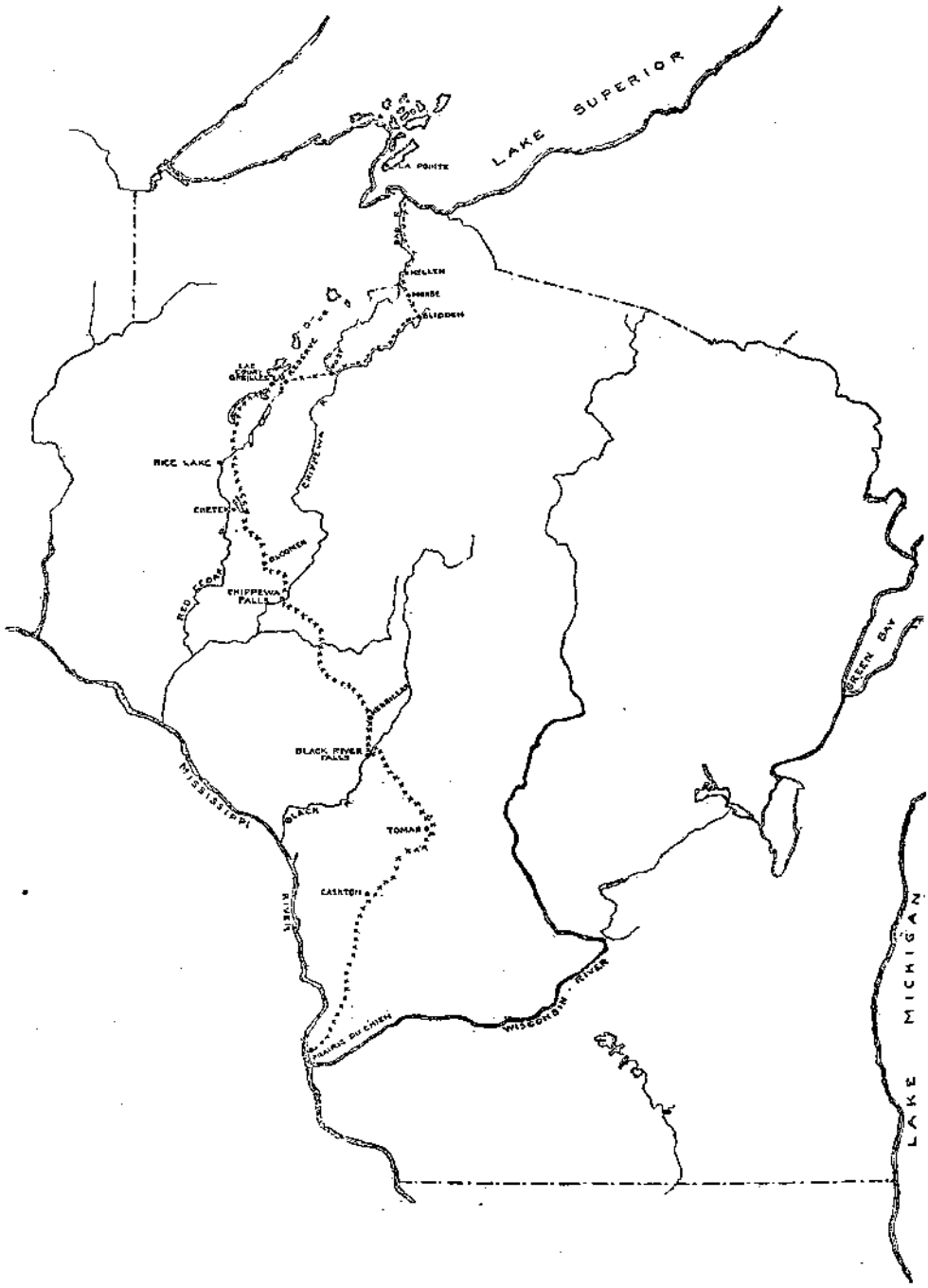
CONTENTS

A FORGOTTEN TRAIL

JAMES H. MCMANUS

In the year 1842 the Reverend Alfred Brunson was appointed Sub-Indian Agent for the Bad River band of Chippewa Indians of Lake Superior, with a station at La Pointe on Madeline Island. Mr. Brunson at the time of his appointment was living at Prairie du Chien. The customary route of travel to his new station was by water up the Wisconsin River to the portage, across the portage into the Fox River, down that stream and Green Bay to Lake Michigan, down that lake to Sault Ste. Marie, then up Lake Superior to La Pointe. This was a long and hazardous journey. Some English miners in the southwestern part of the state, wishing to go to the copper mines on Lake Superior, on hearing of Mr. Brunson's appointment proposed to him that they join forces, secure the necessary teams, horses, oxen, and wagons, and make the trip overland. There was then no road above Prairie du Chien, but fur traders at that place assured Mr. Brunson that the trip could be made with no great hardship. On this advice the miners' proposition was accepted and the trip made. The trail made by this first wagon train from the southern part of the state to the shore of Lake Superior is the subject of this sketch. It is made in the hope that these suggestions may bring to light additional information concerning this route.

Mr. Brunson in his book, *Western Pioneers,* gives a brief sketch of this pathfinding journey; in this he mentions a few points where we can say the "trail was here"; but all the rest is conjecture. Mr. Brunson was intensely interested in the then new science of geology and its bearings on the then accepted tenets of the Christian religion. He considered it his duty to



THE FORGOTTEN TRAIL

Map prepared by Mary S. Foster of the State Historical Library

defend the orthodox faith against the statements of certain persons; he wrote this sketch of his journey rather to that end than to preserve a record of his own wonderful achievement in pioneering and trail blazing. Thus we find him using the natural objects seen on the way, such as rocks, soils, hills, and lakes, as illustrations and arguments in proof of the errors of his opponents, rather than as scenes for the pleasure, entertainment, and profit of his readers.

At the beginning of his sketch Mr. Brunson says, "We proceeded to the northern end of the prairie, then climbed the bluff to the height of land and kept on the ridge between the waters that flow into the Mississippi on the west, and those flowing into the Wisconsin on the east, to a point near the present site of the village of Tomah." I am not familiar with this section of the state[1] and can make no conjecture as to the location of this part of the trail. The next point Mr. Brunson mentions is a place on the Black River about five or six miles above the present city of Black River Falls; from this place the party moved down the river to the falls. Here it is quite certain that he and his comrades followed the line of the present highway or the lumberman's "tote road" which has been used from the earliest days to the present time. Mr. Brunson says that his party made a mistake in going so far up the Black River because they started east of this place at the point near Tomah, which was reached in making around the sources of the La Crosse River. Here then we must look for

[1] The old mail route from Prairie du Chien to Tomah and Black River Falls, called the Black River Falls road, went north out of Prairie du Chien on the old road marked on Lee's and Lyon's survey maps. At "farm lot No. 8" four and a half miles from the village, as marked on the maps, it reached Fisher's or Mill Coulee. Thence the road ran up that coulee onto a ridge where the present state road, route number nineteen, runs. It followed that route through Eastman, Seneca, Mount Sterling, Rising Sun (where the mail carriers changed horses) to Viroqua, estimated to be a distance of fifty-nine miles. From Viroqua the road is said to have gone about four miles east of Cashton, thence northeast to Tomah. This information is furnished us by the Reverend M. E. Fraser, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Prairie du Chien, who is much interested in our state history and gleaned the above facts from men who knew the early mail carriers.—Ed.

the trail on the high plateau which extends far to the north covered with scant jack pine and pin oak, patches of meadow with nutritious grasses fed by numerous clear creeks flowing from sources in cold spring marshes and surrounded by the ever present cliffs or bluffs—the remains of the ancient continent. Miss Ella, daughter of Mr. Brunson, in the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY for December, 1918, says of her father that "in after years he rode in the passenger trains of the Milwaukee Railroad through the tunnel west of Camp Douglas under the trail he made in 1843." I can hardly think that the party with its teams and wagons ascended this ridge, but rather that Mr. Brunson must have gone there for observation, which is a very reasonable conjecture. He may have used for that purpose many of these bluffs and ridges which are striking features of this plateau. We can with reason suppose that the party rested for a night at the foot of this bluff and in the morning took a course northeast to about the line of the Omaha Railroad and followed that line nearly north to the point where the old line swings west to cross the Black River just above the falls. At this point Brunson's party must have held north on the line of what is known as the "cut-off," or new line, leaving the falls to the west in order to reach the point five miles above. Upon reaching the falls the party found a company of Mormons operating a sawmill, getting out lumber for their colony at Nauvoo, Illinois. This was the white man's outpost on the Black River at that time.

These Mormon lumbermen ferried the party across the river and requested Mr. Brunson to preach for them. That sermon was the first sermon ever preached by other than a Mormon elder in the Black River Valley. The course of the party from the falls probably lay to the northwest along the present line of railroad to the village of Merrillan. This is determined by the fact that to the west lay a line of cliffs and ridges that would have prevented swinging in that direction. On the other side, about ten miles above the falls, the river

emerges from what at that time was the southern border of the Wisconsin forest tract in which it has its source and through which it flows to the head of what is known as the Mormon Riffles, a two-mile reach of white water, confined within high walls of the oldest rocks, just below the present village of Hatfield, now the site of a great power plant. It must have been at this place that the Mormons cut their logs and floated them down to their mill at the falls; that act is commemorated and their sect perpetuated by the name given to this long stretch of swift water. The border of the forest continues west for about ten miles along the north side of a line of high bluffs to about the site of the present village of Merrillan. The men at the falls would have informed Brunson of this barrier due north; and he would have set his course for the pass at Merrillan where the line of bluffs from the east nearly meets the ridges from the south. This gap could be seen from a great distance and must have guided the party to the pass. At Merrillan the border of the forest turned sharply to the north and continued in that direction, deviating just enough from it to give grace and beauty to the contour far up the Chippewa River until, as we shall see, it swung to the west on the upper reaches of that stream and crossed the Red Cedar to join the western section of the north woods.

The ever present, impressive, and determining feature of the experiences of the travelers from the point at Merrillan must have been the forest, along the western border of which the trail must have lain. Every stream, large or small, came from the forest like a human life out of the vast unknown. A trail in the forest at this point would have been impossible for any wagon party at that time; while anywhere in the great sand plain to the west, with short detours around small groves of jack pine and pin oak, one could have traveled with ease, scarcely using an ax to clear the way. Thus the constant, unerring guide that directed the party to the course a little west of north was the forest. It still stands in its dense and

thrifty second growths, throwing a mantle of charity over the sin of man in destroying "the forest primeval" that Brunson's party beheld in its sublime beauty and glory.

From Merrillan the trail must have followed the line of the railroad to a point near Augusta or Fall Creek, where it held to the north to the crossing of the Eau Claire River, which is the next point mentioned by Mr. Brunson. This crossing was made by building a raft of logs for whatever the party wished to keep dry, then by swimming the cattle and horses and by dragging the wagons across. The site of this crossing must have been where the stream emerges from the forest some miles east of the present Eau Claire City, for Mr. Brunson says that later "from the high hills east of the Chippewa we saw the new barn of Mr. Warren, a fur trader, located at the falls of that stream," to which point they directed their course, crossing the Chippewa River on their way. Mr. Brunson mentions his surprise at finding in the home of Mr. Warren a fine library of the best books of the time.[2]

From the Warren post the course of the party would have been directed by Mr. Warren. His information would have included the fact that the line of the forest crossed the Chippewa River a few miles above and ran nearly due west, and that the angle where it turned again to the north was to be found to the northwest, near the present site of the village of Bloomer. The two striking features of the landscape through which this early party passed—forest and plain—still exist; and it is on the eastern side of the sand plain that we must look for the trail, for the forbidding forest crowds too far

[2] William Whipple Warren was the descendant of New Englanders who came over in the *Mayflower*. His mother was a French-Chippewa halfbreed, and he was born at the La Pointe village on Madeline Island. He was educated in New York under the care of his paternal grandfather and later became the historian of his mother's race. For a complete biographical sketch see *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V, 9-20. The mention of a large private library in the wilderness brings to mind the fact that the Knapp family, who afterwards located in this vicinity, were great lovers of books and collected a notable library of good books.—Ed.

to the west to allow a direct line to the destination on Lake Superior.

The first point mentioned in the Brunson narrative north of the falls of the Chippewa is the pipestone quarry in Barron County. This claylike substance, soft when it is taken from its native beds, may be formed into any shape with a common knife, but on longer exposure to the air soon becomes hard and resistant. It is found at the east end of a large bluff or mound about six miles southeast of the city of Rice Lake. The present writer, though never at the quarry, has many times been past the place, which was about three miles from the old Chippewa Falls, Sumner, and Rice Lake road. The first time I saw the place was in the fall of 1879, the bluff looming high with rugged grandeur. But between the road and the bluff was that almost impenetrable, nameless something men called a "slashing." That expanse of desolation, the product of the so-called lumber barons, in other words the "Huns" of the north woods, extended about two miles beyond and all around the bluff. Beyond this, the forest in all its primitive majesty, beauty, and glory lay, just as Brunson and his party must have found its border at their feet when in 1843 they stood where I did in 1879. The place is just above one of the headsprings of the Pokegama Creek, at the angle where the line of the forest turns sharply to the west and continues in that direction across the Red Cedar River, cutting off the sand plain to the north and joining the lobe of the forest west of that stream, whose eastern border trends southwest to the Mississippi River in Pepin County and forms the western boundary of the sand plain.

A new problem now confronted the party. They were to leave the open plain and enter the forest; for in this latitude there is no break in the forest from the Michigan state line on the east to that of Minnesota on the west. At this point, however, the passage through the forest was scarcely more difficult than that over the plain. I have driven over the

ridges in that same forest with a horse and buggy, with only occasionally the use of an ax to clear the way. So, in that open forest, to the bluff and the pipestone quarry, a distance of three miles, the party could have passed in an hour. The rays of the sun were shut out even at noonday by the intertwining branches and the leaves overhead; while below, the ground was covered with a carpet of pine needles and dry brown leaves, accumulations of the long-past years.

While our party rests at the quarry we will retrace our steps to a point near the present village of Cartwright, in order to suggest that the Brunson party was following a more or less well-defined trail made by Indians, hunters, trappers, and fur traders, from any of whom information may have been received regarding the way. In fact the frequent recurrence of earthworks or tumuli found at intervals in all this region suggests that we are but tracing one of the most ancient highways of travel on this continent, Brunson and his party being but part of the great throng of the ages that had passed this way. In 1879 there were two roads from Cartwright leading to Rice Lake, then the white man's northern outpost in this region and his first station in the invasion of the forest from the south. One of these ran to the northwest, passing through the village of Chetek; the other ran north, keeping to the east of the large lake system north of Chetek village. These lakes lie in the form of a large letter U with the open end to the north and with their connecting waterways stretch across eighteen miles from point to point. This lake system has to be taken into account in locating the trail. Brunson seems to have taken the eastern trail, doubtless choosing it because he was already too far west for his destination. If he did not go this way it is hard to see how he could have reached the pipestone quarry, as by the other route he would have passed six miles west and some distance north of the quarry, at the head of the lakes. Another consideration is the fact that if he had gone the western route he would have been

pushed up to the outlet of Lake Chetek by a large swamp on the east side of the stream flowing out of the lake where the village is now located. Had Brunson been at this point he could not have failed to note the unusual number of mounds all along the southern and western sides of the lakes, those on the eastern side of the outlet forming a veritable city covering one hundred acres of ground, with almost regular streets. So it appeared when I saw it for the first time in 1879. The hands of vandals have swept the ancient city of mounds away, but the ground of the fields is covered with beautifully marked pieces of broken pottery, while many other relics of the past are still to be found. For these reasons we think that our party passed to the east of Lake Chetek, where the land is high and abounds in deep ravines which must have held the party too far away for them to have seen the lakes. However, at the old village of Sumner, six miles above the northern end of the lakes, the line of the forest would have pushed them out onto the high sand plain on the bank of Pokegama Creek; so that here we may say they stood and looked down on the beautiful lake and creek in the valley; though when we saw it the lake was much enlarged by reason of the dam at the mill. From here the trail must have run due north to the pipestone quarry.

From the quarry the course lay almost due north some ten miles to where Brunson says they crossed the Red Cedar River just below a chain of lakes. The first of these was Red Cedar Lake, out of which the river flows in a broad stream through a wide, picturesque valley covered with great pines seven to eight feet in diameter. Many of the largest of these stand on mounds, several of which are clustered around the outlet. These mounds may have escaped the notice of Brunson because of the dense forest covering them; or he may have crossed the river a little below the outlet where the present highway passes.

Lac Court Oreilles, the next point mentioned in the narrative, lies a little east of north from the outlet of Red Cedar Lake. It seems reasonable to think that the party was following the fur traders' trail, and if so, such a trail would follow the shortest line to the open sand plain north of the forest, a distance of about twenty-five miles due north. This route would bring the party to the lower end of Long Lake in Washburn County, along the southeastern bank of which it would then lie for some nine miles. Long Lake is in fact, or would be if no obstruction were in the west fork of the Red Cedar River where it flows out of the lower end of the lake, only a chain of small lakes, some of which are very deep and contain native whitefish. An old flood dam of the lumbermen still holds the water up to the level of the sluiceway floor, flooding all the marshes in the valley and making one continuous lake. Before the white man came with his dam, the beavers doubtless maintained a dam of equal height; so Brunson may have seen the lake beautiful. In going up the shore of the lake to the head, the party passed through the northern border of one of the most beautiful lake regions in Wisconsin. It covers about two townships of land. The lakes for the most part are small, but the land is a high sand and gravel plain. The water in the lakes is clear as crystal, and they have clean sandy beaches. The slopes of their high banks on the south and west sides are covered with a vigorous growth of birch, maple, oak, linden, and pine; the other sides have few trees but are covered with heavy growths of grasses down to the almost white sand and gravel shore line. Between the lakes, at the time of the visit of our party, dense groves of Norway pine were scattered over the plain. Although Long Lake now boasts a fine modern hotel and is a famous summer resort, few of the people who visit this region escape the lure of the charms of this wonderful playground. Here, too, must have been a hunter's paradise. Even today the traveler in the summer can see herds of deer in these plains

feeding in peace and security on the nutritious blue grass of the upland; in the autumn and winter the same herds are found in the borders of the forest browsing upon the tender bark of the young maples, lindens, and red cherries. Partridges were found in every copse; waterfowl covered all the lakes and streams. Fur bearing animals abounded, and beaver were found on every stream. On the highland today far away from any stream and in the valleys just below grass meadows are still found the remnants of their dams, showing that in the past there were living streams of water where fertile fields lie today.

From the head of Long Lake to Lac Court Oreilles the trail lay in a northeast direction over the sand plain with its lakes, streams, marshes, and groves of Norway pine. The narrative states that at Court Oreilles a messenger met the party, who urged Mr. Brunson to hasten to La Pointe with all speed, as officers from Washington were expected to arrive and would require his presence. So with two Indians in a canoe he took his way across lakes, through many narrow water courses, over portages, along creeks and rivers, until he reached the upper stretches of the Bad River near the site of the present village of Morse; then down that river through the Penokee Gap with its mad white waters on the rapids and madder, whiter, and wilder waters at the foot of its many falls, the scene approaching mountain grandeur with its broken crags and towering cliffs covered with wide-spreading hemlocks, pines, spruces, and balsams. As Brunson saw it, no destroyer's ax had been laid at the root of any tree of the primitive forest that stood in its grandeur on the tops of the cliffs and in all the valleys. No canoe could live in that madly rushing water, so the passage of the gap was made by portaging for some miles to a point at the foot of the high falls below the present city of Mellen, whence one might float on nearly smooth water to Lake Superior where the passage led up the lake to La Pointe.

The disappointing part of the narrative is that Mr. Brunson leaves the men of his party with their stock and wagons at Lac Court Oreilles. They must in time have reached Lake Superior, for at the outset of the narrative he says that "the wagons created great excitement among the Indians of the lake, they being the first ever to arrive among them." We can only conjecture the route over which they passed.[8] On a geological map of Northern Wisconsin, published in 1872, is marked a state road running from Ashland near to the southwest corner of Ashland County. The other end of this road is not marked; but we know that it did run on to the southwest to Lac Court Oreilles and thence to St. Croix Falls.

Did Brunson's party pass on that route north from Lac Court Oreilles and mark the way? If they did, the trail lay on the high open ridges along the east side of the Namakagon River, around its sources, and to the south and west of the sources of the White River and Fish Creek, crossing the latter stream some miles above Chequamegon Bay. On many hunting and fishing trips I have tramped over these ridges and across these valleys in the open forest before the destroying ax had done its work and know how few obstructions would have been met. At one time on the ridges to the west of Fish Creek, to which stream I with a single companion was making my way, we came upon this old state road, then abandoned, with its ruts cut deep in the tenacious clay soil, exposing the roots of the trees. There was no sign of ax or saw where a way had been cut; but the track wound in and out among and around the stately trees. Here and there deep gashes were made in the sides of trees where the hubs of

[8] From Henry Rush, Reserve, Wisconsin, we obtain (June, 1919) the information that the land route from Lac Court Oreilles to Chequamegon in the early period ran from Reserve eastward to the post on the Chippewa River; thence in a northwesterly direction to the site of the modern Glidden, in Ashland County; thence northerly to Mellen, and on in a general northerly direction to Chequamegon Bay.—Ed.

the wagons in passing had worn away the wood during many years.

As we followed the old trail I thought of all that had passed that way of merchandise, of tokens of exchange and measure of man's wealth, of high state officials and lowly folk, of stage coaches bearing messages of business, friendship, hatred, love, and sorrow; for this was once the only line of connection between the region of the Mississippi and the region of the lake. Here had passed age in its weakness, young manhood in its strength, and beauty in its charm; now all was unknown and forgotten. The road, finally leaving the ridge, swung to the right down a long, crooked, and narrow valley, crossing many times a stream of crystal-clear water, out into the wide valley of Fish Creek to the bank of that stream, down a steep pitch to the end of an old, nearly decayed bridge, the center supports of which with the center spans were gone, leaving one end of the land spans resting on the rude log supports, while the other ends rested in the water. Over this old bridge in the days of its strength had been carried through the eventful years of the past the white man's treasures and the red man's despairs.

I sat myself down on the bridge's crumbling supports upon its west side, and asked, Did Brunson's party pass this way? Were their wagons the first to break the silence of this ancient forest with the noise of modern commerce? Did they ford the stream here and pause to let the weary, patient oxen slake their thirst with draughts of the cool water and then pass on along the highland bordering the vast swamp at the head of the bay to the present site of the city of Ashland, thence to the high ground nearest to La Pointe? Was it this way they went? Or did they follow the fairly open way with its deep-cut valleys over the western shoulder of the Penokee hills, on the line of the Omaha Railroad to Ashland? Or did they go north to the foothills of the great northern divide and then east along its southern slopes, crossing the

Bad River just above where it enters the gap, and so on east to the line of the present highway over the ridge to the site of the city of Mellen, thence down the divide between the streams flowing into the Bad River on the east and those flowing into the White River on the west to the present Indian village of Odanah, where were the Indian fields of corn and vegetables in those old days? Who knows where lay the forgotten trail? Or do any care?

THE KENSINGTON RUNE STONE

IS IT THE OLDEST NATIVE DOCUMENT OF AMERICAN HISTORY?

H. R. Holand

One of the most interesting questions that has appeared in the historical field in many years is the one popularly known as the Kensington Rune Stone. It is now twenty-one years since it first came to light and during the first ten it lay stillborn and utterly discredited as a crude forgery. Since then, however, it has not only come to life but has survived numerous attacks by learned critics, until it now is a subject of debate by experts of two continents.

The object of this review is to present the latest phases of the discussion concerning the rune stone to the readers of the Wisconsin Magazine of History, but I am in a quandary as to where I should begin. Some of our readers are quite familiar with the various stages of the controversy but I understand that the greater number have merely heard its name. In view of this, perhaps a very brief introduction of the subject will be desirable.

The Kensington Rune Stone is a slab of graywacke about thirty inches long, seventeen inches wide, and seven inches thick. It weighs about two hundred and thirty pounds. Three-fifths of the length of its face is covered by an inscription in very neat runic characters. This inscription is continued for a similar distance on one of its sides. The uninscribed two-fifths of its length was evidently intended to be planted in the ground.

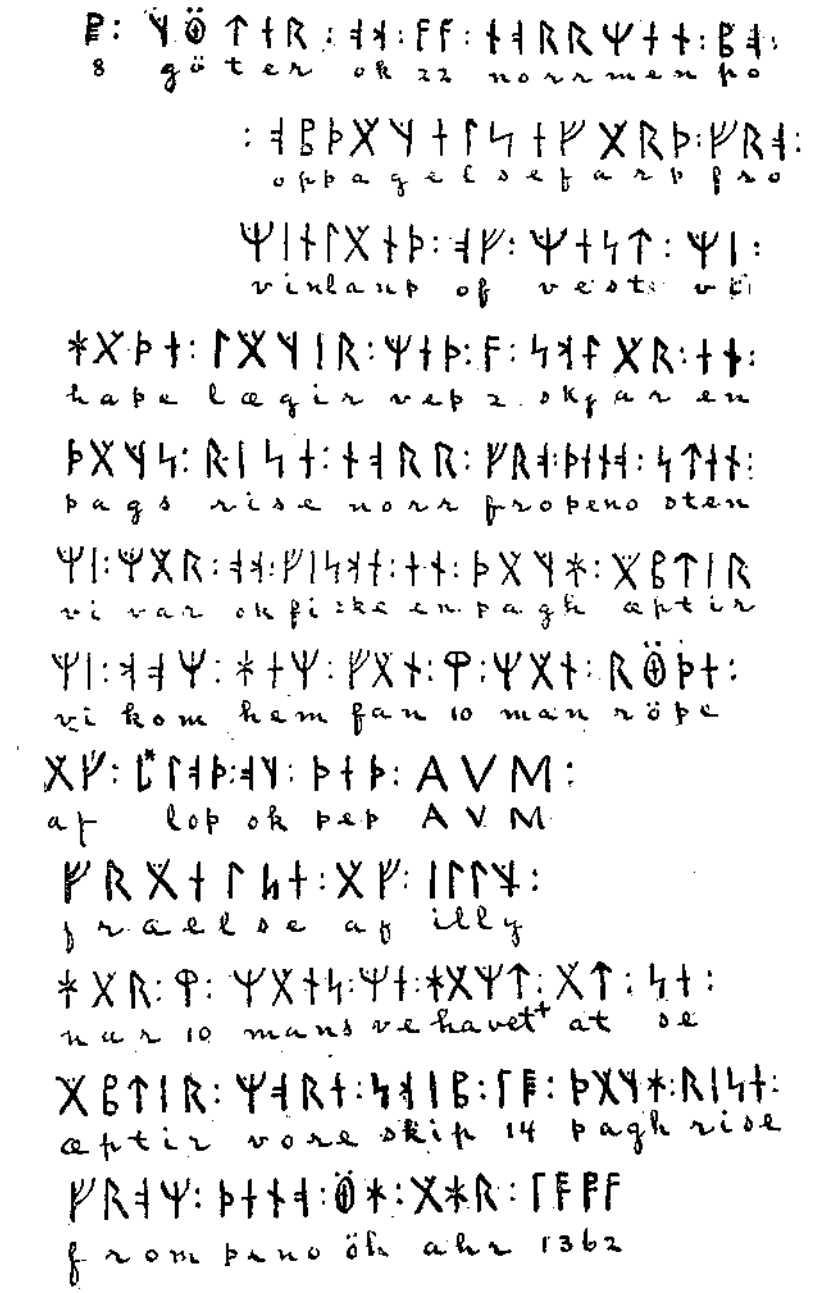
The stone was found by a farmer by the name of Olaf Ohman, who lives about three or four miles northeast of Kensington, a station on the Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie Railway, in the west central part of Minne-

sota. He was grubbing stumps on his land which consists in part of a rolling elevation surrounded by a marsh. In grubbing out a poplar tree, about eight to ten inches in diameter, he found the stone on this elevation just beneath the surface of the ground, lying with the inscribed face downward, closely embraced by the roots of the tree.

The find was soon brought to the attention of a number of learned men of the time. Strangely enough, the deciphering of the inscription seemed to present great difficulties to these men, who were unable to read a large portion of it. They made out, however, that the inscription mentioned Vinland—the name which Leif Ericson in the year 1000 bestowed upon a certain portion of the Atlantic coast of America. As the language employed, or as much of it as was made out, was plainly not that of Leif Ericson's tongue, the inscription was quickly pronounced a clumsy forgery. The stone was returned to Mr. Ohman, therefore, who made of it a suitable doorstep to his granary.

Nine years later I chanced to be in that vicinity in search of material for my history of the Norwegian settlements in America. The old runic hoax was recalled to me; and as I for years had been interested in the study of runes, I obtained the stone from Mr. Ohman as an interesting souvenir.

When I returned home and deciphered the inscription my amusement changed to amazement for I decided that it was not a clumsy forgery dealing with Leif Ericson's discovery of America in the year 1000, but that it contained a dramatic recital of an expedition into the middle of the continent in the year 1362! The language and runes of Leif Ericson's time could easily have been imitated as we have a multitude of patterns of both; but the date 1362 is a peculiarly difficult one, not only linguistically and runologically, but also historically. What an unheard of date in which to locate Norsemen in America! This forger, if he was one, was evidently a most courageous man. The following is a copy of the inscription with interlinear transliteration:



* This character has suffered so much from weathering as to be illegible.

† The runic character for *e* in this word was inadvertently omitted in making this copy.

I translate as follows, putting into parentheses words which the rune master seems to have omitted:

Eight Goths[1] and twenty-two Norsemen on (an) exploration-journey from Vinland through the western regions. We had camp by two skerries one day's journey north from this stone. We were (out) and fished one day. When we came home (we) found ten men, red with blood and dead. Ave Maria! Save (us) from evil!

(We) have ten of our party by the sea to look after (or for) our vessels 14 day journey from this island. Year 1362.

At first sight the truth of this inscription seems most improbable. That a band of adventurers should have penetrated to the very heart of the continent one hundred and thirty years before America was discovered by Columbus seems so incredible that almost everyone who hears of it is prompted to ask, "Can this be possible?" Yet this objection so generally urged is really very superficial. We have many other journeys on record, of greater extent and more hazardous, which we know to have been performed. For instance, Ferdinand de Soto in 1542 pushed one thousand five hundred miles into the primeval forest of America. Jean Nicolet without a single white companion in 1634 made a journey of two thousand miles amid savage tribes who never before had seen a white man and returned to tell the tale. So also did that amazing fur trader, Peter Pond, who in the years 1773-86 wandered at will with his wares all over the Northwest, penetrating even to the Great Slave Lake. Cabeza de Vaca in 1537 crossed the continent from the mouth of the Mississippi to California with only three companions. We have no reason to suppose that it was safer to sojourn among the Indians in 1537 than in 1362. Nor have we reason to suppose that the hardy Norsemen were less capable than the Spaniards of making arduous journeys. Is it not rather a reasonable supposition that the Norsemen should finally undertake to explore this continent which they had discovered

[1] i.e., native to West Gothland in the southwestern part of Sweden. In the fourteenth century this was an independent province, united with a part of Norway under one king.

three hundred and sixty-two years previously and which we know from other indubitable historical records they occasionally visited?[2]

After a prolonged study of the inscription I became convinced that this remarkable stone had been rejected without a proper investigation. The verdict pronounced against it ten years previously was based on an extremely faulty reading of the inscription and the arguments advanced against it did not, therefore, apply. With the hope of directing public attention once more to the matter, I presented my views to the public. Since then it has been a lively subject of debate both here and in Europe.

Out of the widely extended controversy which followed has gradually come a clearer understanding of the surrounding field of research. We have learned that the vernacular of South Sweden (the home of the rune master) in 1362 was not greatly different from its modern language, being analogous in its development with the same period of English speech. We have also discovered several important historical side lights which serve to illuminate the subject. There are now many men of learning who recognize in this inscription the oldest American historical document dealing with the coming of white men to this country.

In this research the Minnesota Historical Society has taken a prominent part. Shortly after I published my reasons for believing the inscription a true record of pre-Columbian exploration the society appointed a committee of five members, headed by the late Professor N. H. Winchell, to make a thorough investigation of the subject. After more than a year's investigation this committee published a preliminary report of sixty printed pages, concluding with the resolution that the committee "takes a favorable view of the authenticity of the Kensington Rune Stone." After this

[2] The last historical voyage to America was made in 1347; see *Islandske Annaler*, edited by Professor Gustav Storm.

report appeared in print the inscription was the subject of much argument both at home and abroad. The committee therefore waited almost two years before rendering its final report. After all arguments on both sides seemed to have been presented, the committee published its final report, reaffirming in positive terms its conviction that the inscription is genuine.[3]

The committee's report is especially valuable for the light it throws on the geological and topographical conditions which center around the stone and which the committee finds to be strong evidence in favor of the inscription. It also adopts and amplifies the theory that the explorers came by way of Hudson Bay.[4] The committee has been criticised for not having had any competent scholar in Scandinavian languages present at its sittings. However, it had a better way. Instead of relying on any one scholar who might be unduly prejudiced for or against the stone the committee obtained opinions on all mooted linguistic questions from as many supposed experts on both sides as possible. With these opinions before it the committee was able to give them the impartial consideration of a judicial review.

LINGUISTIC OBJECTIONS

Aside from the superficial argument that such an expedition is too improbable to be true the most general criticism has been against the linguistic aspects of the inscription. Different words have been pointed out to show that the language is not in accordance with fourteenth century usage. The weakness of this line of criticism is the lack of agreement among the critics. What one critic has pointed to as a serious anachronism has been admitted to be perfectly legitimate by another.

[3] Both reports with many illustrations are printed in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, XV, 221-86.

[4] This theory was first advanced by Professor Andrew Fossum in an article printed in the Northfield (Minn.) *Norwegian-American*, Oct. 9. 1909. I shall later in this discussion point out further evidence in support of this theory.

An illustration of these linguistic arguments we have in the so-called English words on the stone. These are "mans," "from," "illy," and "of vest." These words were for years the most controverted parts of the inscription; many critics have pointed to them as the strongest evidence that the inscription can not be genuine. By the use of these words they claimed the rune master has proved himself a forger—that he must have been an immigrant who had already become so Americanized he could no longer write his mother tongue. However, when these words were submitted to Professors Södervall, Kock, and Jonsson, the most eminent philologists of Sweden and Denmark, they recognized them as rare and antique forms sporadically occurring in the dialects of the fourteenth century, showing an intimate acquaintance with obsolete forms on the part of the rune master.[5] The linguistic forms of the inscription have indeed proved a boomerang to its critics. As one of the most eminent professors of Scandinavian languages in this country, not a believer in the inscription, said: "There is not a man who has criticised the language of the rune stone who has not burned his fingers."

It is reasonable to suppose that the men mentioned in the inscription were wandering soldiers and sailors gathered from different parts of Norway and Sweden (Gothland). Their orthography, grammar, and phonetics may therefore be supposed to partake of the irregular, careless forms characteristic of such roving people. It is therefore as unreasonable to judge the language of such men by the conventional literary forms of the monastic clerks of that period as it would now be to compare the language of an illiterate soldier of fortune with that of a college professor. Notwithstanding these eccentricities of speech it is possible to justify the presence

[5] For a full discussion of these and other criticized words see my article entitled, "Are There English Words On the Kensington Rune-Stone?" in *Records of the Past*, IX, 240-45; "The Kensington Rune-Stone Abroad," *Ibid.*, X, 260-71. See also Professor Fossum's able analysis in the *Norwegian-American*, Feb. 24, 1911.

of every word in the inscription with one exception with the speech of Bohuslæn, Sweden, of the Middle Ages. This one exception is the word *opdage*. It has not been found in any of the literary remains of that period. Södervall, the Noah Webster of Sweden, says that while the word looks suspicious, he knows of no other word in use at that time expressing the same idea. It has been suggested that the word is a loan from the Dutch or East-Friesian where it early occurs.[6] As there was much commerce between Scandinavian and Dutch and Friesian ports sailors would be among the first to pick up such words. We have diaries written by Scandinavian seamen of the Middle Ages in which Dutch and German words frequently occur, showing that such loans were common.[7] Personally I do not believe it is a loan from these countries as the word occurs in the form *updaaga* in the dialects of Upper Telemarken and other remote parts of Norway where the speech has had an autochthonous development with but very few loans from abroad.

The present meaning of the word *opdage* is "to discover," but in all the dialects of the Middle Ages mentioned in the above paragraph it had a different meaning. It then meant "to reveal, to come to light, to make known." This is exactly the meaning of the word as it is used on the rune stone. These adventurers did not set out "to discover" a prospective objective, but were on a journey "to make known," "to bring to light," "to reveal" a terra incognita. The word I use in translating it—"exploration-journey"—is only approximately correct.

THE DALECARLIAN THEORY

The most elaborate attack on the Kensington stone is an address delivered by Professor G. T. Flom before the Illinois

[6] See *Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, XI, 407-11; *Wörterbuch der Ostfriesischen Sprache;* and *Kalkars Ordbog over det Danske Sprog i Middelalderen.*

[7] See for instance the diary of Alexander Leyell, telling of his journey to Greenland in 1605, which abounds in Dutch loan-words.

State Historical Society and later printed by him.[8] The chief feature of this address is an attempt to prove that the inscription is the modern fabrication of a native of the district of Dalarne in Sweden in which district the use of runes sporadically existed down to the close of the eighteenth century. Professor Flom is so positive in his belief that he has identified the runes and language of the Kensington stone with those of Dalarne that he feels able to name the parish from which the runic forger hailed. We shall quickly see how correct he is in his identification.

For proof Professor Flom refers to the Dalecarlian alphabets as given by Liljegren and Ihre-Götlin. Unfortunately he omits to print these so that the reader may collate the Kensington alphabet with them. We will therefore do so now. In the accompanying table I give these alphabets exactly as they are reproduced by Professor Noreen in his exhaustive discussion of the Dalecarlian runes in *Fornvænnen* for 1906.

A glance at these alphabets will convince the reader that the writer of the Kensington inscription did not get his runic lore from them. Instead of identity we find here such disparity in form that no runic inscription of the Middle Ages is more dissimilar to the Kensington alphabet than are the Dalecarlian inscriptions. Only *b, h, i, m,* and *r* are identical in form; *a, d, f, t,* and *ǫ* are of the same type but show variations, while *c, g, k, l, o, p, q, v, ø, y, z, æ,* and *å* show more or less recent fantastic forms approaching in many cases the printed Latin forms which came into use. In some cases the character representing one letter has been adopted to represent another; thus we have the character for *h* adopted to represent *å,* and the *s* has been attributed to *ø*.

When we compare the linguistic forms of Dalarne with those of the Kensington inscription Flom's theory proves

[8] Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1910, 105-25.

LILJEGREEN
IHRE-GÖTLIN
KENSINGTON
a
b
c
d, th
e
f
g
h
i, j
k
l
m
n
o
p
q
r
s
t
u, v
x
y
z
ä
ö

equally untenable. To be brief there are two convincing proofs why the Kensington scribe has not employed the dialect of Dalarne. The first is that for the last three hundred years the aspirate *h* has dropped out of the Dalecarlian speech.[9] In contrast to this we find the Kensington inscription abounding in aspirates such as *hem, har, hade, havet, dagh, öh, ahr,* etc. The other is that the word-forms in Dalarne are in many cases very different. If the inscription were in the dialect of Dalarne, we would find *ema* for *hem, ela* for *illy, menn* for *man, ør* for *ahr, sjå* for *se, vesto* for *vest, nordo* for *nord, resa* for *rise, duæ* for *dedh, voro* for *var, bluæd* for *blodh, kumo* for *kom, ver* for *vi, sker* for *skjær, esu* for *deno, sen* for *havet,* etc.[10] No Swedish dialect is further from the Kensington inscription than the Dalecarlian.

IS SUCH AN EXPEDITION HISTORICALLY PROBABLE?

The most remarkable thing about this inscription is its date. Removed as it is more than three hundred years from the time of the Norse discoveries of America it seemed so remote, so incompatible with known facts, that this more than anything else prejudiced the critical mind against it. For years it was treated as the wild guess of some simpleton, ignorant of the most elementary facts in early American history.

A careful study of documents dealing with the history of Greenland, however, sheds light on this apparent absurdity and shows that the date is most fitting. We learn from these documents that immediately prior to the date on the rune stone there was a great revival of Greenland commerce. Traffic to America was again resumed, or, at least, America was again discovered; a Norse expedition sent out by the king was actually in American waters in 1362. To under-

[9] See Boethius, Levander, and Noreen in their joint discussion of Dalecarlian inscriptions in *Fornvænnen* 1906, 63-91.

[10] See Noreen's *Ordlista Ofver Dalmålet.*

stand these documents a brief glance at Greenland's history is necessary.

Greenland was settled in the latter part of the tenth century and soon became quite populous. The colony was divided into two parts, known as the Eastern and the Western settlements, both of them, however, lying on the west coast of Greenland. The Eastern settlement was the larger, containing twelve parishes and churches, several nunneries and monasteries, and a resident bishop. This lay a short distance west of Cape Farwell. About four hundred miles farther northwest lay the Western settlement, containing three churches. During the first two hundred years of its history we find frequent mention of Greenland in Icelandic annals and chronicles, showing that intercourse between the two countries was frequent.[11] Little by little this intercourse seems to have ceased until toward the end of the thirteenth century we read only at long intervals the meager mention of the ordination of a new bishop for Greenland.

Under date of 1309 we are informed that the bishop of Greenland has returned to Norway. A new bishop is ordained and sails for Greenland.[12] No further mention is made of Greenland for more than thirty years; not even the archbishop knew whether the Greenland bishop was still alive. Under date of 1343 we come to the next entry, stating that a new bishop for Greenland was ordained. Later it adds that this was a mistake as the old bishop was still alive.[13] It also adds that the new bishop was unable to find transportation to Greenland and never reached his charge. This shows that commerce and intercourse between the two countries had at that time almost ceased.

[11] See particularly *Floamanna Saga, Fostbrœdra Saga,* also various *Thættir* in *Flateyarbok.*

[12] See Flatey *Annals* and other annals under given date.

[13] See Flatey *Annals;* Skalholt *Annals;* the annals copied by Bishop Skuleson (A.M.410,4); also A.M.411,4; 417,4; and 429,4 under 1342 and 1343.

About this time, however, we come to a great improvement in the relations of the mother country with her distant colony. In the year 1341 the Bishop of Bergen, alarmed, perhaps, at not hearing anything from his old friend, the Bishop of Greenland, selected one of the trustiest priests of his diocese and sent him to Greenland "upon errands of the Church."[14] This priest was Ivar Bardsen to whose account we are principally indebted for what we know of Greenland in the Middle Ages. The letter gives the impression that Bardsen was expected to make only a brief sojourn in Greenland and then return. However, we find later that he remained there many years as business manager of the large properties that belonged to the Greenland cathedral.[15]

Ivar Bardsen gives a cheerful account of the conditions of the Eastern settlement, showing it to be in prosperous circumstances. He presumably sent a similar report back to his superior in Bergen. This probably explains the revival of Greenland's commerce which immediately followed. In 1344 a merchant by the name of Thord Egilsson made a trip from Bergen to Greenland and returned the same year with much goods. The following year a very large merchant vessel was fitted out in Bergen and sailed for Greenland. In 1346 it returned with "an immense amount of goods." As the king at that time lived in Bergen these things would no doubt come under his personal observation. It also seems that the profits of these Greenland traders were so large that the king decided to reserve the trade as his special monopoly. This he did by proclamation in 1348.

Some time after Ivar Bardsen reached Greenland he was commissioned by the chief public officer of the colony to proceed with a company of men to the Western settlement for the purpose of driving the Eskimos out of this settlement. When

[14] A copy of his letter commending his messenger to the good will of all concerned is found in the Bartholin MSS. Tomen Litr. E. S. 479, Copenhagen.

[15] We find him back again in Norway in 1364 where he is recorded as being a witness in a legal trial.

he and his men reached the Western settlement they found it entirely depopulated. Neither Norsemen nor Eskimos were found; but instead they found an abundance of cattle and sheep wandering about without care.[16]

There is nothing in the account to suggest that the colonists had been massacred by the Eskimos. No bloodshed is mentioned, and there is no evidence of plunder. In fact this presumption is excluded as Ivar Bardsen found the cattle and sheep grazing about in great number. This shows that Bardsen's party must have reached the colony only a short time after the disappearance of the inhabitants as domestic animals could scarcely survive the severe winters of Greenland, nine months long, without care. The fragmentary account that is left to us gives absolutely no clew to what had happened there.

The answer to this question we find in a remarkable document found in the cathedral of Skalholt, in Iceland. This cathedral was in the Middle Ages the great repository of Icelandic records and literary treasures. In 1630 it was destroyed by fire, and a great mass of these documents perished. Bishop Gisle Oddson, who was born at Skalholt, being a son of the former bishop, Odd Einerson, was for many years officiating in the cathedral and therefore had the fullest opportunity of becoming acquainted with its manuscripts. After the fire he made from memory a synopsis of some of the most remarkable documents that were lost. The following is one of them:

1342. The inhabitants of Greenland fell voluntarily from the true faith and the Christian religion and after having given up all good man-

[16] Following are the exact words of the text: "Item dette alt, som forsagt er sagde oss Iffver Bardsen GrønlÆnder, som var Forstander paa Bischobsgarden I Gardum paa Grønland udI mange Aar, at hand havde alt dette seett, och hand var en af dennem, som var udneffender af Lagmanden, at fare til Vesterbygden emod de Skrelinge, att uddriffve de Schrellinge udaff Vesterbygd; och da de komme didt, da funde de ingen mand, enten christen eller heden, uden noget villdt Fæ og Faaer, och bespissede sig aff det villdt Fæ, och toge saa meget som Schivene kunde berre, och zeylede saa dermed hjemb, och forschreffne Iffver var der med." See complete account printed in *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmerker*, III, 248-60, from an old Danish translation of the sixteenth century contained in the Arne Magnean MSS. No. 777.

ners and true virtues turned to the people of America. Some say that Greenland lies very near to the western lands of the world.[17]

There can be no question that here we find an explanation of the disappearance of the people of the Western settlement as witnessed by Ivar Bardsen. Left to themselves in that dismal region, scarcely seeing a European vessel once in a generation, it is no wonder if they gave up the doubtful blessing of the Church which was incapable of ministering to them and turned "voluntarily" to a region whose favored nature was a common tradition. One of their chief needs was timber, both for building and for fuel; for this they had to depend upon the doubtful contribution of the sea. They knew that this timber came from America (Markland).[18] It would therefore be a most sensible decision to emigrate in a body to that place where all their needs would be easily supplied, taking with them what cattle they could.

It seems that this emigration of the western colonists resulted in trade relations being again resumed with America. Up to this time we have no mention in any record whatsoever of any vessel having sailed to America since Bishop Eric Upsi journeyed thither in 1121. However, five years after these colonists left for America we read of a vessel from Greenland which in 1347 "had been to Markland" (supposedly Nova Scotia or Southern Labrador).[19] This vessel, carrying a crew of eighteen men, on her return voyage to Greenland lost her anchor and drifted ashore in Iceland. The next year it sailed to Bergen, having for a passenger Jon Guttorm-

[17] "1342. Groenlandia incolæ a vera fide et religione christiana sponte sua defecerunt, et repudiatis omnibus honestis moribus et veris vertutibus ad Americæ populos se converterunt; existimant enim quidam Groenlandium adeo vicinam esse occidentalibus orbis regionius." The document was translated out of the original records by Finn Magnusen, the eminent editor-in-chief of *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmerker,* and is printed there for the first time in Vol. III, 459.

[18] There is an old account of the thirteenth century describing life in Greenland which mentions that the timber on which the Greenlanders depended "came out of the bays of Markland"; quoted in *Ibid.*, III, 243.

[19] This fact is recorded in six different Icelandic annals; see among them the Flatey *Annals,* the Skalholt *Annals,* and the Odda *Annals* under 1347.

son, a great chieftain of Iceland, who went to Bergen to see the king.

We can easily imagine that the arrival of this vessel must have been a great event. Here was a company of Greenlanders who could not only give a complete account of their own almost unknown country but could do much more. Here for the first time as far as we know stood men upon Norwegian soil who could from experience tell of America—that mysterious land across the sea where grew the luscious grape and the "self-sown wheat." They could tell of a land whose wealth of choice timber, rich fisheries, and fertile soil offered quite other favorable conditions of life than the bleak and barren shores of Greenland. No wonder that the king with such visions before him reserved trade with Greenland and the western lands as a private monopoly. We may also assume that he laid plans for immediately developing this monopoly and for extending his domains to the regions beyond.

However, that same year, 1348, there came to Bergen another vessel that gave the king quite other things to think about. This was the vessel which brought the terrible Black Plague to Norway. During the next few years this plague exacted a terrible toll in Norway, laying some sections of the land completely waste and paralyzing all industries. It also proved very fatal to shipping so that "many vessels had only four or five survivors."

These conditions prevented the king for some years from carrying out his plans towards his western lands. But we find that in 1354 he is again occupied with the project. We have left to us a letter from him empowering Paul Knutson, one of his most prominent military and legal officers, to fit out an expedition and sail to Greenland. The purpose is stated to be to preserve Christianity. "We do this to the honor of God and for the sake of our soul and our predeces-

sors who established Christianity in Greenland and *we will not now let it perish.*"[20]

The last words no doubt point to the spiritual salvation of the colonists of the Western settlement who in 1342 had apostatized from the true faith and emigrated to America.[21] To find them would necessitate an exploration of the Western settlement and subsequently of unknown parts of America to which they had emigrated. This, again, explains the presence of such a notable leader as Paul Knutson and also the long absence of the expedition from home. It left Norway in 1355 but was not again heard of, according to Professor Storm, until 1363 or 1364.[22]

If we assume that the expedition had only Greenland as an objective, it becomes very difficult to understand its long absence from home. Paul Knutson was a very important man of those times, being chief judicial officer of Gulathing (Gulathings Lagmand),[23] the largest judicial district, comprising all the western and central parts of Norway. He was also one of the king's *lendermænd* having in charge the administration of a large district near Bergen. Finally he was an officer in the king's army and a large landowner. It is inconceivable that such a man of affairs should linger year after year in the dreary little colony of Greenland. If, however, his mission meant the rescue of the lost colonists who had emigrated to unknown parts of America a few years before we

[20] An ancient Danish translation of this document is printed in *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmerker*, III, 120-22. Cf. also Storm's *Studier over Vinlandsreiserne*, p. 365; Munch's *Det Norske Folks Historie, Unionsperioden*, I, 312.

[21] The spiritual welfare of Greenland seems to have been a matter of deep concern to this pious monarch, Magnus Erikson. When he drew up his will in 1347 he left a large amount of money to the cathedral in Greenland.

[22] See Storm, 365. Storm does not cite any authority for this conclusion. I find reason, however, to believe he is correctly informed by a statement which occurs in a fragmentary annal (Arne Magnussen 423-24) covering the years 1328-72. From this we learn that Bishop Alf was ordained bishop of Greenland in 1365. As it was customary to ordain a new bishop immediately or within a year after the news of his predecessor's death, and as his predecessor, Arnald, had died in 1349, this means that no vessel had returned from Greenland in the intervening years until shortly before 1365.

[23] See *Diplomarium Norwegicum*, 1347 and 1348.

see quite sufficient reasons for his continued absence. As a good Catholic he must have been horrified that so many of his king's subjects should have given up the faith and reverted to idolatry. He would feel it his duty to save them from eternal damnation by bringing them back into the Church. Moreover, as special representative of the king he would feel called upon to examine the material conditions of this new land (America) recently brought to the attention of the king and to which his subjects had emigrated, and see if it was worth annexing to the crown.

Here we have the striking coincidence of the presence of a Norse expedition in American waters in the very year recorded in the inscription. Documentary evidence here ends but we can easily conceive the missing link. It is reasonable to suppose that after searching about in the adjacent parts of Greenland and America for clues of the missing colonists, Paul Knutson and his party eventually reached the Vinland of traditional fame. Here a fortified base of operations is presumably established. Supposing this new land to be an island (which was the view held by all the old Norsemen) and reasoning that the colonists would be found somewhere on its shore, they send out an expedition to follow the shore and if necessary to circumnavigate the land. In the course of time they reach the interior of Hudson Bay. Here they find that the land again turns northward into the arctic wastes.[24]

What now would be the reasonable thing to be done? To continue northward without ample provisions and equipment would be to yield themselves to the fate of the arctic winter.

[24] As is now well known, Vilhjalmur Stefansson in 1909 discovered a blonde tribe of huge Eskimos a short distance west of Hudson Bay, which may very likely be the descendants of the lost Greenland colonists. Among his collections is a photograph taken by his companion, Dr. Anderson of the University of Iowa. It shows Mr. Stefansson standing in the midst of a group of sixteen of these blonde Eskimos, every one of them having the facial appearance of a typical Norwegian farmer. Although Mr. Stefansson lacks but an inch of six feet in height he scarcely reaches to their shoulders. His account of his meeting with these strange people, printed in *My Life in the Arctic*, reads like an old-time epic. General Greely in the *National Geographic Magazine* points out that earlier arctic explorers have met this strange tribe of blonde Eskimos farther east.

Perhaps they were also under orders to report to headquarters in Vinland within a certain time. It is also likely that Hudson Bay was beginning to freeze over; its open season is only three months.

They could not go north, but to the south opened a broad and navigable highway—the Nelson River. They therefore decide to split the expedition, a small party to remain with the vessels over winter while the larger number go up the Nelson River and then back over land to Vinland. This would also give them the opportunity of exploring the interior of this new land. They, of course, had no conception of the vast continent which separated them from their headquarters. Their impression was that America was a large island, very long north and south but not so big east and west. As they had traveled a vast distance from Vinland toward the north and now in Hudson Bay had returned several hundred miles toward the south, they probably reasoned that by some further travel southward they would reach a point not very far from Vinland to the west. The probability of this theory is supported by the fact that when some time later ten of their number are killed by Indians they do not turn back but continue southeastward, which would be the direction of safety for them,—that is, their headquarters in Vinland, supposedly not far away.

Our knowledge of the Paul Knutson expedition throws new light on the inscription. It reads that this journey of exploration "through the western regions" came from Vinland—not from Norway or Greenland. This indicates that a lengthy stay had been made in the land just as was made by Knutson. It also mentions that they had more than one vessel; therefore it was a well-equipped expedition like Knutson's. The Latin letters *A V M*, which are a part of the prayer that follows, suggest that a priest accompanied the party; this was no doubt the case in Knutson's expedition which according to the king's letter was a crusade for the

preservation of Christianity. Finally it would have been practically impossible for the survivors of the Kensington party to return to Norway until 1364 which is the very year when the survivors of Knutson's party returned home. The date of their return was not brought out, however, until 1889 when Storm's book, *Studier over Vinlandsreiserne,* appeared and incidentally mentions it. The opinion of geologists and the circumstances surrounding the finding of the stone unite, however, in the conclusion that the inscription must have been written long before that time as will be shown below.

The facts concerning the apostasy of the Greenland colonists and their subsequent emigration to America; the journey to Bergen, the king's residence; the Greenland voyagers who had been to America (Markland); the subsequent rescue expedition of Paul Knutson; and other facts mentioned above are very little known even among well-informed historians. They have been gleaned from various rare sources difficult of access and have been correlated and published here for the first time. It is therefore extremely unlikely that any runic charlatan perpetrating a hoax should have used this material as a basis for his purposeless account. If he by chance had known of the king's letter commissioning Knutson to start out on his expedition in 1355 he would have chosen a date for the inscription in more obvious agreement with it—say 1356 or 1357. For as stated above, the time of Knutson's return was not known until 1889—a number of years after the inscription by any theory could have been written. We have therefore here additional evidence in support of the truth of the inscription.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE INSCRIPTION

I. The position of the stone *in situ.* The stone was found on a timbered elevation only a few feet from the edge of a marsh which surrounds it. About five hundred feet away across the open marsh and facing directly toward it stands

the house of Nils Flaten, a pioneer settler who has lived there continuously since 1884. The stone lay immediately below the surface of the ground, clutched in the grasp of the two largest roots of a poplar tree. One of the roots had followed the horizontal surface of the stone and then made an abrupt turn downward. The other root descended straight downward along the other side of the stone. *Both roots were flat on the side touching the stone.* At the two points where they passed over the edges of the stone they were wide and flat and sharply marked on the inside. It has been claimed that the runic forger might have dug a hole under a tree and then pushed the stone under the roots. Such a thing is possible but not in this case. It would be impossible to twist the tenacious roots of a tree about and hold them in place to make them conform to the shape of the stone so closely unless it grew up from a very small sapling after the stone was deposited there. Moreover, the flat surface of the roots prove that the tree must have grown up since the stone was placed.

These facts have been substantiated by numerous affidavits from people who saw the stump shortly after it was dug up; also that the tree was from eight to ten inches in diameter. A poplar tree grows rapidly in the open. But this tree grew in a block of dense timber, overshadowed by larger trees. Mr. Ohman also states that it was a sickly tree of stunted growth. In order to learn something of its probable age Mr. Ohman was requested to cut down two other poplars of the same size and physical appearance. He was also asked, for purpose of comparison, to cut down two other poplars of the same size but of thrifty appearance and vigorous growth. He carefully selected these four trees, cut them down, and sent in a cross section of each. The first two were found to have respectively sixty-eight and seventy-five annual rings of growth; the other two had forty and forty-five rings.[25]

[25] Plate IV, volume XV, of the *Minnesota Historical Collections* shows cross sections of the healthy trees having forty and forty-five rings respectively. It was impossible to make a clear photographic copy of the stunted trees of same size, as the rings were too close and indistinct.

If, to be conservative, we assume that the tree was forty years old this brings us back to 1858 as the latest date when the stone could have been placed there. But this was many years before a single white settler had found his way to that section of the state. The first white settler in the county came there in 1865 and lived alone as a hermit in the wilderness for several years. Immigration followed the projected survey of the Great Northern Railway, which passed through Alexandria about twenty-five miles east of the finding place in 1878. At Alexandria Senator Knute Nelson was one of the first settlers. He took a homestead, now included within the city limits, in 1870.

In 1858 the nearest railroad point to the finding place of the stone was La Crosse. Not until 1862 was there any construction in Minnesota. In 1866 the first railroad west of St. Paul was built as far as St. Cloud, one hundred twenty miles from Kensington. No railroad reached Douglas County until 1878 when Alexandria, twenty-five miles from Kensington, was reached. If the Kensington inscription is a forgery we must suppose that a man of eminent runic, linguistic, and historical erudition set forth a hundred miles and more into an unsettled wilderness and there, exposed to attacks by savage animals and treacherous Indians, carved out a lengthy inscription which would bring him neither honor nor riches. This being done, he buries it upon a rough, timber-covered knoll surrounded by marshes—a place which an early visitor would never expect to see cultivated! Such a supposition is too remote to be credible.

II. The weathered appearance of the stone. The composition of the stone is described as follows by Professor N. H. Winchell: "The composition of the stone makes it one of the most durable in nature, equaling granite and almost equaling the dense quartzite of the pipestone quarry in the southwestern part of Minnesota. On the surface of this quartzite, even where exposed to the weather since they were formed, the fine

glacial scratches and polishing are well preserved, and when covered by drift clay they seem not to have been changed at all."[26]

In 1910 when the controversy concerning the stone was at its height and a number of prominent scholars had pronounced it fraudulent because of the alleged presence of English words, etc., the stone was submitted to the examination of seven professional geologists. None of these experts were able to discover any evidence that the stone had been recently engraved. They were advised of the fact that prominent philologists considered the stone a modern forgery but notwithstanding this warning three of them did not hesitate positively to affirm that the inscription showed great age. Professor W. O. Hotchkiss, state geologist of Wisconsin, wrote the following statement: "After having carefully examined the so-called Kensington runic stone I have no hesitation in affirming that its inscription must have been carved very long ago—at least fifty to a hundred years."[27]

Dr. Warren Upham, a specialist in glacial geology, gave the following opinion: "When we compare the excellent preservation of the glacial scratches shown on the back of the stone, which were made several thousand years ago, with the mellow, time-worn appearance of the face of the inscription, the conclusion is inevitable that this inscription must have been carved many hundred years ago."

Professor N. H. Winchell wrote as follows: "The general 'mellow' color of the face of the graywacke (rune stone) and of the whole surface of the stone is also to be noted. This is the first apparent effect of weathering. Graywacke may be estimated to be fifty to a hundred times more durable in the weather than calcite, some graywackes being more resistant than others. * * *

[26] *Minnesota Historical Collections*, XV, 237.

[27] Statement filed with Minnesota Historical Society.

"There are six stages of the weathering of graywacke which are exhibited by the stone, and they may be arranged approximately in a scale as follows:

1. A fresh break or cut..... 0
2. Break or cut shown by the runes of the face..... 5
3. Edge-face, which has not been engraved, but was apparently dressed by a rough bush-hammering. 5
4. The inscribed face of the stone..... 10
5. The finely glaciated and polished back side and the non-hammered portion of the edge..... 80
6. The coarse gouging and the general beveling and deepest weathering of the back side.....250 or 500

"These figures are but rough estimates and are intended to express the grand epochs of time through which the stone has passed since it started from the solid rock of which it formed a part prior to the Glacial period; and to a certain degree they are subject to the personal equation of the person who gives them. * * * If the figures in the foregoing series be all multiplied by 100, they would stand:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
000:	500:	500:	1,000:	8,000:	25,000 or 50,000

"Since 8,000 years is approximately the date of the end of the latest glaciation (5), the numbers may all be accepted as the approximate number of years required for the various stages of weathering. Hence stages (2) and (3) may have required each about 500 years."[28]

III. The fourteen days' journey. The actual distance from Kensington to Hudson Bay at the mouth of Nelson River is about eight hundred fifty miles. To this must be added about two hundred miles for the windings of the river. This makes a total of ten hundred fifty miles which would make an average journey of seventy-five miles per day. To make seventy-five miles per day against a rapid current or on foot is manifestly impossible. This has, therefore, been used as an argument against the authenticity of

[28] *Ibid.*, 236-37.

the inscription. Such objectors overlook, however, that the physical impossibility of such a rate of travel would be just as obvious to the rune master as to the critics. If he were a forger he must have been a very learned and intelligent man and such a man would not have made such an obvious blunder. He would in all probability have computed the distance carefully and then divided it into easy journeys of twenty miles or less per day.

The rune master did not make a blunder, however, in stating that it was fourteen days' journey to the sea (Hudson Bay). The difficulty is that the meaning of the term "days' journey" has escaped us. The Norsemen of the Middle Ages did not have any measure such as we now use for estimating distances. The Norse word *mil,* like the English "mile," is derived from the Latin *mille,* a thousand, i.e., *milia passuum,* a thousand paces; we have no Norse nor Teutonic word for this. The Slavs have their *verst* and the Germans their *Stunde,* i.e., the distance covered in one hour's walking. This *Stunde* is a recognized unit of distance whether covered by the leisurely gait of a man or the swift pace of a trotting horse.

Similarly the Norsemen, whose travel was mostly done on the sea, had a recognized unit of distance. This was "a day's sail" or "a day's journey." Passing along shore from headland to headland these sailors early became experts in estimating distances, and the distance covered in a day's sail with a fair wind became a recognized unit of distance used irrespective of how many days it actually took to make the journey. This unit of distance for a twelve-hour day, or *dægr,* was from seventy-five to eighty-five miles per day. Thus we are always informed that the distance from Bergen to Iceland is "seven days' sail" although on that stormy sea it nearly always took several weeks to make the journey. Likewise we are told repeatedly that the distance from Iceland to

Greenland is "four days' sail" although this journey usually took several weeks owing to storms and adverse ice conditions. When, therefore, the rune master says it is fourteen days' journey to the sea he speaks in terms in which he was wont to think. He means to tell us that he estimates the distance at fourteen times eighty miles (a day's journey) or eleven hundred twenty miles. This agrees very well with actual facts. However, this method of reckoning distance is not suggestive of modern authorship.

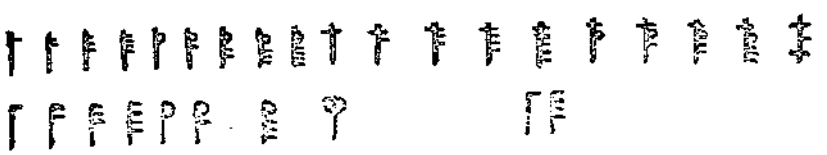
IV. The numerals. For many years after the rune stone was found the most mystifying feature about it was the numerals. It was long before they were correctly interpreted. When this was done they were pointed to as strong proof of the modern fabrication of the inscription, seeing that the rune master "was unable to write dates and numbers except in a system of his own invention." It was not until 1909 —eleven years after the stone was found—that Helge Gjessing, a philologist of Christiania, was able to show that these numerals were not an invention of the runic scribe but were in perfect accord with runic numerals used in the Middle Ages.[29] This is another testimony of the unusual scholarship that would be required in a modern forger to write this extraordinary inscription.

Gjessing points out that a Danish writer by the name of Ole Worm in 1643 published a work in Latin, entitled *Fasti Danici,* in which these runic numerals occur. This work has never been translated nor reprinted. The rune master, if he were a forger, must therefore have had access to very rare books and was able to read Latin. As to these numerals, Ole Worm in this part of his work discusses the ancient *primstave,* or household calendars, which were in use in the Scandinavian countries in the Middle Ages. These calendars consisted of flat sticks of wood about thirty inches long and two inches wide. Upon them was carved a multitude of signs to repre-

[29] See his article in *Symra,* Decorah, Iowa, for 1909, No. 3, 116-19.

sent the many holy days of the Church, separated by a series of dots indicating the number of intervening days. Besides this, some of these *primstave* also contained nineteen numerals—one for each of the moon cycle's nineteen years—by help of which one could figure out the different dates upon which the new moons of that year would appear. However, when we compare the numerals on the rune stone with the corresponding numerals in Worm's book we find a difference. The accompanying illustration shows that they are the same in type but differ in detail in every figure:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19



This difference in form shows that while the rune master is familiar with the system of numerals preserved for us by Worm he has followed another model; which indicates that he wrote at a time when these *primstave* were in daily use and plentiful, i.e., in the fourteenth century.

There is another significant thing about these numbers and that is the rune master's way of writing the numbers 10 and 14. The old Scandinavians used "twenty" as a base in their system of notation. Larger numbers were expressed as so and so many "twenties." This system still survives etymologically in such archaic terms as *et halvt tjau,* i.e., "half a twenty" = 10; *tres,* "three (twenties)" = 60; *halv-fjers,* "half of the fourth (twenty)" = 70, etc. We therefore find, not nine, but twenty units in their system of notation. Nineteen of these units are shown in the illustration of the numbers used on the *primstave.*

The rune master does not use this system. In writing number 14 he uses two digits, or, in other words, the compara-

tively modern decimal system which has 10 for its base. He also uses this in writing 22 and 1362. Gjessing has shown that the decimal system was introduced in the North prior to 1362.[30] One might object that the rune master probably knew nothing about the rather obscure history of notation and wrote as he was wont, thinking that our common decimal system had always been in use. This view is, however, excluded when we see how he writes the number 10. An ordinary person not knowing the history of the decimal system would invariably write 10 with two digits. This has become such a fixed rule with us that it is difficult to imagine it was ever otherwise. The rune master however uses only one digit. The reason for this is that while the decimal system was introduced into Europe about 1200 A. D. at first it had only the figures 1 to 9; the zero was not introduced until about two hundred years later. If the rune master had written 10 with two digits he would have committed a serious anachronism; but in this as in other things he has shown himself to be in strict conformity to the usage and limitations of his time.

These numerals, therefore, so long a puzzle to the critics, prove to contain two cogent arguments corroborating the authenticity of the inscription.

V. *A V M:* Save from evil. In the intimate conformity of this prayer with fourteenth century usage we have another evidence of the genuineness of the inscription. This was, like many other parts of the inscription, objected to, the assertion being made that the rune master by the use of the salutation, "Hail, Mary!" *(Ave Maria)* in the beginning of a prayer for deliverance from bodily peril showed himself to be a modern Lutheran or non-Catholic, not conversant with the proper use of Catholic prayers. The *Angelica Salutatio* of which the above *Ave Maria* (Hail, Mary) is the familiar beginning, is not, as is well known at least to all Catholics,

[30] *Ibid.*, 117.

a prayer for deliverance from bodily peril but a greeting of adoration, a divine salutation. A modern Scandinavian forger of non-Catholic faith who would have picked up his knowledge of Catholic usage through literary channels would therefore not have chosen this phrase, *Ave Maria,* in this connection. Particularly would this be true if he understood Latin (as is shown by the preceding paragraph he must have done). He would then at once have been conscious that the salutation, "Hail, Mary," would not seem proper as the beginning of a prayer for deliverance from evil. The presumption that this is the work of a modern forger therefore seems excluded.

In the fourteenth century, however, conditions were different. In those comparatively illiterate days the frequent intonation of the Angelic Salutation had given to the expression, *Ave Maria,* an almost talismanic power and the two words were largely used as one divine name, or *Ave* was used as an attribute of *Maria.*[31] The fact that the three letters *A V M* are written without any separating marks, whereas all other words in the inscription are separated by double points, indicates that the rune master considered them as one name. To him it was the most sacred name he knew and he wished to express reverence in writing it. He therefore used Latin letters—the language of the Church—in writing them. Archbishop Ireland was deeply impressed by the peculiar wording of this prayer and stated that it was strong evidence to him that it was written in the Middle Ages.[32]

As to the prayer, *frælse af illy,* which has been condemned as an Anglicism, we find it literally in an ancient folklore poem harking back to the Black Plague (A. D. 1349) but which came to light several years after the stone was found. I give the first stanza below, and will call special

[31] Liljegren states that *Ave Maria* occurs frequently on inscriptions of the Middle Ages as introductory to all kinds of prayers. See his Runlære, 166-69.

[32] St. Paul *Dispatch,* Dec. 14, 1909.

attention to the last two lines, which, with a slight variation, serve as a refrain throughout the ballad:

Svartedauen for laand aa straand,
Aa sopa so mangei tilje;
De vi eg no fer sanno tru,
De var kje me Herrens vilje.
Hjælpe oss Gud aa Maria Møy,
Frelse oss alle av illi!

The Black Plague sped (over) land and sea
And swept so many a board (floor).
That will I now most surely believe,
It was not with the Lord's will.
Help us God and Virgin Mary,
Save us all from evil! [33]

Here, as will be noted, we have not only our "illy" phonetically reproduced but we have literally the same prayer as on the stone plus the redundant *oss alle*. The ballad also, like the prayer in the inscription, uses the ancient preposition *af*, which has long since been superseded by *fra*. Altogether, this prayer shows most striking conformity to fourteenth century usage here substantiated in its entirety in this old ballad which was not published until many years after the rune stone was found.

There are several other aspects of the inscription which speak strongly for its genuineness, particularly the runic characters. A discussion of these, however, would be too technical and voluminous to be attempted in a popular presentation like this. While the arguments cited above may not separately be considered as conclusive, their aggregate weight is such as to leave little doubt that we have in this inscription a most important record dating from the fourteenth century. On the other hand, not a single argument has yet been pre-

[33] This folksong was communicated by Mr. Olav Tortvei, Moorhead, Minn., to Mr. Torkel Oftelie, a folklorist of Fergus Falls, Minn., by whom it was printed in *Telesoga*, No. 1, 1909. Mr. Tortvei was an octogenarian pioneer, now dead, who, though illiterate, remembered hundreds of old ballads which he had heard in his childhood. Mr. Oftelie sent this ballad—*Førnesbronen*—to the eminent folklorist Rikard Berge of Telemarken, Norway, who said he had not met with it in his researches.

sented against the inscription which has been found to be valid. It seems obvious that it would be impossible for a present-day forger to construct an inscription of such length and multiplicity of ideas without leaving indubitable proof of his forgery. Particularly would this be true of an inscription purporting to date from the fourteenth century which is a peculiarly difficult period linguistically, runologically, and historically. The multitude of errors which critics have made in reviewing the inscription shows the difficulties any one of these men would have encountered if he had attempted to invent such an inscription. Yet this inscription, coming from an uninhabited wilderness, has survived all attacks made upon it for more than twenty years.

In view of this and in view of the great significance of its message, it is surely time for our learned societies and institutions to cease their "waiting and watching" attitude and take energetic action in thoroughly investigating the subject.[34]

[34] After this article had been sent to the press word was received from Mr. Holand that he had located the two skerries mentioned in the inscription and had made certain other discoveries in connection therewith. A brief account of these discoveries will be given in an early issue of this magazine.

HISTORIC SPOTS IN WISCONSIN

W. A. TITUS

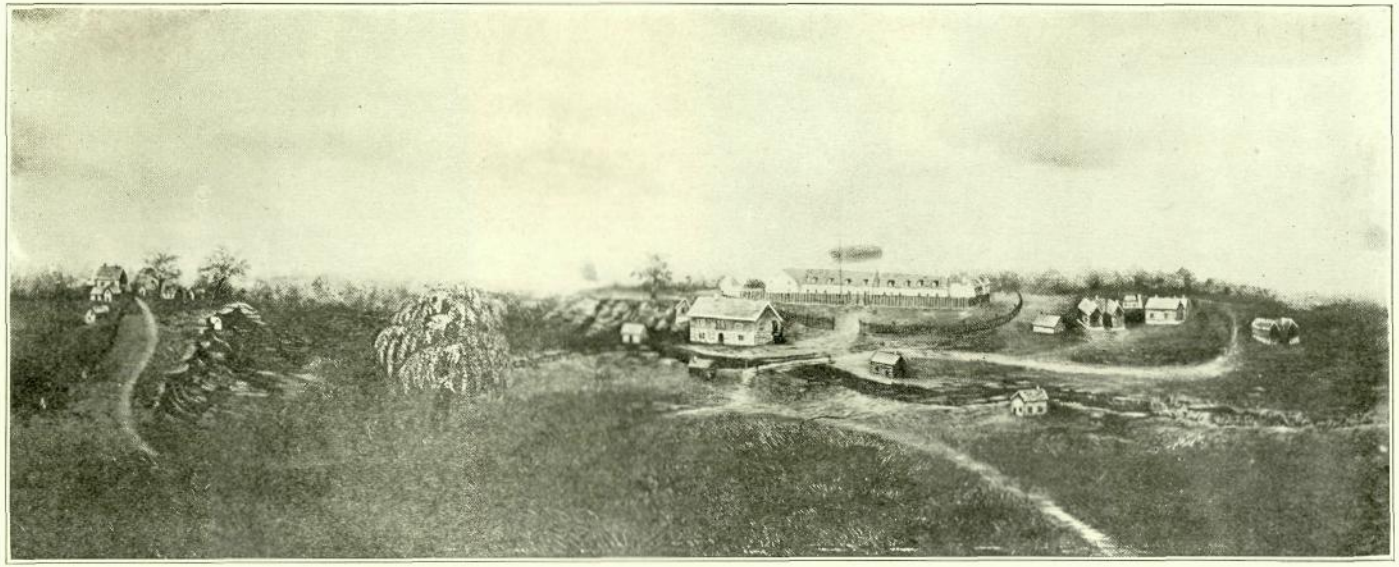
I: PORTAGE, THE BREAK IN A HISTORIC WATERWAY

> Ay, call it holy ground,
> The soil where first they trod.—Hemans.

Of all the points of historic interest in Wisconsin none stands out in bolder relief than the scant two miles of low plain that separates the Fox from the Wisconsin River at the great westward bend of the latter. From the days of the earliest traders and explorers this narrow isthmus has been known in journal and *Jesuit Relation* as "the portage," and almost every maker of early history in what is now Wisconsin trod this break between river and river. At certain seasons when the Wisconsin River was at high-water mark this low divide was inundated, and boats could float over it without halt or hindrance. A notable instance occurred in 1828 when the Fifth Regiment of United States Infantry passed over the portage in boats, thus making the entire trip by water from St. Louis to Green Bay.

At a very early date Wisconsin was visited by fur traders, many of whom were free lances; that is, they operated without license from the French government and therefore made no record of their journeyings. Thus we have no way of knowing where they went and what they observed, but it is fair to infer that in almost every case these illicit rovers preceded the explorers and missionaries, who kept and have transmitted to us more or less complete records of their discoveries.

For the early explorers the canoe was the only practical method of transportation; therefore the voyagers were keen to follow the waterways into the interior. Every white man who reached the Winnebago region was told by the Indians



VIEW OF FORT WINNEBAGO

about the route that led to the "great water" through the stream now known as the Upper Fox, but without the help of the native guides it would have been difficult if not impossible for the French explorers to thread their way through the shallow channels hidden by wild rice or through the intervening sedgy lakes where the passages midst rush and reed formed a labyrinth.

So far as known the first white men to visit the portage were Louis Jolliet, an agent of the French government, and Father Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, who with several companions crossed the neck of land in the summer of 1673 on their voyage that led to the discovery of the upper Mississippi. Marquette has left a record of this long journey wherein he indicates his surprise that a strip of land so narrow and so low could separate two rivers, one of which flows into the Gulf of Mexico and the other into the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Visitors whose names are written into the history of the Northwest now came at frequent intervals. Louis Hennepin crossed the portage in 1680; and we read that in 1683 Le Sueur passed from the Fox to the Wisconsin at this point. During the next three-quarters of a century the Fox-Wisconsin route was closed to civilization because of the merciless war that was waged by the French against the Fox Indians. The latter were defeated time after time with terrible slaughter, and neither age nor sex was spared; but the French could not wholly exterminate the tribe. This struggle was a sad blot on the period of French occupation; the Foxes never forgot nor forgave the treatment they received from the whites.

Jonathan Carver, the first English explorer, was at the portage in 1766 and wrote a very interesting account of the country along the courses of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. His description of the portage is especially instructive.

In 1793 Laurent Barth built a rude home near the portage, possibly the first building erected in the vicinity by a white man. Barth engaged in the business of transporting small boats and their cargoes between the two rivers. He enjoyed a monopoly of the transfer business at this point until 1798, when John Lecuyer came with an improved outfit and entered into competition with Barth. With a heavy wagon greatly lengthened by the use of a long reach Lecuyer was enabled to haul boats of considerable size from one river to the other. Lecuyer died in 1810 and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Francis Le Roy. It is recorded that in 1817 Le Roy charged fifty cents per hundredweight for taking goods across the portage and that he received ten dollars each for hauling boats overland from river to river. Augustin Grignon mentions in his "Recollections" that he was at the portage during the winter of 1802; other well-known traders were there at various times during the first years of the nineteenth century.

At the close of the Revolutionary War the future Wisconsin was included in the territory that was ceded to the United States by Great Britain. In 1814 a British-Indian army, following in the path of one which thirty-four years earlier had crossed Wisconsin and descended the Mississippi to attack the Spaniards at St. Louis, wended its way through Lake Winnebago, up the Fox River, across the portage, and down the Wisconsin to its mouth. This was Colonel McKay's command of British soldiers and Indian allies before whom Prairie du Chien fell a few days later. After the close of the war with England the British and Indians withdrew by the same route to Green Bay, from which point they returned to Canada.

In 1819 the Fifth Regiment, United States Infantry, crossed the portage; the Third Regiment, United States Infantry, passed over this much traversed route in 1826.

In 1827 the ill feeling and unrest among the Winnebago Indians came to acts of open hostility on the part of some of the tribesmen, and a number of white settlers were killed. Government troops were ordered to proceed to the portage, and there occurred the dramatic episode that ended the trouble. The Indians, to save themselves from defeat and possible annihilation, surrendered Chiefs Red Bird and Wekaw as the murderers of the settlers. The pair with another warrior was taken to Prairie du Chien, tried, and sentenced to death. Red Bird died in prison; the other two were subsequently pardoned.

In the autumn of 1828 the First Regiment, United States Infantry, was ordered to proceed to the portage and build a fort on the east side of the Fox River. Major Twiggs, who later became General Twiggs of the Confederate States, was in command; among his subordinates were men who were destined to become famous in the military annals of the country. Captain Buell, Captain Harney, and Lieut. Jefferson Davis were among those who witnessed the building of Fort Winnebago as the new post was called. The buildings were constructed of materials found in the neighborhood—stone from a near-by quarry, brick burned on the west bank of the Wisconsin River, and lumber sawed by hand from logs that were floated down the river. Jefferson Davis is said to have had considerable to do with the actual construction work. He was a young graduate of West Point and came to Fort Winnebago from Fort Crawford where he had begun, a year or so earlier, his active military career.

Fort Winnebago was built in the form of a square enclosed by pickets or palisades. The fortifications consisted of two strong blockhouses at diagonally opposite corners of the square. The auxiliary buildings, consisting of hospital, warehouses, commissary building, shops, and stables, were near by but outside the enclosure. The entire group of buildings is said to have been quite pretentious in appearance and

well constructed. During the Black Hawk War Fort Winnebago was not in good condition to offer resistance to an attack, as a portion of the garrison had been ordered to move southward to join the army in the field. The supplies were stored outside the stockade; the living quarters were quite unprotected. It had not been thought possible that Black Hawk and his band would push so far north as the Hustisford Rapids, so when the proximity of the savages became known there was great excitement at the post, which did not subside until it was learned that the Sauk were in full retreat toward the Four Lakes region.

Fort Winnebago was garrisoned continuously until 1845, when it was evacuated and never again occupied by a military force. In 1856 a fire destroyed much of the fort and adjacent buildings. Today a peaceful farmhouse occupies the site of this former guardian of the old frontier.

CAVALRY STABLES AT FORT WINNEBAGO

THE STORY OF WISCONSIN, 1634-1848

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

CHAPTER IV—TERRITORIAL FOUNDATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

PRETERRITORIAL ROUTES

The first routes to Wisconsin were waterways. Bounded by the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, the natural means of approach was by watercraft. Sailing vessels from the eastern ports landed goods and passengers at Green Bay; keel boats up and down the Mississippi connected Prairie du Chien with St. Louis and New Orleans: canoes and Mackinaw boats plied the inland rivers. The invention of the steamboat accelerated traffic. The first lakes' steamer reached Green Bay in 1821; the first upper river steamboat ascended the Mississippi in 1823. The first Wisconsin settlers in the lead mining region came by way of the Mississippi to Galena, thence overland on foot or on horseback. Later, steamboats made landings at the Grant County ports of Cassville and Sinipee. By the time of the Black Hawk War the mining centers were connected by a number of rude roads. Beyond this region there was, until the erection of the territory, but one road in Wisconsin, the military highway opened by detachments of troops between 1833 and 1836. This road connected Fort Howard at Green Bay with Fort Winnebago at the portage by a route along the south bank of the Fox River, the east shore of Lake Winnebago; thence across country direct to Portage. From there the second division of the road ran southwest to Blue Mounds; thence along the Wisconsin watershed to which it gave the name of Military Ridge. It crossed the Wisconsin about six miles above its mouth and from the ferry ran to Fort Crawford at Prairie

du Chien. All the cross-country traffic except that on the Fox-Wisconsin waterway went by this road. By 1836 several taverns had been opened along its western portion.

Coming from the south was a long-used Indian trail from Chicago to Green Bay. It crossed from Grosse Point (now Winnetka) to Skunk Grove, just west of the present Racine; thence ran to Juneau's post on Milwaukee River; thence north, following the general line of the lake shore, touching it at Port Washington and Two Rivers.[17] Gradually as white travelers took this trail they cut its curves and broadened its pathway until it took on the semblance of a road.

EASTERN IMMIGRANTS

Notwithstanding the advertisement of Wisconsin lands during and succeeding the Black Hawk War of 1832, it was not until 1835 that immigrants in any numbers began to arrive at Wisconsin ports. This delay was due to several reasons. In the first place the Indian title was not extinguished until the autumn of 1833. After the Black Hawk War the Sauk and Foxes and the Winnebago were compelled that same autumn to cede all their lands south of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway; the Menominee claims along the lower Fox and south to the Milwaukee River were purchased in October, 1832. The allied tribes of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi met in September, 1833 at a great treaty at Chicago and there sold all their lands west and south of Lake Michigan. This put at rest forever the Indian rights to all of southern Wisconsin. Following this, the United States in 1834 opened two land offices for the new cessions: one at Mineral Point, which began to enter land in November, the other at Green Bay, where entries were not possible until the spring of 1835.

The other states of the Old Northwest had yet much good land to offer to intending immigrants. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were at this period in the midst of a rush into their

[17] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XV, 454.

vacant territory. For instance Oberlin, Ohio, founded in 1833, was then surrounded by a country still a wilderness. The years from 1830 to 1837 were those in which the northern and central portions of Indiana were compacted. The northern tier of counties in Illinois was not settled until after the Black Hawk War; and this region was the first to feel the impetus of immigration as the result of that event.

Michigan was, however, Wisconsin's chief rival for the eastern emigrants. In 1824 there were but ten villages in all the region that afterwards became the state of Michigan. The next year the Erie Canal was completed, and, next to Cleveland, Detroit became the chief distributing point for new settlers pouring in from New England and New York. The same year the government finished a military road from Detroit to Chicago, and along this route the great bulk of westward travel passed.[18]

The spring of 1835 opened with a rush into the region that would soon become a new territory. Every steamboat arriving at Green Bay brought from the East speculators eager to secure possession of Wisconsin's fertile lands, mill sites, water powers, and future commercial centers. Bona fide settlers also came pouring in and soon outnumbered and outmaneuvered the land sharks; and the hitherto unbroken wilderness became dotted with rude cabin homes. The settlers of 1835 sought locations near the lake shore, those that promised future harbors and prosperous cities. Chief among these was Milwaukee, which had been for many years an important Indian trading post. Unlike Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, Milwaukee had no permanent French-Canadian population. In 1833 the huts of three traders were its only habitations. Chief among these traders was Solomon Juneau, who had settled at this point in 1818. He united with

[18] Mathews, Lois K., *The Expansion of New England* (Boston, 1909), 224-25.

Morgan L. Martin of Green Bay in 1834 to preëmpt the land east of Milwaukee River and lay out a town site.

In 1834 Col. George H. Walker from Virginia took up the south point of Milwaukee harbor, ever since known as Walker's Point. No other permanent settlers came until 1835. Then Byron Kilbourn platted a town site west of Milwaukee River, which was long a rival to Juneau's town. The first steamboat landed at Milwaukee in June of this year; and many of the substantial citizens who built up the metropolis made their advent in 1835. The county organization sufficed until 1835 when the villages of Milwaukee east of the river and Kilbourntown were organized with Juneau and Kilbourn, respectively, as presidents. These two organizations were united in 1838.[19]

Racine, also, was founded in 1835 by Gilbert Knapp, who was quickly followed by other preëmptors. On the site of Kenosha agents for a New York Emigration company found claimants as early as March of the same year. The agents of this company thereupon began their settlement a mile farther north at the mouth of Pike River. By the autumn of 1835 several buildings had been erected at both places, and religious services held.[20]

North of Milwaukee a paper city was laid out by speculators at what is now Port Washington, then called Wisconsin City. This was expected to become the future metropolis of the territory. Sheboygan was platted by eastern investors during the last months of 1835; its first permanent settlers, however, did not arrive until the spring of 1836. The same was true of Manitowoc.

While the lake ports were thus being occupied during 1835 farms in the hinterland were also being opened. Waukesha, then called Prairieville, had settlers on its site as

[19] Mack, Edwin S., "The Founding of Milwaukee," in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1906, 194-207.

[20] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, II, 450-56; III, 370-420.

early as 1834. All but three of the present townships of Racine County were opened up with farms during 1835. The same season saw settlers in Kenosha, Salem, Somers, Pleasant Prairie, Brighton, Paris, Bristol, and Wheatland townships of the present Kenosha County. The southern townships of Milwaukee County were first settled in 1835; and what became the villages of Pewaukee, Mukwonago, and Muskego received their first settlers the same summer. Two or three groups of homeseekers in the late autumn of 1835 crossed the country to the waters of Rock River; but only the beginning of a preëmptor's log cabin near Janesville gave any sign of permanent settlement on that stream before 1836.

That year saw the great influx into the new territory whose separation from Michigan was then an assured fact. Every steamboat coming around the lakes landed hundreds of prospectors at the ports. The stream of wagons passing overland from Detroit was almost continuous. Tavern accommodations were wholly inadequate; families camped on the wayside and slept in wagons, cooking their own provisions at numerous camp fires along the route. Arrived at the promised land the question of location became all important. Mechanics, builders, and small capitalists settled at the embryo towns. Intending farmers sought half- and quarter-sections along some stream or in the timber; prairie land was liked by eastern immigrants because it was less difficult to clear than the heavily timbered sections.

In 1836 the counties of Walworth, Jefferson, Rock, Fond du Lac, Sheboygan, and Manitowoc were opened up; village sites were platted and town lots put upon the market. Speculation spread beyond the borders of the territory; town lots in Wisconsin were sold at boom prices throughout the East. Eastern capitalists came out with funds to make large purchases from the land offices. The bona fide settlers, who had come with small means to make permanent homes, took alarm. A species of claimants' organization, begun at Pike

River in February, 1836 to arbitrate on rival claims, commended itself to the preëmptors. The same summer the Milwaukee County Union was formed;[21] other counties quickly caught the idea of protective associations. By this means the actual settlers obtained their land at the government price of $1.25 an acre. Any speculator bidding against a settler was roughly handled. Nor could he secure redress by law, for no settlers' jury would decide in his favor. Wisconsin thus became populated by a small proprietor class, coming chiefly from New England and New York. These immigrants were largely descendants of seventeenth century Americans; they brought to Wisconsin the ideals and the purposes that had made successful the great commonwealths of the East. In their new western homes they built up American institutions and American homes that have formed the basis of the progress and prosperity of Wisconsin.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TERRITORY

In 1835 Michigan was ripe for statehood, and her admission to the Union seemed but a question of a few months. A call for a constitutional convention was issued; delegates met at Detroit in May of that year and provided a constitution which was adopted by the people in October. It was so well understood that the portion of Michigan Territory west of the lake would be set off as a separate territory, that in August, 1835 an act was passed arranging for the election from the western portion of a Congressional delegate and of a legislative council to meet at Green Bay the first of January, 1836. Several candidates appeared for the delegate's office, from among whom George Wallace Jones of Sinsinawa Mound was elected. He appeared in Congress as delegate from Michigan Territory, since Michigan, involved in a border difficulty with Ohio, was not yet admitted as a state in the Union. Likewise the legislative council that met at Green Bay was designated the Seventh Legislative Council

[21] *Ibid.*, II, 472-76.

of Michigan Territory. This rump body, of which Col. William S. Hamilton was president, accomplished little; it passed resolutions condemning the absence of the acting governor, John Scott Horner, and adjourned at the end of a two weeks' session.

Meanwhile the bill to establish a territorial government for Wisconsin was moving forward in Congress and was signed by President Jackson April 20, 1836. It provided for the organization of the territory on July 4 and for a census, which resulted in numbering 22,218 people in the territory, of which nearly one-half were west of the Mississippi River. The territory then comprised six counties, two of which lay beyond the Mississippi, leaving what is now Wisconsin divided into Brown, Crawford, Iowa, and Milwaukee counties. Wisconsin's population was sufficient to make her a territory of the third rank, fully equipped with an elected assembly and council and an appointed territorial court. Since it was the first territory organized under President Jackson's régime, its offices were much in demand. Wisconsin's inhabitants considered themselves fortunate in having Henry Dodge, long a resident among them, chosen for governor. The appointment of John Scott Horner as secretary was less acceptable; the office was retained by the incumbent but a short time, William B. Slaughter being appointed by the president on February 16, 1837. The actual presence of the governor in the territory during nearly all of the twelve years of its existence rendered the office of territorial secretary a subordinate one. The other appointive officers were Charles Dunn, chief justice; William C. Frazer and David Irvin, associate justices; William W. Chapman, United States district attorney.

The first legislature, composed of a council of thirteen members and an assembly of twenty-six, met October 25, 1836 at Belmont in the mining region. Belmont was a "paper" town promoted by the new chief justice, Charles

Dunn, and located near the Platte Mounds in what is now Lafayette County. It arose like a balloon and like one collapsed with the departure of the capital. In 1836, however, "the most extravagant plans and speculations were indulged in, while each individual appeared to feel a happy consciousness that wealth and honors were just within his grasp. Immense improvements were projected and displayed in a most attractive manner upon paper in the shape of spacious hotels, boarding houses, princely mansions, and a capitol or legislative hall (the latter to be, of course, at the expense of 'Uncle Sam') in a style intended to eclipse all similar edifices in the country."[22] In contrast to these anticipations the site of Belmont is today covered by a farmstead.

The location of the future capital was the chief subject that agitated the first legislature. Among all the promoters of the time, James D. Doty was the most successful; and the site he had chosen between Third and Fourth lakes became that adopted for the future capital. It is charged that a judicious distribution among the legislators of lots in the coming town of Madison aided in securing the decision. Be this as it may, Belmont was soon deserted and the second session of the first legislature met at Burlington, in what is now Iowa. The second territorial legislature met in Madison on November 26, 1838.

Preparations for a capitol building had been begun early in 1837. Before the snow had left the ground the Peck family had removed from Blue Mounds in order to provide a boarding place for the men engaged in its construction. Augustus A. Bird, the capitol commissioner, bought sawmill machinery in the East; and early in the summer of 1837 it was landed from a steamboat at Milwaukee. Thence Bird's men cut a rude trace and hauled the machinery and supplies overland, arriving in time to celebrate the Fourth of July in the

[22] *Ibid.*, VI, 298-99.

woods of the new capital. Soon thereafter a quarry was opened at what is now Maple Bluff, and stone was brought across the lake in a scow. Amidst great difficulties the commissioners struggled to be ready for the legislature. With all their efforts the building was unfinished, and the cold was so intense that in December of 1838 a month's recess was taken that accommodations might be improved.

At this and succeeding sessions of the territorial legislatures internal improvements were the most important measures discussed. Numerous roads were ordered to be laid out, charters were granted for railroads that were never built, ferries were licensed, and dams permitted on unnavigable streams. The national government was petitioned for river and harbor improvements, for lighthouses and mail routes. Two large projects for waterways were vigorously promoted. These were the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal and the Fox-Wisconsin Improvement. The former was promoted by Milwaukee capitalists, the latter by those of Green Bay. Both projects secured land grants from Congress and both became seriously involved in political disputes. No work of importance was ever done on the Rock River project; the canal at Portage and the water control of the lower Fox River are the results of the Fox-Wisconsin Improvement, which in 1872 was taken over by the federal government. In fact the navigation of either route was possible only to light draft and small-sized craft that could never compete in modern times with the rail carriers.

Other matters with which the territorial legislatures concerned themselves were the organization of counties and towns, the adjustment of local government, the adoption and revision of a legal code, and the chartering and investigating of banks.

GROWTH OF THE TERRITORY

The growth of Wisconsin's population during the years of her territorial existence was phenomenal. In 1838 Con-

gress cut off the territory of Iowa and ordered a new census. The 11,683 of 1836 had in two years become 18,149. At the federal census of 1840 Wisconsin was found to contain 30,747 people. Two years later the total was 46,678. The increase now accelerated, and by 1846 the population had nearly quadrupled, numbering (with reports from three sparsely populated counties missing) 155,277. In 1847 the official report was 210,546.

Until after 1840 practically all the people dwelt south of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway. During the later years of the territorial period the upper Wisconsin, the upper Mississippi, and the shores of Green Bay began to be fringed with hamlets and farms. The first territorial legislature divided the four counties previously established by Michigan into fifteen. This number was almost doubled in twelve years, Wisconsin becoming a state with twenty-nine organized counties.

Hand in hand with the growth of population went the increase of facilities for intercommunication. In 1832 there were four post routes for monthly mails. In 1836 the government let contracts for sixteen weekly mails. By 1838 the number was doubled; and on some routes biweekly and triweekly mails were ordered. The same year there were eighty postoffices within the territory. Ten years later the postoffices had become 286, and the contractors for mail routes numbered fifty-nine.

The need of roads was considered by each successive territorial legislature. The United States spent during the territorial period $67,000 on military roads within our borders. Each legislature ordered the survey and opening of roads between various village centers. As an example of the progress made a Madison newspaper in 1842 says, "Five years ago there were but three houses on the one road between Madison and Milwaukee. There are now four roads, one of which passes through many of the best cultivated and most tastefully improved farms west of New York; nearly all of

which are owned and occupied by the industrious, enterprising, and intelligent sons of New York and New England."[23]

None the less the territorial roads were very poor—at certain seasons almost impassable. At all seasons transportation delays were probable; and the problem of moving men and goods was acute throughout all the territorial period. In 1845 Governor Tallmadge recommended to the legislature the consideration of plank roads. These were, however, first undertaken by private enterprise. In 1846 the first plank toll road from Milwaukee to Lisbon was chartered; but not until the territory became a state did the plank road system ameliorate the wretched roads of early-day Wisconsin.

Railroads were much discussed; nine railways were incorporated during the territorial epoch, but no rails were laid within the state until 1850.

The earliest travelers went through the country on horseback; the first immigrants came in by oxcarts. Prairie schooners and wagons of every type were drawn by horses or oxen, even cows being sometimes harnessed to light vehicles. In winter sleds and sleighs, particularly the long French "train" drawn by two horses tandem, replaced wheeled vehicles.

From private vehicles progress was soon made to stages. Before the organization of the territory there was but one stage line running from Galena to Mineral Point. By 1841 stages crossed the territory weekly by two main routes from Green Bay to Mineral Point, and from Milwaukee via Madison to Galena. The trip to Madison took two days. By 1848 a daily line of coaches ran from Milwaukee to Galena in three days, taking alternately the route through Troy, Janesville, and Shullsburg, and that through Waukesha, Madison, and Mineral Point. A branch ran from Janesville to Rockford and Dixon, Illinois, connecting with the Chicago stage. Another ran from Madison via Watertown and Fond du Lac

[23] Keyes, E. W., *History of Dane County* (Madison, 1906), 114.

to Green Bay. Connections were made three times a week between Racine and Janesville, Kenosha (then Southport) and Madison. From Milwaukee north and south lines ran to Chicago and to Sheboygan.[24]

Along the stage routes and beside most of the territorial roads taverns of various degrees of excellence quickly sprang up. The earliest accommodations were log cabins, on the floors of which travelers spread their own blankets. By 1845 Green Bay, Milwaukee, Madison, and some other towns had hostelries dignified by the name of hotels.

During the territorial days land was the chief source of wealth. By 1838 the government had sold $1,378,766.73 worth of land. In 1844 the assessed value of the real estate was $8,077,200.00. Nineteen-twentieths of Wisconsin's population lived on farms. The climate placing this region beyond the corn range, "hog and hominy" could not be depended upon for crops. Moreover the majority of the settlers from New York and New England were accustomed to raising grain. Wisconsin's virgin loam produced without fertilization the small grains, of which wheat was the most profitable. Wisconsin soon became a one-crop region. In 1839, 212,166 bushels were produced from 15,151 acres. Barley, oats, and rye together totaled but 119,545 bushels. Wisconsin's product in her first year of statehood was 4,286,131 bushels of wheat, making her the ninth in the wheat-producing states of the Union.

The difficulty of transporting the crop grew with the distance from the lake shore. In 1839 the center of the wheat farms lay in Racine, Milwaukee, and Walworth counties. By the next decade the wheat growing center was in Rock, Jefferson, and Dodge counties. The price of freight from Watertown to Milwaukee ranged from ten to twenty cents per bushel. Within the next decade the marketing problems were lessened by the creation of plank roads and railroads.

[24] Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1914, 132.

Next to the wheat and grain products the minerals of southwestern Wisconsin brought wealth. This, the oldest settled region, kept for a long time a distinct character allied to the south and southwest. Its population, however, was nearly stationary. The production of lead reached its greatest point by 1844 and thereafter declined. Agriculture in this region developed slowly, since titles to land could not be secured so long as there was mineral upon it. In 1842 Congress passed an act for the relief of such farmholders; some who had lived for twenty years upon their improvements then first secured titles. With the decline of mining the old frontier character of the mining region passed away. The shifting populace moved off to new centers, notably to California in 1848. About the middle of the forties the lines of transportation shifted. Lead began to be hauled to the lake board; by 1847 the bulk of the product crossed the territory in wagons drawn by six- and eight-yoke ox teams and was transshipped by steamer to the East. With this change in connections, the population of the southwestern portion of Wisconsin began to assimilate to the type of the remainder of the territory. The lead-mining region, however, has never quite overtaken the remainder of the state in enterprise and in the production of wealth.

The lumbering industry began during the territorial era in several pineries that later became the scene of large operations. The first sawmill on the upper Wisconsin was built at Point Bas in 1835. After the Menominee treaty of 1836 a fringe of sawmills quickly rose on the banks of the Wisconsin as far north as Wausau. Lumbering on Black River was begun as early as 1819; not until twenty years later was the first mill built upon that stream, when J. D. Spaulding preempted the Black River Falls. By 1844 lumber was run out into the Mississippi in considerable quantity. About the same time a few logs were cut upon the St. Croix and the

Chippewa, but the exploitation of these regions did not really begin until after 1848.

The greatest need of the young territory was for capital. However, after the flush times of the first territorial years had culminated in the crash of 1837, great distrust was felt for all financial institutions. The suffering occasioned by the panic was greater in the new country than in the older regions. Everyone was in debt; the money in circulation was useless. Hundreds of families on the frontier lived entirely on potatoes and salt during the winter of 1837-38. The neighborliness and brotherhood of the frontier community showed itself in ways that alleviated much of the suffering. He who had, shared with his neighbor. Recovery from the panic of 1837 was on the whole more rapid in the West than in the East; the good harvests, the land for all, the optimism in future prospects tended to restore confidence and to rebuild credit within the territory. It was long, however, before eastern capital overcame the distrust of Wisconsin occasioned by the panic of 1837.

The dislike for instruments of credit endured throughout the territorial period. The very name of a bank was anathema. Every charter granted by the legislature, even that for a school or a church, contained a proviso that nothing in these provisions should be construed as a grant for banking privileges. This was due to the hard experience of the first two territorial years. The first legislature incorporated three banks for Dubuque, Mineral Point, and Milwaukee; one was already in existence at Green Bay. All these ultimately failed disastrously and thus prejudice was awakened against all banks. But while "the name is a bugbear they detest, the thing is a boon they need and welcome," so in 1839 the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company was incorporated with permission to receive money on deposit and lend the same at interest. This company, established in Milwaukee and managed by the Scotch financier, Alexander Mitchell,

became one of the strongest financial institutions in the Northwest and of untold value in developing the resources of the future state.

Living conditions in the territory were hard but wholesome. The friendliness of the frontier manifested itself in valuable help for incoming neighbors. There was no sign of caste or class spirit. The needs of one were the opportunities of all. As a rule each family was a unit largely self-sufficing. When necessity arose for combined labor, it was accomplished by voluntary services called "bees," which were made the occasion of social recreation. The most important "bee" was that for cabin making. The logs were cut and trimmed beforehand, and people came for miles around to take part in the "raising." The proper space having been marked off, the logs were quickly rolled and laid in place, notched at the ends to hold firm. The roof was made of bark or "shakes," the floor of puncheons—logs split in two with the rounded side down. The interstices between the logs were chinked in with clay or mud and usually whitewashed both inside and out. Sometimes the entire cabin was made without the use of nails. A blanket was used for a door until a board one could be made. Windows were covered with shutters; but few had in them any glass. The most important part of the structure was the chimney, which sometimes occupied all one side of the cabin. This was commonly built of small stones and clay, although sticks occasionally took the place of stones. Into this capacious fireplace great logs were hauled, sometimes by the help of a horse, to keep the family warm in the severe Wisconsin winters. Almost all the immigrants from the older states brought with them furniture, cooking utensils, linen for table and beds, and some store of quilts and clothing. Additional furniture was quickly provided by the handy skill of the men and boys. Bedsteads were improvised with one side fastened between the logs. Ticks were filled with straw or hay, and most housewives brought with them a cherished

feather bed. Food was seldom scarce. The "truck patch" quickly furnished vegetables, while the woods and streams abounded with fish and game. Deer were easily obtained, and plenty of smaller animals and game birds were within reach of a gun. Flour was often lacking because of the difficulties of going to mill. Hand mills and wooden pestles and mortars were often resorted to for temporary supplies of pounded meal.

Tools and implements were precious, one settler having to go all the way to Chicago to replace a lost ax. Except the ax and hammer, tools were freely borrowed and lent; agricultural implements were almost common property. One grindstone usually served a considerable community. The repair shop of the village blacksmith was a great convenience for isolated settlers, who had before his coming made long journeys to replace and repair their tools. Men assisted one another not only at house raisings, but at ploughing and harvesting, clearing land and grubbing stumps, fencing, and planting. Sickness, death, and marriage were community affairs. Everyone lent a helping hand, and any skill or ability he possessed was at the service of the neighbors.

Amusements were rude and promiscuous. Dancing was much favored, except among the religious people. Taverns were utilized for dances, and good music was produced from the cherished "fiddle." Singing schools were frequent, and a good singing teacher was much in demand. Relaxation from the stern realities of life came chiefly through religious services. Sunday was kept as a rest day by common consent; pioneer preachers came into the territory among its earliest immigrants.

In point of time the Catholics were the first missionaries in preterritorial Wisconsin. A Trappist monk from Illinois visited Prairie du Chien in 1817; the first church building was completed at Green Bay in 1825. In 1835 an Austrian priest, Father Baraga, built a chapel on Madeline Island. The first

German Catholic missionary arrived at Milwaukee in 1842; two years later a bishopric was established at Milwaukee whose first incumbent was Bishop Henni. Under his care parishes were organized in all the larger towns of the territory and in many country communities.

The Episcopalians in 1822 began Indian mission work at Green Bay where Eleazer Williams, who later claimed to be the lost dauphin of France, accompanied the New York Indians to their Wisconsin homes. In 1827 a large school for Indian youth was built at Green Bay; the same year at the same place Christ Episcopal Church was organized. The Reverend Jackson Kemper, in 1835 consecrated missionary bishop for the Northwest, speedily organized parishes at Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha, and in 1841 founded Nashotah Seminary. In 1848 there were twenty-three clergymen, twenty-five parishes, and about a thousand communicants in Wisconsin.

The Methodist itinerants appeared early in the lead-mining region where the first class was organized in 1832. The same year Father John Clark was appointed missionary to Green Bay; while furthering Indian missions he also established classes among the American people. Preaching service was held in Milwaukee from 1835 onward; the first church was built in 1841. In 1848 Wisconsin Conference was organized with four districts, fifty-seven churches, sixty-two preachers, and nearly ten thousand members.

The first Congregational service was held at Fort Howard in 1820 by the Reverend Jedediah Morse of the American Board for Foreign Missions. This society and the American Home Missionary Society supported Indian missions on Fox River and Chequamegon Bay. At the latter place the mission church antedated the Catholic mission, and still preserved is doubtless the oldest church building in Wisconsin. Work among the miners was begun in 1829; three of the six members of the first church at Galena in 1831 lived at Mineral

Point. By 1840 there were eight Presbyterian and eight Congregational churches in the territory, and a union was formed for a common association that lasted for ten years. In 1850 the association had 4,286 members in 111 churches, of which 83 were organized Congregationally.

The Baptists began work at Kenosha among the earliest pioneers. About the year 1836 societies were formed at Milwaukee and Waukesha. Delavan was a temperance colony of Baptists from New York, and there was built in 1841 the first church edifice. The first convention met at this church in 1844 when 1,500 members were reported. By 1850 there were in the state Baptist convention 64 churches, 52 pastors, and 3,198 members.

Higher education within the territory was considered the function of the religious bodies. Numbers of academies and institutes were chartered, all to be placed under private or denominational control. Few of these attained true collegiate rank until the period of statehood. Prairieville Academy became in 1846 Carroll College; Beloit College laid the foundation of its first college building in 1847, and five students entered the freshman class that autumn; Lawrence Institute was projected in 1846, chartered in 1847, and opened its doors for pupils in September, 1848. Milton Academy was later raised to collegiate grade; and Platteville Academy laid the foundation for the first normal school. The only real public high school during the territorial period was that founded in 1847 by the efforts of I. A. Lapham at Milwaukee.

Elementary schools developed very slowly during the territorial period. Until 1839 there was no provision by law for any school equipment except that authorized under the Michigan statutes. One small public school was begun in Milwaukee in 1837 under the latter's provisions. In 1845, however, there was not a true public school in Milwaukee. The district school law of 1839 was very inadequate; the idea of tax-supported education had many and powerful oppo-

nents. In 1845 a free public school was organized at Kenosha, and under the stimulus of Michael Frank of that city a bill was put through the legislature of that year authorizing public taxation for educational purposes. This law acted as a powerful stimulus to the erection of schools. Milwaukee's school system was begun in 1846; by 1848 there were five public school buildings "equal to anything in New York, Boston, or Albany." The state constitution adopted in 1848 provided that "district schools shall be free, and without charge for tuition to all children between the ages of four and twenty years."[25]

Reform movements in the territory were numerous. Many of the early settlers came west imbued with the hope of promoting reforms on virgin soil. Among such were the Phoenix brothers, founders of Delavan, who with every transfer of a town lot provided that no liquor should ever be sold thereon. A temperance society was also organized among the earliest settlers. Walworth County had a county temperance society in 1839; Kenosha was an early leader in the same movement. In 1841 the Walworth County society secured the first liquor law from the legislature, exempting millers from compulsory service for distilleries. Local option laws were also passed during the territorial period. Several temperance orders or brotherhoods, such as the "Washingtonians" and "Sons of Temperance," had chapters in territorial Wisconsin.

Antislavery ideas flourished strongly in early-day Wisconsin. Henry Dodge and the Gratiot brothers came to this region from Missouri to escape from slavery. They brought with them family servants whom they liberated after a certain term of service. In Racine and Walworth counties there was a strong Liberty party element eager for political action. In 1843 a candidate of that party was named for Congressional delegate; and two newspapers, the *Aegis* at Racine.

[25] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, V, 342.

and the *American Freeman* at Waukesha, appeared. The latter became the party organ and was ably edited for several years by Ichabod Codding and C. C. Sholes. The same year, 1843, antislavery votes elected the sheriff for Milwaukee and the next year defeated the Whig candidate in Walworth County. The vote grew with the election of each Congressional delegate until in 1849 Charles Durkee of Wisconsin became the first Liberty party man to sit in the House of Representatives. Suffrage for negroes was defeated by a referendum in 1847; but the vote of 7,664 in favor of the measure shows the strength of antislavery sentiment in the territory.

Communistic sentiment was strong during the period of the forties; several coöperative colonies were organized in Wisconsin. Of these, the most noteworthy was the Wisconsin Phalanx, founded at Kenosha in 1844. This Fourierite community built Ceresco at the present Ripon and maintained itself until 1850. English coöperative communities selected Wisconsin as the site of their experiments. Some followers of Robert Owen founded North Prairie in Waukesha County, and a Utilitarian Society settled in Mukwonago. A British Temperance Emigration Society was founded in 1843 at Liverpool. This was a philanthropic rather than a communal enterprise, but shareholders were entitled to privileges secured by united action. Lawrence Heyworth, a wealthy philanthropist, was president and came in person to Wisconsin to promote the enterprise. The 1,600 acres of land purchased lay in western Dane and eastern Iowa counties; thereon many English mechanics and farm laborers were settled as a result of the movement. A Mormon colony was for some time settled at Voree in Walworth County. Thus Wisconsin had her share of enthusiasts seeking to found Utopias in her midst.

(To be continued)

OBSERVATIONS OF A CONTRACT SURGEON

WILLIAM F. WHYTE

I am requested to write a short narrative of my experiences in army service as a contract officer. The experiences of a medical officer of an army are as a rule in the highest degree unromantic. I have not been enough of a soldier to boast of my achievements. I cannot shoulder my crutch and show how fields are won, but I will attempt to tell how a man with a desire to serve a great cause can do his duty and be as useful as if he carried a rifle or handled a machine gun. When war with Germany was declared I wrote to the surgeon general's office offering my services and received the reply that I was beyond the age of commission. Three months later I applied again with the same result. I foresaw that there would be a great demand for medical officers and if volunteers did not come forward to meet the wants of the rapidly mobilizing army, it might be found necessary to let down the bars and admit men to the medical service who were over age of commission (fifty-five), if they were found to be professionally and physically qualified. My guess was a good one, for the surgeon general, who is certainly a high class man and patriotically desired to do his whole duty in putting into the field a physically perfect army, found that there were not enough well-trained men among the medical recruits to act as tuberculosis examiners. Reserve officers in large numbers were being trained for that service, but until there should be a sufficient number to meet the demand the surgeon general asked a number of the life insurance companies to propose the names of their experienced examiners who could be called on for a few months to fill the gap.

My name was proposed to the War Department in September, and on November 1, I was ordered to Fort Benjamin

Harrison for a short preliminary training. I might say here that the regular army officers did not favor this method of filling up the ranks of the service with contract men, and I was told soon after reaching Fort Harrison that I must be prepared to be snubbed by the camp surgeons, who were ready to make themselves disagreeable and if possible demonstrate to the contract officer that he was an unnecessary factor in the army. If I had known that the M. O. T. C. (Medical Officers' Training Camp) at Fort Harrison was a try-out affair as well as a training camp, my enthusiasm might have received a setback at the beginning of my service. I was told at Washington by Colonel Bruns when I asked him why my contract read "for thirty days" that it was only a form. Some of my colleagues found that it was a reality, for at the end of thirty days they were ordered home. In my class at Fort Benjamin Harrison there were eight contract officers; two were ordered to Camp Custer at the end of the period; the remainder got their orders to go home at government expense. Fort Benjamin Harrison was a M. O. T. C.; in addition there were about three thousand recruits from the national army in training. The men had been in camp two months, and as I watched their evolutions I said to an acquaintance, "I don't believe the German army can produce the equal of those fellows." I had seen the Potsdam garrison, the flower of the Prussian army, at Berlin thirty years before, and the Prussian soldiers always impressed me as well drilled machines without spirit or initiative.

I went to headquarters to report. While there I met Captain Stoll, one of the instructors. I asked him if I could get a good room in the barracks. I had an inkling of the hardships which to a young fellow might seem hardly worth noticing, but to a man over sixty-five were matters for serious consideration. He smilingly replied, "Why, Doctor, we will give you a room and bath." I was directed to Barracks No. 3 and told that I might sleep in that particular shanty, but would

have to furnish my own cot and bedding. There were in all forty occupants of the barracks. I bought an army cot and mattress and borrowed some quilts from the quartermaster until my bedding should arrive. I had never slept on such a contraption before and by 4 A. M. I was wide awake and anathematizing the hard spots in my mattress. When reveille sounded at six o'clock I got up with the alacrity of youth and seizing my wash basin and towel made a rush for the bath room (eighteen showers) a hundred yards away. After a hasty rub I managed to get dressed by the time the breakfast bell rang at six-thirty. In the mess room at Fort Benjamin Harrison, if you brought your manners with you, the chances were that you would go away hungry. I took note of the situation in about one minute. I will not say how fast or how much I ate; a country doctor after forty years' experience, who has a good digestion, becomes what David Harum calls "a good feeder." I did my best and left the mess table with my hunger appeased.

The tuberculosis branch of the training camp numbered about thirty or forty medical officers of whom eight, like myself, were in service by contract. The two instructors, Major Hoyt of Philadelphia and Captain Stoll of Hartford, were high class men. Their duties consisted in instructing the men in the army method of chest examination and incidentally in finding out if a man knew enough about physical diagnosis to measure up to the requirements of the service. I had been out of practice for four years and felt rather timid, but in a day or two I gained confidence. I found some of the men were weaker than myself. It was intensive work—six hours daily—with the evening taken up by study. I did not have much time to worry about my future. Still, I was greatly relieved when I received orders to go to Camp Custer. It was certainly a matter for self-congratulation, that an old fellow who might be called rusty through lack of practice was deemed qualified to act as a tuberculosis examiner in the army.

The contract surgeon ranks as first lieutenant only, with no chance for promotion. No quarters are assigned him unless he is on active duty in foreign service or in a training camp; and he has no right to claim pension for disease or injury contracted in the service. The knowledge also that he is to a certain extent looked down on as an inferior by some young fellow who is proud of his lieutenant's bars and his uniform makes the position of the contract officer the reverse of agreeable. The feeling, however, that he is serving a great cause is a solace that makes his life endurable. One noble old fellow, a doctor from Minnesota, aged sixty-nine, was heart-broken when he was ordered home. He was full of patriotic zeal and had tried to enlist as a private when war was declared. He was very happy at the prospect of being in the medical service and told of his grandson who was in the army in the South and what a joy it would be if he could be ordered to serve in the same camp. It was my good fortune to go to a camp where my son was stationed as a lieutenant in the 310th Engineers. I wired my wife to meet me there.

Camp Custer is beautifully located five miles from Battle Creek, Michigan. The camp was on a high ridge surrounded by marshy land, an ideal situation from a sanitary standpoint. A fine asphalt road and a cheap jitney service rendered it so accessible that several hundred army officers' families lived in Battle Creek. The trolley service between the camp and the town was also prompt and reasonable in price.

My wife soon engaged pleasant rooms in Battle Creek, and although work in the camp was strenuous, my colleagues were pleasant fellows, and the homecoming every afternoon was the reverse of disagreeable. The only drawback to the life of the camp was the thought which would come into my mind every day that I was examining men to ascertain whether they were fit to be shot by German snipers.

The winter of 1917-18 was extremely cold in Michigan. Some of the army officers thought it would toughen the men to

have them drill and go on hikes in the severest weather; the result was frozen faces, fingers, and feet. The regimental surgeons protested to the commandant against such inhumanity, but were told to mind their own business. When, however, the martinet at the head of the camp was threatened with an appeal to Washington there was a right-about face and the men were not ordered out except when the surgical staff approved. To make a man stand guard for two hours over a mule or a truck when the thermometer registered twenty below zero may have been in accordance with army regulations, but it conflicted with common sense and humanity.

We were told at Fort Benjamin Harrison by Major Hoyt that fifty examinations would be considered a day's work; after a few weeks we found that a man was considered inefficient if he could not make seventy-five in one day. The President of the Board, which usually consisted of twelve members, wanted to make a good record in the surgeon general's office, and so we were urged to speed up as rapidly as was consistent with accuracy of diagnosis. I will describe the method followed at Camp Custer, although we were compelled afterwards to modify it to a certain extent. The men were brought to the base hospital, one hundred at a time. An orderly gave them instruction as to how to breathe and cough when they came before the examiners. They were stripped to the waist and the examiner applied his stethoscope in twenty different places on the chest, the soldier breathing and coughing meanwhile. (Hand before your mouth; breathe in, breathe out, and cough, was the method.) Three minutes was the time allowed for the examination of the normal chest, including the heart.

When an abnormality was detected the examiner referred the case to his associate, who occupied the same room. If he also found the same lesion, the case was referred to the captain of the Board. If the lesion was a serious one the man was sent to the Superior Board which consisted of three examiners,

who S. C. D.'d him (marked him for discharge from the army). If the disease was slight, the man was not sent to the Superior Board but was ordered to return in ten days, when all the "come backs," as they were called, were examined by the whole board. This was a different proposition from examining a patient in the doctor's office. People who come there are sick, or think they are. These were men who had all been passed on by local boards; none of them knew or thought anything was the matter with their lungs or hearts. I frequently made the remark to my colleagues, "How could this man pass a board?" His unfitness for any army service was so apparent. I have been led to believe that the local examiners passed many "no goods," thinking that they might possibly get by the camp tuberculosis examiners, and thus the community would be rid of an undesirable.

The acid test was "activity." If there was a minute area of active disease in the upper lobe of either lung, the man was rejected without hesitation; but if either lung showed a tubercular deposit in a quiescent condition, he was allowed to go through unless the area involved was too large. As Colonel Bushnell, the head of the tuberculosis work in the army, himself a victim of chronic tuberculosis, said, "These men may outlive any of you." It is a well-known fact proved by post-mortem statistics, that a large majority of those people who die of other ailments have had tuberculosis some time in their life. Physical appearances were often very deceptive. A skinny little chap in spite of his appearance would be found to have normal lungs, while a stalwart muscular giant would be found with active disease. The heaviest man I examined in the army—a Brooklyn recruit who weighed two hundred forty-nine pounds—had a well-marked cicatrized cavity in his upper left lobe. He had no doubt been a long-time patron of those widely advertised and well-known citizens of New York, George Ehret, or Jack Ruppert, who are now engaged in the manufacture of two and three-fourths' per cent beer. He was

no doubt discharged from the service, as a man in his condition would soon break down under the strenuous discipline of army life.

The daily grind at Camp Custer was from 8 to 11:30 A. M., and from 1:30 to 4 or 5 P. M. just as the men were brought in for examination. With the methods prescribed there we found that examining seventy-five men was a heavy day's work. The officers came in hit or miss; they were allowed to undress in the examiner's room, while the privates took off their clothes in the hallway and came in by number.

From twenty-one thousand six hundred forty recruits examined at Camp Custer we rejected ninety-six for tuberculosis. Three hundred were held in reserve for future observation as they showed quiescent lesions or what is called fibrosis. One hundred thirty-eight were rejected for heart disease, and two hundred were held up for other chest defects. One of our Board with a mathematical turn of mind found that it cost Uncle Sam thirty cents a head for tuberculosis examinations. A Canadian medical expert has recently estimated that every case of tuberculosis who went to France and was sent home for treatment cost the Canadian government $5,250. Thus the importance of trained tuberculosis examiners can easily be understood. A man in the service with tuberculosis is not only a source of infection but a deadweight and a drag on the army.

As our work was coming to a close, the President of our Board said one morning, "I want five of you gentlemen to go with me to headquarters to examine the higher officers," and called for volunteers. I said that I would as soon examine a colored boy as a colonel. He afterwards told an amusing story of his experience with the commanding general. The General said to him, "Major, I suppose that I will have to be examined."

The Major replied, "That is the order from the surgeon general's office."

"Well, it is all damned nonsense. I was examined at Washington three months ago."

"Very well," said the Major, "I will have to report you as not examined."

The General took off his jacket and pulled up his shirt and said gruffly, "Now you can examine me."

"You will have to take your shirt off," said the Major.

"Damned if I will," snarled the General, walking up and down the room.

The Major waited until he caught the irate officer's eye, saluted, and quietly walked out. The next day he received a telephone call from headquarters asking when it would be convenient for him to come down and examine General ———. An ambulance would be sent for him. He was most courteously received when he reached headquarters, and the General submitted to be examined according to regulations. The Major told us afterwards: "I want you, gentlemen, to remember this, for when you are on your ground stand by the army regulations regardless of the rank of any man who may be your superior officer."

We examined one day six hundred men from the officers' training camp who had fallen down at the first camp and got their commissions after several months' subsequent training. The major at the head of our Board said to me afterwards, "God help the United States of America if that is the kind of stuff they are going to make officers of." A large proportion of them might properly be called culls. However, the young fellows aspiring to commissions whom we examined at Camp Dix were certainly high class men. I do not believe that their superiors could have been found in any army in the world.

I have said that I got the impression that the local boards sent unfit men into the service with the idea of getting rid of the "no goods" in the community. That policy met with no success, as a man who had to undergo the careful scrutiny of

nine examining boards was sure to be caught somewhere if he had any serious physical or mental defect. I have no doubt but that the American army was superior to that of any of the other warring nations, as we had not at any time a shortage of man power and therefore it was not necessary to accept any man below the army standard.

Occasionally a line officer would interfere and try to exert his influence against the decision of the examiners. I remember a case at Camp Custer where my associate found activity in the upper lobe of the left lung in what is called "Kronigs isthmus." I confirmed his diagnosis. The captain was called in; he agreed with us, and the man was sent to the Superior Board and marked for rejection. He had been twenty years in the army and was very indignant when he perceived that we were not going to pass him. He said he had merely a cold which he had contracted by being moved from Mexico to Michigan. He had been a soldier in the "pacifist" war which our country had been conducting on the border the year before. The next week he returned with a new service record. We asked him how he got it. He replied, "My colonel don't believe you doctors. He says I have only a bad cold." He was marked for rejection but came again with a new record. After his third rejection we were told that he was the colonel's pet and an excellent man to take care of horses. When he came back the fourth time he had no papers but begged for another examination. I said to him "My boy, the government will take good care of you and send you to a sanitarium in New Mexico. You tell your colonel that he can't put it over any tuberculosis examiner in the army; under no condition will you be allowed to go overseas with your regiment." I was sorry for him as he was an Irishman, full of fight, and anxious, as he said, to get a shot at the "German devils."

The last week in January saw the finish of the work in Camp Custer. When I first went into the service I expected that I would not be needed more than three or four months

for the line of work I had engaged to do. When we had examined all the recruits in Camp Custer the officers in the medical reserve looked forward to a transfer; and I anticipated an order to go home. The experiment of employing contract surgeons from civil life had not proved a success. The medical men who went into the service for an indefinite time found the work hard, the environment unpleasant, the pay unremunerative, and after a few months the majority of them sent in their contracts to Washington for cancellation. I was told by the president of the Tuberculosis Board that if I would agree to stay in the service until the end of the war I would be ordered to Camp Greenleaf, Georgia, for instruction. Between the first and second drafts there was a lull in the work of examining recruits and the surgeon general thought it best to keep the examiners busy at the line of work they had been engaged in, so they were sent to various training camps in the South. My orders to Camp Greenleaf came on February 1. Anxious to leave a land of ice and snow we took the train at once for Chicago and then the "Dixie Flyer" (a misnomer) to Chattanooga. It was a happy change from a temperature of ten degrees below zero to the opening of a southern spring in forty-eight hours. Camp Greenleaf is located on the site of the battle field of Chickamauga and also on the exact spot where Chickamauga Camp was located during the Spanish American war. The great advance in sanitation since that time had revolutionized conditions and the camp, instead of being a breeding place for infections "without a microscope or a test tube," was strictly sanitary in all its appointments.

While at Camp Custer I had been advised by some of my colleagues to apply for a commission in the reserve, but the longer I served in the army the more pleased I was that my application was rejected. The contract officer does not sleep on a bed of roses, but he has much more freedom than is

allowed the regular army officer, and my rank in the service made life much easier for me.

When I reported at Camp Greenleaf, the young lieutenant who wrote down my personnel in the registry said, "You can put your cot in that corner, Lieutenant."

"I am not going to sleep here," I replied. "I am going to stay in Chattanooga with my wife."

"But you must stay in the barracks," he answered. "No one is allowed sleep out without a pass. It is tighter than hell here."

"I don't care how tight it is," I returned. "I am beyond the age of commission, and if I sleep in that barracks I'll get what you call pneumococcus bronchitis and die, and I don't propose to die in the service unless it is necessary."

"You will have to get a permit then."

"Very well," I said, "fill out an application and I will sign it."

I got the permit next morning. In a few minutes a sergeant approached me and said, "Lieutenant Colonel Beardsley wishes to speak to you. You will find him in that tent," pointing down the hill.

I went to the Colonel's tent and asked him what he wanted to see me about.

He said, "I will examine you physically today and medically tomorrow."

"I think not, Colonel," I answered. "I am a contract officer. I have already served in two camps and have been passed on medically at Fort Benjamin Harrison. I don't think that you need to take up any time with me."

"I rather think you are right, Lieutenant, and I will excuse you," was the reply. I was known in the camp in a few days as the man who did as he darn pleased. I inquired for Major Nichols, the head of the tuberculosis instructors, and next day became a member of his class.

I found that eight of my colleagues on the Board at Camp Custer who had preceded me to Camp Greenleaf had been engaged in the pleasant occupation of drilling in the Georgia mud. One of them, a fine fellow from Iowa, said to me, "My patriotism is all gone, and I am completely tired out." When I called on Colonel Page, the camp commandant, to get a permit to attend Major Nichols' class I told him who I was and where I had been. I said, "What do you think, Colonel? They told me I would have to drill here."

He broke into a hearty laugh. "Major, old fellows like you and I don't have to drill in this camp. That is damned nonsense."

I told him that my colleagues who had been drilled and trained at Fort Benjamin Harrison and who had been examining recruits at Camp Custer for several months were also drilling.

"Give me their names and I will see that they get something else to do besides drilling."

Colonel Page was a regular army officer, and his shoulder straps did not cause any swelling of his head such as we often noticed in officers of the national army.

Major Estes Nichols is a distinguished member of the medical profession and a well-known authority in New England on tuberculosis. He was very popular as a teacher, as was Major Good Kind of Chicago, who gave instruction in cardio vascular diseases. Captain Keltie of Philadelphia was the lecturer on pathology and an eloquent and impressive teacher.

Within a few days after my arrival at Camp Greenleaf I found one of the main reasons for the pneumococcus bronchitis which was so prevalent. The barracks were only shanties, built on posts as a foundation; the heating apparatus consisted of small stoves which required two men and a boy to "keep them in action." The medical officers would go out on a two hours' drill through the mud, one hundred twenty

steps per minute, and then with no opportunity to change their wet underwear would be compelled to sit in a cold barracks and listen to a lecture. A good friend of mine from Madison, a major in the service, went to the infirmary within a few days as a result of this discipline and was transferred to the hospital for several weeks to recover from an attack of broncho-pneumonia.

The medical staff of the base hospital at Fort Oglethorpe was insufficient in numbers and I gathered from what I saw in the wards (and the morgue) that some of the attending surgeons were not very strong on diagnosis. When a medical man cannot diagnose as common a complication of pneumonia as empyema until the subject reaches the post-mortem table, he does not deserve to rank high as a practitioner, whether in the army or in civil life. This is a painful subject, and I will not go more into detail as criticism at this late day will not accomplish any good. One finds in the army that it is the proper thing to keep silent but when a man has lived over sixty years in the world and has been in the habit of expressing his opinion on all subjects, it is rather trying to be compelled to keep quiet when he feels like denouncing incompetence. A friend of mine who had been fifteen years in the medical service told me that the only way to play the army game is to do as you are told by your superior officers and hold your tongue. A man who has an opinion of his own and expresses it does nothing but make trouble for himself. In the bosom of your family it is not always the part of wisdom to express a difference of opinion; in Uncle Sam's army it is the height of imprudence.

At Camp Custer and at Fort Benjamin Harrison the recruits we examined for admission to the service were men of fit quality for the making of first-class soldiers. When the physically unfit had been weeded out by the examining board, I do not think that finer material for an army could have been found in the world. Both the Huns and the Allies

were compelled to make use of every man who could march or carry a gun but we had the choice of the young manhood of America. Quite different were my impressions when I reached Camp Greenleaf and came in contact with the Southern cracker. The curse of slavery, the lack of the schoolhouse, hookworm and malaria, all have left their influence on the Southern boy of today. That the Civil War lasted four years can only be accounted for by the bravery of the Confederate soldier. That the men of the Southland fought like heroes cannot be denied; and they did so because it was in their blood.

I have spoken of the unnecessary drilling to which the medical officers were compelled to submit. Among the medical officers whose duties consisted of examining the lungs and hearts of the recruits there was a pronounced feeling that serious and often permanent damage was done by ignorant drillmasters to boys who had not been accustomed to strenuous physical exercise. In conversation one day with a prominent Philadelphia heart specialist on this subject he expressed himself emphatically on what he called the stupidity of the army regulations. He told me that one day in August on the parade ground at Fort Oglethorpe he saw some recruits drilled for two hours without a drop of water to drink with the thermometer at 100 in the shade. He denounced the practice of taking boys who had been clerks in stores and bookkeepers and putting them through the same drill which was required of lumbermen and farmers and athletes. He said that undoubtedly many cases of organic heart lesions would be developed by such senseless procedure. I am sure that some of the medical officers over forty-five suffered permanent injury by drilling when compelled to keep step with men of half their age on the parade ground.

One day at Camp Greenleaf I met a New England officer. I said to him, "Captain, what are you doing here?"

He replied, "I am drilling."

"How do you stand it?" I asked.

"I don't stand it. I pant like a dog when we are through. They put some of those long legged boys in the front rank and I have to keep up with them."

I told him that at his age (fifty-three) he was laying the foundation for heart disease in the future. At Camp Dix I became well acquainted with a medical officer fifty years old, from Tennessee. On the way home one evening I said to him, "Captain, you act blue tonight."

He replied, "I have the blues; I have been told that I have a presystolic murmur, and I am going to be S. C. D'd. I was perfectly well when I passed my examination for entrance into the service and I now am thrown into the discard. I gave up my practice and now I have to go back home and every enemy I have will point his finger at me as long as I live as a man whom Uncle Sam did not consider as competent for army service."

I have no doubt that his heart lesion had been developed by his strenuous exercise. Blundering on the part of "swivel chair artists" in Washington had done him a rank injustice.

The old saying that a man should not run after forty is a true one. The heart muscle begins to change between forty-five and fifty and a man who indulges in strenuous and unwonted exertion after that time is sure to pay the penalty. One of the most famous surgeons in the United States died from heart dilation as the result of mountain climbing in South America. The authorities in Washington are, no doubt, responsible for shortening the lives of many patriotic men who volunteered to serve their country and were compelled to endure unnecessary hardships which they did not dream of or were in no way fitted for when they entered the service. Fifty-five was the age limit and the War Department accepted men up to that age and drilled them as if they were boys.

The hygiene of the camps where it was my fortune to serve was excellent. Good drainage and pure water are necessities for a military camp. Some of the camps, especially in the South, were the reverse of hygienic. General Gorgas denounced the location of some as having been selected by political influence. One was located in what was practically a morass. Camp Bowie at one time had two thousand cases of sickness without a toilet. Politics were said to be adjourned, but it is not possible to escape the conclusion that this was a Southern democratic war, fought largely by Northern men and financed by Northern money. Representative Kitchin said publicly that the North wanted the war and they ought to pay for it.

I have said that some of the local boards seemed to think it was well to send the "no goods" from the small towns, thinking that in this way they could clean up their localities. It is probable that in some cases influences were brought to bear on the local examiners to keep sons of wealthy men at home. In one famous case the son of an automobile manufacturer was kept out of the service through pull with some high authority. He was probably not more fitted for a soldier than his father was for a United States senator. At Camp Custer I knew of a number of the sons of wealthy men and millionaires in their own right who were serving as privates.

I served for a short time at Camp Dix on a rejection board and one evening when leaving the infirmary where I was stationed I was asked if I would examine a sergeant who was about to go overseas; he wanted forty-eight-hour leave to see his wife, who had just given birth to a child. When I had finished my examination and took up his service record to affix my stamp I read the name of one of the best known families of railway magnates in this country. The young man's occupation was railroad president. He was made a lieutenant a short time after his arrival in France, as he was

an accomplished linguist. An entirely different case came to my notice in Camp Dix—that of a colored man forty-two years old with a wife and three children; he had been drafted from North Carolina. He was far past the draft age and told the examining board that he been told in his native town that there was no escape for him. No doubt he filled the shoes of some favorite with a white skin. The colonel of the regiment took up the matter with the War Department and the man was no doubt sent home to his family.

I feel certain that the majority of the medical reserve men in the army would gladly have resigned and gone home, as the irksomeness and boredom incident to life in a cantonment was in the highest degree trying to a man's nerves as well as to his patriotism. I knew men who were well qualified surgeons in civil life who had been in the army a year without seeing a sore finger. Counting blankets, picking up cigar stumps, scrubbing barrack floors, and splitting wood were hardly occupations for gentlemen who had gone into the service as surgeons in time of war. I often said to some of my colleagues on the T. B. examining board that if they could not go to France they were at least doing some useful work. The great and gallant force of men sent overseas was the output of the boards, whose members certainly performed a duty only less useful than that of the surgeons who on the firing line and in the hospitals of France and Flanders so nobly sustained the honor of the medical profession.

The first case of influenza was diagnosed at Camp Dix on September 18. On the following Monday our examining board was disbanded and its members were all detailed for duty in the hospital annexes which were hastily improvised to meet the overflow of cases from the base hospital. I was a diagnostician in Hospital Annex Number 3 and for three weeks was compelled to see young fellows—the flower of American manhood—die like flies day by day. I had my quarters in Mount Holly, a few miles distant, and went to

Camp by train every day. It was very depressing to see twenty-five or more coffins at the station every morning when I reached camp and a similar number there again when I went home in the evening. There were over eight hundred deaths in Camp Dix from influenza. I was very glad to go back to my work of examining hearts and lungs.

An incident which caused a great deal of comment at the time may be related here. When the epidemic had died out General Scott gave permission for the reopening of the camp theaters and places of entertainment. The first time the "Big Y"—the largest Y. M. C. A. building—was opened a movie was put on. Pictures were shown of prominent government officers, among them Secretaries Daniels and Baker. I will not mention any others; with each there was a ripple of applause. When Colonel Roosevelt's picture was shown on the screen, the applause was deafening. It was easy to see who, among national figures, was first in the hearts of the men at Camp Dix.

"The victorious retreat," as the Huns termed their rapid retrograde movements in the fall of 1918, showed plainly that the end of the war was in sight, and I sent in a request to the surgeon general that my contract be cancelled on November 1, which completed a year of service in the army. I felt that for a man in the sixty-eighth year of his age it had been a great privilege to have worn Uncle Sam's uniform.

THE QUESTION BOX

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

NEGRO SUFFRAGE AND WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN THE CONVENTION OF 1846

There is a tradition among the older suffragists of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association that the enfranchisement of women was considered in the constitutional convention of 1846. I have looked over the recent publication of the Wisconsin Historical Society covering that convention and have found nothing to indicate that woman suffrage was proposed as a part of the tentative state constitution. Have you any further information on this matter than is contained in this volume? If so I shall be very glad indeed to have it. It might be of interest to answer the question in the quarterly magazine of the Society, but I shall greatly appreciate a personal reply at your early convenience.

I find in the proceedings of that convention much debate on the question of giving the colored man the right to vote. I have not been able to learn the political status of the negro in Wisconsin at that time. Was he recognized as a citizen, or if not what was his status? In the June number of the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, page 460, in an article on the Wisconsin home of Frances E. Willard there appeared the statement that the referendum on giving negroes the right to vote in 1846 was carried by 5,000 majority. In the book from which I have been quoting and which I have not by me at this moment the statement is made that this referendum was defeated. Which statement is correct? If the referendum carried, did it continue in force even though the accompanying constitution was defeated? I am anxiously searching for light on this general situation and shall greatly appreciate your assistance.

THEODORA W. YOUMANS
Waukesha

You have gained a mistaken impression from the statement in the June MAGAZINE concerning the referendum of 1846 on negro suffrage, although there is an error in the statement of different character than the one noted by you. The question was not carried by 5,000

majority (in fact it was not carried at all), but we merely note that 5,000 votes were cast for it. The omission to state the number of negative votes has perhaps encouraged the inference you drew from the article. In fact, the vote was: 7,664 for negro suffrage to 14,615 against. All of this and much more on the subject of our state constitution will appear in succeeding volumes of the constitutional series, only the first of which has as yet come from the printer.

With respect to the question of woman's rights and woman suffrage in connection with the convention of 1846, I submit the following report which has been prepared by Miss Kellogg, research associate on the staff of the Historical Society:

The constitutional convention of 1846 was composed of the ablest men of the territory, many of whom were advanced thinkers on social questions. They discussed the status of woman from two points of view, her right to property and her right to the franchise. The article that was incorporated into the constitution on married women's property rights was the subject of considerable discussion. It was part of a provision to exempt a certain amount of family property from a forced sale for the debts of the head of the family or the husband. Such an exemption was vigorously demanded by the debtor class of the community, many of whom were suffering from the effects of the panic of 1837. Many worthy and industrious families had been evicted from their homesteads under the existing law; and many wives had lost all that they had received from their fathers or other relatives in discharge of their husbands' debts. The provision incorporated into the new constitution was taken from a similar one in the Texas constitution of 1845, which had been commended by the *Democratic Review*, then much read by the statesmen of the nation. This article read, in part, as follows: "All property, real and personal, of the wife, owned by her at the time of marriage, and also that acquired by her afterwards, by gift, devise, descent, or otherwise than from her husband shall be her separate property."

This article was objected to by the propertied class, and during the discussion thereupon Edward G. Ryan, later chief justice of the state, said that such a provision violated both the usages and customs of society and the express commands of the Bible; that its result would be to lead the wife to become a speculator, and would

destroy her character. David Noggle, an able jurist from Janesville, replied to Ryan and defended women against his suppositious charges. He asked the convention to reflect on the character and worth of the poor unfortunate beings that would be benefited by this provision. The young, intelligent, and lovely wife, who has abandoned her parents' rich and stately mansion in the East, has separated herself from friends near and dear to her, to embark with her husband in the far West, sees herself, through no fault of her own, reduced to penury. Who believes that giving her the right to hold her own property will destroy her character or alienate her affections from her husband? He closed his eloquent speech with this sententious truism, "Elevate your wives, and elevate your daughters, and you will elevate the race."

Noggle and other defenders of the article carried the convention; but one of its ablest members, Marshall M. Strong of Racine, resigned his seat when he found this provision was adopted and went home to do all he could to defeat the adoption of the constitution by popular referendum. Undoubtedly, this article did have some weight in securing the rejection of the constitution, and the one drawn by the convention of 1848 omitted any such provision. It was, however, approved by a large proportion of the community; and in less than two years after the establishment of the state government a law was passed giving married women control of their own property. In this matter, Wisconsin was among the most progressive of the states.

The discussion of the franchise for women in the convention of 1846 was incidental to the contest over negro suffrage and the franchise for foreign immigrants. Upon the organization of the convention a committee of five headed by Moses M. Strong of Iowa County was appointed to report an article on the elective franchise. Majority and minority reports were presented, the former giving the suffrage to every white male person twenty-one years of age or older who was a citizen of the United States or had been a resident in Wisconsin for six months and had declared his intention of becoming a citizen. The minority report omitted the word "white." This was in deference to the wishes of the Liberty party, which was making an issue of negro suffrage.

The discussion, thus precipitated in the convention, raged for several days, during which the question of the franchise for the Indians who had been admitted to United States citizenship arose. The chairman of the committee moved to extend franchise rights to Indians declared citizens, and within a few minutes amended his amendment by the term "male Indians." Upon October twenty-first, David Giddings, a relative of the famous Ohio abolitionist, moved to strike out the word "white" before "male persons" which would extend the right of suffrage to every male person over twenty-one years of age. Immediately James Magone, an Irishman from Milwaukee who had the reputation of being a wag, arose and "offered as an amendment that the word 'male' be stricken out, and the right of suffrage be extended to females as well as males. Moses M. Strong hoped the gentleman would withdraw the last amendment and allow those in favor of negro suffrage to obtain a vote and have a fair test of the question. Mr. Magone said he was in favor of females voting, and wished to tack the motion to a popular resolution to insure its success. Mr. Strong said he was a friend to females, and it was for that reason he did not wish to see them tacked on to negroes. Some further conversation passed between the gentlemen on the subject, and the question was then put on the adoption of Mr. Magone's amendment, which was lost."

We have cited this discussion *in extenso* in order to show that there was no really serious consideration of women's right to suffrage. The discussion thereof was an attempt to ridicule and embarrass the favorers of negro suffrage and to show how preposterous it was. In the end the convention omitted all provisions for negro suffrage but agreed to submit the question to a referendum to be voted upon separately when the constitution came before the people. Both constitution and separate provision for colored suffrage were defeated. The latter registered in its favor, however, about seven thousand votes, showing the strength of the Liberty party in the territory.

In 1856 petitions for the enfranchisement of women were submitted to the legislature. This was, apparently, the first serious effort to interest Wisconsin lawmakers in this movement.

WINNEBAGO BATTLE NEAR WYOCENA

There is a local tradition that during the Black Hawk War a party of Winnebago entrenched themselves in rifle pits in the vicinity of Wyocena and waged a pitched battle with a combined force of white soldiers and Menominee Indians, in which many of the Winnebago were killed. Can you afford any information as to the truth of this tradition?

W. C. ENGLISH, *Wyocena*
President, Wisconsin Supervising Teachers' Association

We can find no evidence of a battle in your vicinity during the Black Hawk War; the detailed report of the commander of the Menominee giving every incident of his march from Butte des Morts to the portage seems to preclude the possibility of such hostilities having occurred. They could not have taken place without his knowledge, and he must have reported them to his superior had they occurred.

If you wish we can send you the report to which we allude: that of S. C. Stambaugh to George Boyd, dated "Camp Kinzey, Ouisconsin Portage—Aug. 2d, 1832."

Thank you very much for looking up the facts in regard to the tradition of the battle having been fought in this vicinity in early times. You seem effectively to have disposed of the theory that it happened during the Black Hawk War, but is there not a possibility that it might have happened at an earlier date, say during Red Bird's uprising, when Major Whistler's force was sent up the Fox? If you would kindly look up the matter I should be very glad indeed to have you do so.

W. C. ENGLISH,
Wyocena

The facts concerning the Winnebago War and Major Whistler's expedition are as negative as those of 1832. We have excellent descriptions, especially full, by Thomas L. McKenney, commissioner of Indian Affairs, who accompanied the expedition. I say "descriptions," for his published one is in the *Memoirs* (Phila., 1845) from which the extract in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, V, is taken; and there is also his government report found in the manuscripts at Washington.

If the Wyocena tradition has a basis in fact, it must go still further back to the days of Winnebago hostility to the Americans between 1816 and 1825. There were one or two attacks by the Winnebago on bodies of troops passing across the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, but we never have seen any account of a massacre. If you will

write out the tradition as it is locally understood, we will file it for reference and will let you know when, or if, we find anything.

WISCONSIN AND NULLIFICATION

We have heard that at one time in the early history of Wisconsin the state seceded from the Union. Is there any truth in the statement and if so will you please send us information about it?

ETHEL BUCKMASTER,
Milwaukee

It is not true that Wisconsin ever seceded from the Union. As a frontier state of aggressive democracy, she occasionally insisted on "state's rights" in such emphatic terms that her attitude might have been construed as a defiance of the federal government, but none such was ever seriously contemplated. For example, when a territory Wisconsin demanded of Congress to restore the "ancient boundaries" of the territory and threatened if it were not done to declare herself "a state without the Union." This was no more than political buncombe and no attention was paid to it by either the federal government or successive territorial and state governments. During the excitement over the Fugitive Slave Law Wisconsin in a more serious and official manner defied the decrees of the federal courts and elected a member of the state supreme court on the platform of "state's rights." The legislature also in 1859 passed a nullifying resolution because of its abhorrence of the slavery power controlling the federal government. You will find a good brief account of the entire episode in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1895, pp. 117-44. This volume you can find in the Milwaukee Public Library.

INDIAN FOLKLORE OF WISCONSIN

It occurs to me that this paper could advantageously use a series of stories selected from the folklore of the Indians who formerly occupied the territory comprising this state. The writer recently came across a number of interesting stories on the Zuni in a report of the Smithsonian Institution, tales with such titles as "How the Moon Got a Dirty Face," etc.

There is a great demand for stories to "tell the children," and it is my thought that in your library there might perhaps be such material as could

be turned to this use. Will you not kindly let me know whether you have any matter that would furnish folk tales of Wisconsin Indians?

KENNETH M. ELLIS
Feature Editor, Milwaukee *Sentinel*

The folklore of the Indians who formerly occupied this state can be found in many printed volumes, and we would suggest that you consult the Milwaukee Public Library. I am appending a brief list of those you would find helpful.

Katharine B. Judson, *Myths and Legends of the Great Plains* (Chicago: McClurg, 1913)

Katharine B. Judson, *Myths and Legends of the Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes* (Chicago: McClurg, 1914)

Mrs. M. B. McLaughlin, *Myths and Legends of the Sioux* (Bismarck, N. Dak.: 1916)

George Copway, *History of the Ojibway Nation* (New York, 1851)

Consult also the volumes of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*. Volume XXI of this series is an analytical index of the first twenty volumes, and by consulting it you will find what a wealth of material there is on the subject in which you are interested. The publications of the Wisconsin Archeological Society and the reports and bulletins of the United States Bureau of Ethnology you will find contain a great deal of material.

We feel quite certain that you will be able to find material for a series of stories quite as interesting as anything written about the Zuni. If we can be of further assistance we shall be glad to do whatever is in our power.

INDIAN NAMES FOR A FARM

If possible will you send me Indian translations of the names given below? I desire to register the name of my farm but want to use the Indian name for it: Pleasant Hill; Maple Knob; Face to the North; Devil River; Clover Blossom.

Also, can you give me names of noted Indian chiefs prominent in the early history of Brown County? We are located about eight miles south of De Pere, and possibly some of the early history will touch on this particular section of the county.

E. J. BRITTNACHER
Greenleaf

Your country was the early and much-loved land of the Menominee Indians. They resigned it to the United States government very regretfully by the Treaty of 1832. The Menominee were poor and wanted the annuity the government promised them for their lands, so they accepted the offer and parted with their claims south of the Fox River. They had several villages before that on the south bank of the Fox where such chiefs as Carron, I-om-é-tah, Glode, Wee-kah, Pe-wau-te-not, and others lived and hunted south and east. Some other chiefs of the early day were: Wau-pe-se'-pin (Wild Potato); Keshena (the Swift Flying One); Show-né-on (Silver); Wau-pa-men (Standing Corn); O-sau-wish-ke-no (Yellow Bird); and Ka-cha-ka-wa-she-ka the Notch-maker).

As for the names you suggest it is hard to give the Menominee equivalents. They did not combine, as we do, such terms as "Pleasant Hill," "Maple Knob." The hard maple was She-shi-kima; and the soft maple Ship-i-a-sho-pom-aq'-ti-ki. Clover blossom was Nessobagak. Devil River was Manitou Sibi.

WISCONSIN AS A PLAYGROUND

I am planning a number of articles on Wisconsin as a tourist state. In the meantime I am collecting photographs and data which may be of service in preparing an article. I have made arrangements with Mr. W. O. Hotchkiss, the state geologist, to spend six weeks in the state this summer, accompanied by an expert photographer, with a view to getting a collection of high type photographs of the beauty spots of Wisconsin, and incidentally some of the historic spots. One of the facts that attracts tourists is that of historic association. Wisconsin is rich in these, but to the average man the facts are unknown.

In connection with this I have at times heard it stated that the federal authorities were impelled to locate the Oneida and Stockbridge Indians in this state because they regarded it as a great playground and hunting ground. This thought would fit in very well with a series of articles. Is there any basis for this statement, or is there anything of record in the proceedings of Congress or the departments to bear out this statement? If some such man as Webster or Clay made such a statement, it certainly would fit in well in opening up a discussion of "Wisconsin, the Playground of the Middle West."

Any information that you may be able to give me will be greatly appreciated.

F. A. Cannon, *Madison*
Executive Secretary, Good Roads Association

We are sorry not to be able to find you just the quotation that you can use effectively for your purpose. The truth is the men of one hundred years ago seldom thought of land in terms of a "playground," and would never have used such a term. A movement was on foot in 1818 and 1819 to make Wisconsin a permanent Indian reserve, removed from the deleterious influence of white men and their grog shops. Calhoun, then secretary of war, favored such a plan, by which Wisconsin would be in perpetuity an Indian land. In 1820 he sent the Reverend Jedediah Morse (father of the inventor of telegraphy) to visit the West and make a report upon some such plan. Mr. Morse went all through the Northwest and was much in favor of Calhoun's plan, considering the region west of Lake Michigan adapted to a "suitably prepared portion of our country" upon which the Indians of New York State might live in peace and might be gradually taught the arts of civilization. Some of the statesmen of this time went so far as to favor an exclusive Indian territory that might in time be raised to the rank of a state. Pursuant to this policy, the Stockbridge and Oneida, with the small remnants of the Brotherton and Munsee tribes, made treaties with the Wisconsin tribesmen, the Menominee and Winnebago, and prepared for removal, which was eventually effected after many difficulties. A decade or more later the government pursued a different policy, and by the treaties of 1832 after the Black Hawk War, that of 1833 at Chicago, and that of 1836 at Cedar Point purchased all of southern Wisconsin and threw it open to white settlement.

THE SIOUX WAR OF 1862

I am writing to ascertain what material you have on the Sioux Indian War of 1862 in Minnesota.

I want the most detailed information I can get, particularly the names of the individuals who were killed and taken prisoner by the Indians. Also, if possible, information regarding the provisions made by Congress and the state of Minnesota, if any, for the relief of the survivors, and for those whose property was taken or destroyed by the Indians.

Please let me know, also, what provision you make, if any, for the loan of the publications.

G. M. Sheldon
Tomahawk

The most available material about the Sioux War of 1862 is found in the *Collections* of the several historical societies of the Northwest, particularly the Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, and South Dakota societies. In this connection we note: Minnesota *Historical Collections*, VI, 354-408; IX, 395-449; X, 595-618; XII, 513-30; XV, 323-78. North Dakota *Historical Collections*, I, 412-29. South Dakota *Historical Collections*, II, chapters 25-30; VIII, 100-588. This latter gives the official correspondence.

Among secondary writers are: Edward D. Neill, *History of Minnesota* (4th edition, Minneapolis, 1882), 716-37; Judge Charles E. Flandrau, *History of Minnesota and Tales of the Frontier* (St. Paul, 1900), 135-87. Frank Fiske, *The Taming of the Sioux* (Bismarck, 1917) is said to have some good material on this war.

So far as we can ascertain by a brief research no provision has been made either by Congress or by the state of Minnesota for relief and indemnity, except in specific cases as, for instance, the widows of friendly Indians who saved many whites (see United States Documents, serial 2674, doc. 3976, *Message of Governor of Minnesota*, 1871). The adjutant general of Minnesota had charge of soldiers' bounties and pensions. Probably the present incumbent can tell you what, if any, provision has been made for such relief.

We have in the manuscript division of the Library a document entitled "Victims of the Indian Massacre of 1862 in Minnesota," which contains specific lists of names of victims, dates and places of occurrences, etc. The manuscript comprises seven typewritten pages, the whole compiled by Marion P. Satterlee for the Minnesota Historical Society. So far as I know, it is the only thing in existence which would answer approximately your desire for names of victims, etc. It can be copied for you at your expense, should you care to order this done.

Many of the volumes in the State Historical Library are subject to loan over the state, but a large proportion of its contents is not. You would doubtless find, if you are pursuing any exhaustive investigation, that the only satisfactory way to do it would be to come to the Library. In so far as we are able to do so, we will be glad to accommodate you by sending works which you may desire to use to your local library.

EARLY MISSIONS ON MENOMINEE RIVER

I am trying to find the date of the founding of the first Catholic mission on the Menominee River. I know the locality, at Mission Point, Marinette, Wisconsin, but I can find no tradition here as to date of founding or name of the priest who founded it. I thought the papers of the late Lewis S. Patrick of Marinette might contain some information on these points. Will you kindly tell me how to go about getting this? I think all of Mr. Patrick's historical papers were turned over to the State Historical Society.

I will be very grateful for any information on the subject.

JOSEPHINE SAWYER
Menominee, Michigan

The earliest Catholic mission on the Menominee River was begun in 1670 by Father Claude Allouez. The mission was named St. Michael, and was maintained for several years and ministered to by Father Louis André. The accounts of this mission are to be found in *Jesuit Relations* (R. G. Thwaites, editor), LIV, 235; LV, 103; LVI, 125; LVIII, 273-81; LXI, 153-55. The exact site of this mission can never be known, as it was abandoned over two hundred years ago. The "Mission Point" which you mention was the site of an early Methodist mission. In Mr. Patrick's papers there is the following statement concerning it: "The Methodist mission house was located near the site of the machine shop of the N. Ludington Company. It was built about 1833 by Rev. John Clark who was missionary for all the territory from Lake Superior to Chicago. He worked there with the Indians until about 1836, when ill success made him discontinue his mission. There was a house that was never finished and a blacksmith shop. The house was sold in 1839 to Samuel Farnesworth who moved it nearly opposite the Marquette flour mill, and occupied it as his residence."

EARLY TRAILS AND HIGHWAYS OF WISCONSIN

The National Association of the Daughters of the American Revolution has a committee, of which I am the member for Wisconsin, to establish the lines of early trails and roads in the United States. I am, therefore, interested in planning an active campaign among the several local chapters of the state looking to the location, and ultimately to the marking of some of the more important early trail and highway routes of Wisconsin. Can you give me any suggestions which may be of value in this connection?

MRS. G. W. DEXHEIMER
Fort Atkinson

It seems to us it would be well not to undertake too many trails at first, but to have a definite program for two or three, and perhaps for marking the two great military roads, one in the southern and the other in the northern portion of the state. For instance: suppose you attempt to locate the Chicago-Green Bay trail (from the state boundary). If you carefully consult the accounts of early travelers and mail riders in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* you can get the main lines in Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, and Brown counties. We recommend these references: *Collections*, IV, 282; VII, 239; XI, 229; XV, 453. Then take one cross-state trail from Milwaukee to Rock River and the lead mines. On this see *Collections*, VI, 139, and other references; also consult *Wau Bun*.

The old military road from Fort Howard to Fort Winnebago was the earliest road in the territory. It was continued along the military ridge in Iowa and Grant counties to Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. Some progress has been made in studying its route through Dane County. The northern military road was built much later, between 1866 and 1871; it ran from Fort Howard northwestward, and was built by a grant of land.

If you can make a start in locating these trails and roads you will do good service for Wisconsin history. The old maps of early Wisconsin that we keep at the Library will be valuable to you in the study of these trails.

EARLY HISTORY OF WEST POINT

I would like to know anything of historical interest attaching to West Point on the western shore of Lake Mendota. I would particularly like information concerning the traders St. Cyr and Rowan, who are said to have been located here at an early day.

H. S. Stafford
Madison

So far as is known the earliest permanent habitation upon the Madison lakes was a small cabin built upon the northwest shore of Fourth Lake some time after 1829. In that year Judge James D. Doty and Morgan L. Martin crossed the country on horseback from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien. They took a trail from Green Lake that brought them to the Four Lakes, and they found a few Winnebago Indians on the north shore of Lake Mendota, but no white

trader. Wallace Rowan was a Kentucky miner, who had migrated first to Indiana, and then drifted into the lead region sometime during the rush of 1827. He mined for a time about Platteville, but was not successful, so in some way he obtained a small outfit of Indian goods and came into Winnebago territory to trade. The small one-room log cabin he built on the shore of Fourth Lake about 1830 was used both as a dwelling and a trading house. No doubt he kept a liberal supply of whisky and tobacco, the chief articles of Indian trade, a few blankets, cloth by the yard, ribbons, and cheap ornaments. He bought the beaver and muskrat skins trapped by the Indians, dressed deerskins, and any skunk or mink furs that the Winnebago brought in. During the spring of 1832 the Sauk Indians went on the warpath and the Winnebago were very restless. Rowan thought it safer to abandon his cabin and retreated apparently to Blue Mound fort, where he was during the war. When Major Henry Dodge with Indian Agent Henry Gratiot came to hold a council with the Four Lakes Indians, May 26, 1832, Rowan's cabin was empty. Dodge brought with him a volunteer troop of horse recruited in the lead mines, and they camped near Rowan's cabin the night of May 25. The council was held the next day with the few chiefs who had come in. The chiefs present were Old Turtle, whose village was at Beloit, Spotted Arm, Little Black, and Silver. Man Eater, the chief of a village on Lake Koshkonong, was ill and sent his sister and daughter to represent him.

Little Black was the orator. He declared that the Winnebago were not conspiring with Black Hawk, but would keep their tomahawks buried, that the sky was clear above them, and that they would have nothing to do with the enemy Sauk. Dodge reminded them of their treaty with their Great Father, the President, and all his white children, threatened to cut off their annuity if they failed to keep the treaty, and left them in a humbled frame of mind. Nevertheless, within a few days, one or two of the garrison who ventured out of the Blue Mound fort were murdered, and it was believed to be the deed of the Winnebago.

The war was over by August. That autumn the Winnebago were forced to cede all their lands south of the Wisconsin River and to promise to remove the next year. Rowan sold out his small post to

a half-breed Winnebago, Michel St. Cyr, who occupied the cabin in the autumn of 1832 with his Winnebago squaw and family. St. Cyr was here for five years. He seems to have been a kindly, pleasant-tempered man, as most French-Canadians were. His squaw kept the cabin cleaner than Mrs. Rowan had done, and it became a kind of tavern for white adventurers to the Four Lakes.

In 1833 Dodge sent two companies of United States Rangers, which were enlisted that spring, to see that the Winnebago kept their word and removed. They were very loath to go and made every sort of plea and excuse. Their agent, Gratiot, begged the government to let them stay one more year to gather a harvest, but the authorities were inexorable, and the Indians had to go. The troopers had several wagons, and would round up the little groups and transport them from the head of Fourth Lake to the Wisconsin River, probably down the Black Earth valley. It is said they slipped back again as soon as the soldiers' backs were turned, but their permanent villages were broken up. The troops camped at a big spring which they called Belle Fontaine, probably the one now known as Livesey's Springs.

St. Cyr remained on the spot until 1837; the surveyors who during the winter of 1836-37 laid out the capital stayed at his house. In July, 1836 Colonel William B. Slaughter of Virginia came to the Four Lakes and offered St. Cyr a couple of hundred dollars for his improvement, on the site of which he laid out the City of the Four Lakes. The plat is in the land office at the capitol. The streets were named for the territorial officers—Dodge, Horner, Jones, Dunn, Frazer, Chapman, and Gehon. The avenues were entitled for the states—New York, Virginia, Illinois, etc. Several houses were built, and lots were sold in the East. A university was planned; perhaps it was hoped to secure the territorial university for the site. Colonel Slaughter lived at this place for several years. The land afterwards passed into the possession of James Livesey, who lived there until a comparatively recent time.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

A WOMAN "Y" WORKER'S EXPERIENCES[1]

352nd Inf., 88th Div.,
RIBEAUCOURT, FRANCE,
April 23, 1919.

MY DEAR MRS. WEEK:

I have tried so many times to steal a few minutes for a letter to you but I have scarcely had time for my letters to the family and they even have been few and far between. You were so wonderfully kind to me before I left Stevens Point and I intended to write just as soon as I was located as a further evidence of my appreciation but the days were so very full and at night I was so tired I couldn't even think. People did so many nice things for me before I left and I just wish they knew how much the thought of that helps me over here when things are hard as of course they are sometimes.

After two months in Germany with the Army of Occupation (attached to the Rainbow Div.) I am back in France. While there I was stationed in Ahrweiler [Ahrweller], a quaint little old town which was surrounded by a high wall and moat and approached by four large gate-ways. A girl from New York City and myself had charge of the work there which consisted of a theater and wet canteen, dry canteen and reading room, also a small officers' club. When the Division returned to the states I went to Paris for reassignment and asked to be sent into the Toul Area that I might see more of the front. I had already seen the Pont-a-Mousson region about Metz and had been in Nancy which had been shelled.

I reported in Toul for definite assignment and was attached to the 88th Div. 352nd Infantry. While I was in Toul I had the opportunity I had been looking for, that of making a tour of at least a part of the front where the worst fighting occurred.

We went first to St. Mihiel which the Germans took early in the war and occupied until driven out by the Americans in the big St.

[1] Letter written by Sara E. Buck, Y. M. C. A., 12 Rue d' Aguesseau, Paris, to Mrs. Nelson A. Week, Stevens Point, Wisconsin.

Mihiel drive in which so many of our boys lost their lives. There is scarcely a building in the town left intact. From there we went to Verdun and it just made my heart sick to see village after village absolutely levelled, not a wall left standing. It is just impossible to describe the awful devastation.

Of Verdun which was quite a city there is nothing left. The "Y" operates a big place for the benefit of the few American troops stationed there, mostly labor battalions, grave registration units. These men locate the scattered graves and move the bodies to the cemeteries which the Gov't is preparing to receive them, in which they are placed in long trenches as close together as possible. The fields all about this part of the country are dotted with the little crosses of American graves and so often we saw them right by the roadside where a soldier had been hurriedly buried where he fell.

In many places the work of filling in the trenches has begun and one can trace them for miles by the new earth. Much of the barbed wire entanglement still remains, also the camouflage along the roads. This consists of heavy wire netting from post to post in which boughs of trees are fastened to conceal the road from the view of the enemy. It was a wonderful trip and I came back realizing all too well what war meant but I wouldn't take anything for that one day's experience.

I went from Toul to Gondrecourt and as I knew that Lyman Park was located somewhere near there, for he had written me while I was in Germany, I inquired and discovered that he was but a short distance away. Gov. Morgan, our Divisional Sec'y, was kind enough to offer to take me out there when I told him and I found the whole battery from home in the most horrible little old mud hole I had seen in France. Of course the boys were all glad to see me and as they were leaving the next day on the first lap of their journey home I went to Mauvage the entraining point and stood in the mud to my ankles in the rain and gave them hot coffee, waited until the train pulled out, waved them good-bye, then had the very first spell of homesickness I have had since leaving the states.

The next day I came out here to Ribeaucourt and found it an exact replica of the little place in which our battery was stationed. It is just the sort of a place though where the "Y" is badly needed for

there is just nothing here for the boys outside of that. Most of them are billetted in stables, some in the lofts and some right down with the horses and cows. There is but one street in the village, the houses are built right on the street, no yard nor sidewalk and wherever there is a vacant space, a manure pile. That is the way I find my way home at night. Sometimes it is very, very dark but I know I must pass just so many smells before I reach my palatial abode which is, of course, the best that the village affords, I being the only American woman here. To enter the house I have to pass through the stable but that is a small matter. My room is the funniest thing you ever saw; the bed is a cupboard in the wall and there are three huge feather beds on it so that I have to stand on a chair in order to get into it. In the daytime the doors to the cupboard are closed and no bed visible. There is no light of course but candles and by way of a bric a brac the madame's pet dog recently deceased and stuffed lies curled up gruesomely natural on the table.

The family lives in one room in which there are two cupboard beds, a dining room table and huge fireplace which not only furnishes all the heat but serves as kitchen stove. All the meals are cooked here in one small kettle and consist of a piece of meat and anything else which they can go out in the back yard and pull out of the ground.

Our hut is quite large, wooden tables and benches, dirt floor but never-the-less quite attractive. It should be five times as large as it is to accommodate all the boys. We serve coffee, cocoa, doughnuts, cookies or sandwiches every afternoon and evening. Last Saturday I made seven hundred and fifty doughnuts, quite an undertaking considering the fact that I had never made doughnuts before in my life but it is quite surprising what one can do when one must.

We had a nice service here Easter in our hut. I sang here in the morning then drove thirty kilometres to Bonnet and sang there in the evening.

Of course there are many, many disadvantages about living the way I have to here but the boys are so appreciative of everything that is done for them and being the only American girl here I get to know them so well and we feel just like one big family. There are many places in "Y" work much more desirable from the standpoint of personal comfort but none where there are such big returns in

personal satisfaction as right here in a filthy mud hole like Ribeaucourt. Most of the boys here hadn't seen an American girl for five months as they never had a "Y" worker with them and they went perfectly wild the first day I came. To go to bed at night feeling that you have made a place like this more livable for hundreds of men that day more than pays for every effort you have made.

* * *

Very sincerely,
SARA E. BUCK.

THE PANIC AT WASHINGTON AFTER THE FIRING ON FORT SUMTER[1]

WASHINGTON April 18th 1861

MY DEAR WIFE & CHILDREN

It is among possibilities that this sheet may bear my last words to you. I have about one hour in [which] to write, and get my supper and meet an engagement with our Wisconsin friends now in Washington. The letter I mailed to you today I fear was couched in too much confidence. The slip which I here enclose, cut from this afternoons paper will give you something of an idea as to what is aprehended. About an hour ago Genl King met some of us and took 20 names of Wisconsin men who pledge themselves to stand ready for any emergency tonight. We shall be supplied with Carbine and Revolver. This slip does not convey the deep fears entertained. The City is in a very critical condition. Many believe that an attack will be made tonight, I greatly fear it and pray no such Calamity to befall us

The question is not whether this or that political party shall triumph but whether this govt shall be overthrown.

The precious liberties which [we] have enjoyed, guaranteed to us by the constitution of which we have so much bosted on is in peril. The flag of our country is to be stricken down More than this the most prosperous nation that ever existed—The best govt ever known

[1] This letter, copied from the original in the State Historical Library, was written by Andrew B. Jackson, a Wisconsin man who was in Washington at the time Fort Sumter fell, making arrangements concerning his appointment to the land office at Menasha. Jackson was an able man and had served as a member of Wisconsin's second constitutional convention of 1847-48.

is to be overthrown—overthrown at the cost of the blood and treasure of the Nation

A little distance from where I write hangs the Immortal declaration of Independence. Some of the signatures are almost obliterated; but that only adds to its veneration, and immortal value. Glorious instrument,—Glorious names attest thy truths, Glorious recollections press upon us while we reflect at what cost thy immortal principles [have] been maintained. Look at Bunker Hill, the base of that Monument is semented in blood. I might go over New England N. Y. N. J. and in fact the old thirteen states, whose soil has been saturated with the blood of our Fathers, whose watercourses have crimsoned from their veins. I might go to the graves of those who pledged their lives, fortunes, and sacred honors in defence of the liberty bequeathed to us, and while I say peace to their ashes, I would inquire in the name of my God and my country shall these principles [be] trampled in the dust? Shall we before the nation is a hundred years old, see it disgraced in the eyes of the world and destroyed? Forbid it Almighty God.

My Dear Wife I shall not be reckless, yet if necessary I believe [it] a duty I owe to God and the country to do what little I am able to prevent such a calamity

The bell calls me [to] supper I may have time this evening to add something.

Affectionate Your
Husband & Father
Andrew B. Jackson

8 O Cl evening Since writing the above about 100 troops came in on the cars from Penn. More are expected to night. We feel easier. If we get a good many troops into Washington the secessionists will hardly dare attack us. The excitement never has run so high as it does to night. Some families and a good many women left to day out of fear Judge Potter did not get away to day but thinks he shall in the morning We shall meet, but whether we shall stay up to night is not yet determined, there are about 1000 troops in the Capitol to night, those that came in went there to stay for the night.

Unless something new shall transpire I shall not write again till Saturday. God bless and protect us. It [is] a consolation for me to

say that my faith and abiding confidence in him was never greater than since I have been in Washington
I am called away

A. B. J.

RED TAPE AT WASHINGTON IN THE GOOD OLD DAYS

The mind of the bureaucrat is as constant as the granite hills of New England, and the ways of red tape change not from generation unto generation. The letter which follows affords an interesting illustration of the workings of red tape in the days of our grandfathers. For the rest, it offers some comment on the problems before the second constitutional convention, of which Morgan L. Martin, recipient of the letter, was president. The writer, Philo White, was a man of consequence in his day, who played a prominent rôle in the upbuilding of early Wisconsin. White began and ended his career at Whitestown, New York. After a considerable career in New York, his health failing, he secured an appointment as naval storekeeper on the Pacific station. Several years later he established a paper at Raleigh, North Carolina, was soon elected state printer, and for a time was an active figure in state politics. Failing health caused another removal, this time to infant Wisconsin in the summer of 1836. Here White played an interesting part in the founding of the Milwaukee *Sentinel* and built the United States Hotel block, at the time the most imposing building in the city. Removing to Racine he became owner and editor of the *Advocate,* managed several farms, served in the territorial council of 1847 and 1848, and in the senate of the newly-admitted state. Both in his home community and at Madison his ability and leadership in public affairs gained full recognition. He left Wisconsin in 1849 to become consul general at the free cities of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Altona; later he served as minister to Ecuador for several years. On returning to the United States in 1858 he made his home at Whitestown, his native place.

HONBL. MORGAN L. MARTIN: RACINE, 8th Jan'y, 1848.

DEAR SIR:

I really don't recollect whether I have had the honor of addressing you at Madison yet, for I have been so absorbed in other matters,—in correspondence with the Departments at Washington,

trying to *persuade* them to come to a *final* adjustment of some old suspended items in my accounts, which they think it requires the sanction of Congress to authorize them to settle, although they acknowledge the *justice* of them, &c: The *amount* is really hardly worth the *postage* on the correspondence that will take place in relation to the items, as it becomes requisite to transmit to and fro some tolerably heavy vouchers. But the *principle* on which these small *matters* are made to operate to my prejudice, are so monstrous, that I am almost disposed to go into Congress in search of justice: Let me name one or two cases: While attached to the Pacific Squadron, Com^re^ Thos. Ap. Catesby Jones[1], he sent Lieut. Griffith home in our ship, the "Dale," giving me a written order to pay the Lieutenant $200 *advance*, to meet his expenditures home; we took him from Lima to Panama, from thence he went to Chagres by land, and in an English vessel from Chagres to Jamaica, where he died of fever. That $200 they have checked against me, because Lieut. Griffith died before he worked out the amount, and somebody, they say, must lose the overpayment. Had I refused the order of Com. Jones, he would have arrested me, and sent *me* home: And moreover, I made the payment under protest, as required by the regulations of the Navy Department. It is very provoking; and I thought at one time I would go immediately on, and get consoled by abusing the accounting officers to their faces: But I am now giving them some plain talk by corresp^ce^.

Another case is this: A law of Congress allows "all persons belonging to the Navy," one fourth more pay in cases where those "persons" are detained on board a vessel of war on a foreign station after their term of service shall have expired. Well about 1/3^d^ of the crew of the Dale's term of service expired while we were yet in the Pacific; and from the date of the expirations of service of every "person" on board, I credited them with 1/4^th^ more pay until we arrived in the U. S; and they were paid off and discharged: But the Acct'g. Officers, in their *wisdom*, decided that the *"Marines,"* who made part of our complement, did "not belong to the Navy"! And they checked all I thus paid to those Marines whose terms had expired, against *me!* I understand, however, the Att'y. Gen'l. has decided against them in this matter. I think yet, I may go on to Washington, after the adjournment of the Legislature.

Allow me to congratulate you, on your elevation to the Presidency of the Convention, a post which your talents and experience qualify you so well to fill, and in which your firmness and decision give dignity to the proceedings of the body, and contribute largely to the despatch of business.

I am gratified to see that you succeeded in carrying an amendment, which acknowledges the *principle* of *Exemptions*: It is a "progressive"

[1] Thomas ap Catesby Jones was a native of Virginia, born in 1789, who devoted his life to the naval service. In 1814 he made a brave defense of New Orleans against an overwhelming British naval force, surrendering only when he was desperately wounded and hope of escape was cut off. He was given command of the Pacific station off California in 1840, and learning on what he supposed to be good authority that the United States was at war with Mexico, he took possession of Monterey. For this he was temporarily suspended. He died at Georgetown, D. C., 1858.

principle, and we should have been behind the age had we "shirk'd" it in the Constitution.

I am really in hopes you will succeed in presenting us such a charter of our rights, as will secure the sanction of the Democracy, at least. I think there is a disposition to accept the *next* Constitution: The recent explosion in *several* of the Pennsylvania Banks, &c. ought at least to reconcile the whigs to tolerably stringent restrictions upon banking in Wisconsin: I trust those explosions will have a salutary influence on the minds of the Delegates, when they come to act on the bank Article.

We are *astir* in regard to a *Plank Road* hence to the West; I am making a long report in regard to their utility, &c to present to a meeting here on Friday next,—and expect to be instructed to procure a charter at our next session, &c. &c.

I should be obliged to you for one of King's Census Statements, should a spare one fall in your way.

Mrs. White joins me in regards to yourself and family, should M^rs^ Martin be with you.

Very truly your friend
And obt serv't,
PHILO WHITE

COMMUNICATIONS

SOME CORRECTIONS

As the engineer has a fondness for accuracy of detail, often to the burden of his nonengineering friends, I therefore have some hesitation in calling attention to the following in the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, which may be mere engineering minutiæ and of no interest to the historian:

> Vol. II of No. 3, pp. 263, 264, quoting from p. 264: "* * * the enabling act for Wisconsin in 1846 fixed its southern line at 42°30′."

Quite true, but due to errors in the survey the boundary is not on 42°30′, the boundary line crossing this parallel about south of Brodhead.

> Vol. II. No. 4, p. 452: "* * * built in the style of the famous *Merrimac* which had been sunk two years before in the duel with the *Monitor* which revolutionized the art of naval warfare."

Lieutenant Catesby ApR. Jones, who commanded the *Merrimac* in the *Monitor* battle, testified later before a naval court of inquiry that the *Merrimac* should have been sunk in fifteen minutes. As a matter of fact, the *Merrimac* was practically uninjured in this battle and was blown up over two months later by order of its commander, Captain Josiah Tatnall. The last part of the quotation, however, is absolutely correct, for the *Monitor*, a creation of inspired genius, revolutionized naval construction, Captain Ericsson's second revolution in this art, the first having been embodied in the *Princeton* of the early eighteen forties.

Yours very truly,
JOHN G. D. MACK, *Madison*
State Chief Engineer

EARLY RACINE AND JUDGE PRYOR

A letter to me in your care forwarded me, speaks of the fact that "Racine" is the only French name on the map of southern Wisconsin as against so frequent French names elsewhere in the states of Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, settled by the Jesuit missionaries, as confirming that suggestion that it was the translation of "Root" the river, rather than that Root the river was an English translation of Racine the town. This, it suggests, might have been because the southern portion of the state was the most conveniently reached by American pioneers who flocked to the new state, whereas under French occupation the regnal parts of the state were northwardly from Lake Superior and Green Bay south to Prairie du Chien where the Wisconsin debouches into the Mississippi. And it goes on to say that "Milwaukee" not being an Indian name, might, in the same rude speech, have been what somebody who saw a steamboat for the first time said was "a mill walking!" As to this latter I remember to have heard it in my Racine days, but only repeated to laugh at. Though, now I think of it again, I do recall seeing somewhere a statement that the first steamboat ever launched upon the Great Lakes was launched at Detroit in 1818 and called "Walk-In-The-Water." This you would no doubt be able to verify if true. But of course the Parkman Club has all this, and has somewhere made it all of record. And speaking of the Parkman Club reminds me of Mr. Wight to whom I shall shortly write to thank him for all this pleasant correspondence and for introduction to your beautifully printed and wonderfully fascinating WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY.

I found manifold matter besides my own to interest me in the June issue. Strange to tell I knew both Potter and Pryor of bowie-knife fame.[1] John F. Potter I remember as a thick-set gentleman, who wore a full beard and mustache trimmed to the contour of his face and jaw—much such a looking man as was Grant when president, and to the end of his days in this city, when I saw him often at No. 1 Broadway. As it was more the custom in those days to wear the beard flowing, it made an impression on my childish memory.

[1] The reference is to "The Potter-Pryor Duel," *ibid.*, 449-52.

At the Colonial Club in this city I used to have long talks with Judge Pryor running over his marvellously eventful career (though I was always careful *not* to allude to Mr. Potter). The Judge looked like an Indian with high cheek bones, gaunt features, and long, very coarse, and jet black hair. Indeed he claimed—though I never heard him say so—descent from Pocahontas—left handedly, if at all, or perhaps it was from Powhatan properly. The Judge told me that he did not fire the first gun at Sumter because Virginia had not yet seceded and it would have been high treason to fire on what was at that time his country's flag, although he was rather proud to relate that he incited the state of South Carolina to fire on Sumter by coming down from Richmond for that purpose and telling them that nothing else would induce Virginia to secede. He did go in the boat to demand the surrender and got it. He was selected for hanging by Stanton and was imprisoned in Fort Lafayette in our harbor instead by Lincoln, but he became a justice of our New York Supreme Court and left a distinguished record behind him. When Jeff Davis, who did not love him, finessed him out of his brigadier-generalship by turning over his brigade to General Wise, Pryor enlisted as a private and was captured at Brandy Station. Some say he walked out of the ranks and surrendered himself to our lines there, to escape persecution by Davis. But as to this he never spoke and like the Potter episode I thought it wise not to lead up to it in our frequent talks.

Appleton Morgan
New York City

MORE LIGHT ON COLONEL UTLEY'S CONTEST WITH JUDGE ROBERTSON

I have been very greatly interested in Appleton Morgan's "Recollections of Early Racine," in the June, 1919 issue of the magazine. It is evident that Mr. Morgan had familiar personal knowledge of a great variety of events of much interest and importance in the early history of Racine, and with the actors concerned in them.

It is not strange that inaccuracies should creep into informal recollections of a time a half century and more gone, especially with relation to statements susceptible of verification or disproval only by

some research, and I venture to say that Mr. Morgan was mistaken in stating that Colonel Utley did not pay the judgment of $1,000 in favor of Justice Robertson of Kentucky, for taking the latter's slave out of that state in 1862. Attention was called in a footnote to the fact that I had given a different account of the matter, in my *Racine County Militant*, and I would like to offer briefly the evidence in support of my statements concerning it.

With reference to that story, permit me to say that the facts concerning this phase of the controversy of Colonel Utley with Justice Robertson were related to me by Mr. Park Wooster, a stepson of Colonel Utley, and I have verified them within the last month in conversation again with him. Mr. Wooster tells me that he has many times heard his stepfather, Colonel Utley, tell the story of the payment of that judgment and subsequent reimbursment by the Government.

Having known Mr. Wooster for more than forty years and having personal knowledge also of the intimate and affectionate relations sustained by Colonel Utley with his stepson through a long period of years until the former's death, I am frank to say that this testimony satisfies me.

Within the last month, however, I have read the entire court record in the case, which is on file in the office of the United States District Court, Eastern District of Wisconsin, at Milwaukee. It consists of a complete certified transcript of the Kentucky court proceedings, and also the record of those in the Wisconsin court named above, where the case was also tried.

Complaint was first filed in the Jessamine County Circuit Court, at Nicholasville, Kentucky, on November 17, 1862. A court order to Utley to deliver the slave to Robertson was placed in the hands of the sheriff for execution; on his return, on the back of the order, that officer reported that on December 10, 1862, he demanded the slave, Adam, of Wm. L. Utley, and that he failed to produce him.

From that time on the case was largely a matter of continuances, demurrers, motions to quash, writs of error, and other legal devices to gain time and discourage the plaintiff, until on October 6, 1871 judgment was entered in the Wisconsin court for $908.06 with costs of $26.40. This judgment was satisfied on May 9, 1873.

The attorneys in the case were Stark and McMullen for Robertson, and Bennett and Ullman for Utley. On October 5, 1871, however, Matt H. Carpenter appeared for Colonel Utley in the last court action, and filed a demurrer to replication, which was overruled by the court, and on the next day judgment was ordered for the plaintiff. I submit that the above evidence is sufficient to warrant belief in the substantial correctness of the account of the affair as given by me in *Racine County Militant*.

Sincerely yours,

E. W. LEACH

Racine

GENERAL GRANT AT PLATTEVILLE

I was much interested in the report of J. H. Evans's recollections in the September number of the MAGAZINE, since I lived as a boy in Platteville and knew Mr. Evans as far back as I can remember. He is either in error or misquoted, probably, on page 86 when he speaks of seeing Grant the last time in 1868, in Platteville. Grant made his last visit to Platteville in the fall of 1880, after his return from the trip around the world. Major Rountree invited him up to spend a day and some of us boys went down to the depot to see him come in on the narrow-gauge railroad recently constructed from Galena. Besides the Major and us boys there were very few citizens at the depot. But in the afternoon Major Rountree gave a public reception at his home—and we boys went skating instead of going to see the General again.

I think that on page 121 the MAGAZINE should have referred to William E. Carter as of Platteville, rather than Lancaster. He was the leading lawyer of Platteville from the time of my earliest remembrance (the early '70s) until he removed to Milwaukee, in 1895. Of course, he may have lived in Lancaster earlier. George B. Carter was a near neighbor and his family and ours were intimate friends.

Very truly yours,

ALBERT H. SANFORD

La Crosse

THE DRAPER MANUSCRIPTS

I want to express again my appreciation of the Wisconsin State Historical Society library. It is a truly wonderful institution—one that every American ought to know about and to be proud of.

The opportunity to use it, especially to consult the Draper Notes and Manuscripts, added immensely to the pleasure of my vacation, and if I live, will contribute materially toward a history of Callaway County, Missouri, that I hope will be real history.

I am grateful to you, to Miss ———, to her assistant, and to the fine corps of women at the library desk for many courtesies and helpful suggestions. May I ask you to express to them for me my appreciation?

Ovid Bell
Fulton, Missouri

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

In the three months' period ending October 10, 1919, seventeen persons became members of the State Historical Society. Four of these were life members, as follows: Henry Fetzer, Sturgeon Bay; William P. Gundry, Mineral Point; William H. Rueping, Fond du Lac; Arthur N. Blanchard, Shorewood.

The thirteen persons whose names follow joined the Society in the capacity of annual members: Col. William J. Anderson, Madison; Rev. R. A. Barnes, Madison; Thorwald M. Beck, Racine; Leslie M. Fowler, Racine; Austin F. Gratiot, Shullsburg; Elbert B. Hand, Racine; Edward Hutchens, Eau Claire; Thomas M. Kearney, Jr., Racine; Louis H. Rohr, Burlington; A. M. Simons, Milwaukee; Marietta Sisson, Chicago; Fulton Thompson, Racine; Mrs. Leslie Willson, Chippewa Falls.

Professor R. H. Whitbeck of the geography department of the University and a life member of the State Historical Society is preparing for publication in the state geological survey series a volume on the historical and geographical development of Racine, Kenosha, Milwaukee, Walworth, and Waukesha counties.

At the time of going to press (October 10) preparations for the annual meeting of the Society on October 23, 1919 are practically complete. The formal sessions will be the business meetings of the Society and the board of curators in the afternoon and the annual address in the evening. The speaker this year is Major General William G. Haan, during the late war commander of the Red Arrow Division. The subject of his address is "A Division Commander's Work for One Day of Battle."

The new management of the Madison *Wisconsin State Journal* is devoting much attention to local historical subjects. We note particularly in this connection a series of articles which is being printed over the name of David Atwood on the historical development of Madison.

At the annual meeting of the West Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held at Eau Claire in September, it

was unanimously voted to organize a Methodist Historical Society for the West Wisconsin Conference; a committee of five members was appointed to take the matter in charge. The chairman of the committee is J. H. McManus of Coloma, a member of the State Historical Society, who is deeply interested in the early history of our commonwealth. The Rev. Mr. McManus is the author of "A Forgotten Trail" in the present issue of the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY."

On September 1, 1844 the first regular church service in America by an ordained Norwegian Lutheran preacher was conducted in a log barn three miles south of the village of Rockdale, Dane County, Wisconsin. On Sunday, September 7, 1919 the seventy-fifth anniversary of this event was jointly celebrated by the two Lutheran churches of East Koshkonong. The anniversary sermon was preached by President Preus of Luther College of Decorah. The site of this interesting event in Norwegian-American annals is marked by a monument erected on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, twenty-five years ago.

Another sign alike of the antiquity of Wisconsin and the interest taken by its founders in religious activities was afforded by the celebration on September 6 and 7, 1919 of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Union Grove Congregational Church. The church society was organized September 8, 1844. Until 1852 meetings were held in schoolhouses. In the year noted the first church building was erected, to be followed by a second in 1878.

By reason of inadequate support Racine College, one of the oldest institutions of higher learning in Wisconsin, has closed its doors and terminated its activities. The college was chartered by the state of Wisconsin in March, 1852. It has hundreds of alumni, many of them men of note, scattered throughout the country. Readers of this MAGAZINE will recall with pleasure in this connection the lively "Recollections of Early Racine," in the June, 1919 issue, written by Dr. Appleton Morgan, an alumnus of the college.

In the September, 1919 "Survey of Historical Activities" the death of Philo Orton of Darlington was noted, and in this connection the statement was erroneously made that he was the son of Judge Harlow Orton, one of the founders of the State Historical Society. To Major Frank W. Oakley of Madison, long a curator of this Society, we are indebted for the correction of this error. In this

connection we may say generally (by way of stating a fact rather than excusing an error) that for the contents of the Survey we rely upon varied sources of information which, oftentimes, we are unable adequately to check. It follows as a matter of course that the percentage of error in this section of the MAGAZINE is likely to be higher than its friends and readers might desire.

On September 5, 1919 the Waukesha County Historical Society held its semiannual meeting at North Lake. The beautiful afternoon brought out a fair attendance, notwithstanding the remoteness of the pretty village. President Charles D. Simonds pleaded for more members with such success that twelve new names were added to the society's roster. Custodian J. H. A. Lacher reported numerous and valuable additions to the society's historical collection, which has grown so large that more room ought to be provided for it at the courthouse. Miss Ida Sherman read a paper on the history of the town of Genesee. She was followed by Mrs. Ione Gove Hawley, whose interesting paper and talk treated of Waukesha County music and musicians. Both papers are valuable contributions to local history. The program included vocal music by Mrs. H. A. Erickson, and the singing of "America," the "Star Spangled Banner," and "Auld Lang Syne" by the audience.

Mrs. Elizabeth Rusk, wife of the former governor of Wisconsin, died at her Viroqua home, August 19, 1919. Mrs. Rusk was a native of Norway who came to America as a girl and in 1856 married Jeremiah Rusk. In earlier years Rusk, a native of Ohio, while employed as a stage driver had made the acquaintance of a boy-driver of a mule team on the canal, named James A. Garfield. Both rose to fame, but the career of Garfield need not detain us here. On coming to Wisconsin Rusk settled in Vernon County, opened a tavern, and drove stage between Viroqua and Prairie du Chien. He bore an active and honorable part in the Civil War, being mustered out at its close with the rank of brevet brigadier general. He served several terms in Congress, was three times elected governor of Wisconsin, and was the first United States secretary of agriculture.

Frederick Layton, one of Milwaukee's best known citizens, and long a member of the State Historical Society, died August 16, 1919. From humble beginnings he rose to be the millionaire head of an important meat packing business. He had long been noted for his philanthropic activities; worthy of particular mention in this connection is the Layton Art Gallery which he founded and to the upbuilding of whose collections he devoted constant interest and effort.

Charles E. Vroman of this Society, a native of Madison, an alumnus of the University, and long a prominent lawyer of Green Bay and Chicago, died at his summer home near Mackinac July 30, 1919. For several years Mr. Vroman served as assistant general counsel of the St. Paul Railway, resigning this position to establish the law firm of Vroman, Munro and Vroman.

Alexander Kerr, professor and emeritus professor of Greek at the University of Wisconsin since 1871, died at his home in Madison September 26, 1919. His later years were chiefly devoted to the translation of Plato's *Republic*. This work was brought to completion after eyesight had failed him, but in the opinion of competent scholars the work done under this handicap does not suffer by comparison with the earlier portion of the work.

One hundred years ago was born C. Latham Sholes, who by the invention of the typewriter placed a memorial to himself in every modern business office throughout the world. The movement to procure funds by popular subscription for the erection of a monument to Mr. Sholes in Forest Home Cemetery, Milwaukee, has been previously noted in this Survey. According to a report of Charles E. Welles, secretary of the fund, made in July, 1919, satisfactory progress in raising the necessary money was being made. One-half of the total sum desired had been raised, chiefly through small contributions by business girls who thus testified their gratitude to Mr. Sholes for opening to them a field of employment for which women seem peculiarly adapted. The typewriter is distinctly a Wisconsin invention; and Mr. Sholes is one of her sons whom the Badger State can richly afford to honor.

Judge H. A. Anderson, chairman of the Trempealeau County War History Committee, reporting in August that the war history work had progressed well toward completion, added the following interesting information: "I declined a reëlection so that I might devote myself more exclusively to research work. My duties as judge end January next. I shall immediately upon expiration of my term begin to put into form such data as I have collected relating to the soldier history first, and then turn to my work on the county collection, as well as special fields. Who shall write the epic of the lumber camps and the river drivers? The facts are passing swiftly away. I should like to arrest a few of them before they glide too far into obscurity."

Among enterprises in the development of which Wisconsin leads the world is the distinctively American institution, the circus. P. T. Barnum was undoubtedly the king of American showmen (one of his most remarkable distinctions, we think, was achieved years after his death, when a prominent University professor delivered a lecture on his career as best typifying the American character), but his day is past; and just as undoubtedly the Ringling brothers of Baraboo dominate the American circus of the present generation. Barnum was a born genius—the Yankee at his best; the Ringling brothers are after all perhaps more typical of American character in that they have achieved the topmost rung of their profession by dint of unremitting toil and the exercise of plain common sense and not-so-common honesty, unaided by possession of unusual genius which despises ordinary rules of procedure. In the September, 1919 *American Magazine* John Ringling tells the life story of the seven brothers, who were born at McGregor, Iowa, just across the river from Wisconsin, and offers his explanation of the success they have achieved.

An attractively printed volume from the Collegiate Press of Menasha is Mary L. P. Smith's biography of Eben E. Rexford. Although a native of New York, Rexford's life from his seventh year was passed in Wisconsin; and he was thus in the fullest sense a product of the Badger State. Although his name may never stand high on the roll of American authors, he was a lovable character, and millions of plain men and women have read with enjoyment his stories and poems. His repute as author of standard works on gardening and floriculture was widespread. His most widely known work, doubtless, is the poem "Silver Threads Among the Gold," which, later set to music, made the circuit of the earth. Whatever critics of literature may think of it, this song has a human appeal which has touched the hearts of millions. It is said to be the favorite song of William J. Bryan, who is probably the best interpreter of the emotions of the ordinary American now living. Rexford wrote this poem at the early age of eighteen, and for it he received from *Frank Leslie's* the munificent sum of three dollars. The poet's home was at Shiocton, Wisconsin. His pen was busy until, in his final illness, he was removed to the hospital at Green Bay, where he died October 18, 1916.

Steamboating on the upper Mississippi is now a thing as dead as Caesar's ghost, but in earlier times the great river was a mighty highway of commerce, and it will be many a day before the romance of this traffic and of the lives of those who conducted it will lose its

power to charm the reader who turns his attention to the story of those adventurous days. A member of this Society, George B. Merrick, long a resident of Madison but of old a Mississippi River pilot, has made himself the historian of the upper Mississippi in the period of its glory. His collection of records and his accumulated fund of information on his chosen subject are quite unrivaled; his book, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, stands alone in its particular field. Six years ago Mr. Merrick began publishing in the Burlington *Saturday Evening Post* a series of articles describing the boats that have plied the river above St. Louis commencing with the year 1823 and short histories of the men who operated them. The author's plan was to present the boats alphabetically; he expected to complete the series in two years. It had been running five years, however, and was still uncompleted when in November, 1918 Mr. Merrick was stricken with paralysis and incapacitated for continuing the work. Some years earlier he had charged Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul with the completion of the enterprise should he himself be prevented from doing so. In September, therefore, Captain Bill spent two weeks in Madison going over the work with Mr. Merrick. The letter *T* had been reached when the publication of the articles was discontinued a year ago. From this point, with the aid of Mr. Merrick's material, Captain Bill will carry on the series. Although a younger man than Mr. Merrick, he commenced navigating the Mississippi in 1868 and was actively on the river until 1880; during the next twelve years he was in the office of the Diamond Jo Line of steamers at Dubuque and was indirectly connected with this line until its steamers were sold in 1911. Captain Bill is president of the Pioneer Rivermen's Association which he took the lead in organizing in 1915.

On Labor Day, September 1, 1919 the State Historical Society and the Wisconsin Archeological Society conducted a joint pilgrimage to the site of ancient Aztalan near Lake Mills. The earthworks and mounds at Aztalan have been regarded since the earliest settlement of Wisconsin as among the most remarkable and interesting archeological remains in the upper Mississippi Valley. During the summer of 1919 the Milwaukee Public Museum carried on extensive investigations with a view to discovering whatever may still be learned about the works at Aztalan. This work had been well advanced toward completion by Labor Day, and thus those who joined in the pilgrimage were afforded the opportunity both of seeing the work of the scientists in actual progress and of hearing from Dr. S. A. Barrett, chief of the division of anthropology of the Milwaukee Museum, an authoritative account of the results thus far achieved

by the work of excavation. Nature had provided an ideal day for the outing; and it is doubtful whether in all Wisconsin can be found more beautiful pastoral scenery than that in the immediate vicinity of the earthworks. More than five hundred people responded to the invitation of the two societies, coming from Milwaukee, Madison, Baraboo, Fort Atkinson, Janesville, Cambridge, and numerous other points in southern Wisconsin. A basket luncheon was enjoyed under the trees, for which the residents of Lake Mills provided an unlimited supply of coffee and cream. After the lunch and the addresses, the assembled guests were conducted by Dr. Barrett and his aids in a tour of the mounds and other earthworks. The gratifying indication of public interest in the pilgrimage affords a happy augury for the success of similar gatherings in the future.

Most of our readers, probably, are acquainted with the story of Glory of the Morning, Wisconsin's Winnebago princess of two centuries ago, which has been woven into a charming play by Professor William Ellery Leonard. Daughter of the head chief of the Winnebago, she married a Frenchman, Sabrevoir Decorah, who had come into Wisconsin as a soldier but had resigned from the service and entered the Indian trade. After some years of married union, and the birth of two sons and a daughter, Decorah left his dusky wife, taking with him the daughter to Montreal to be educated. When the French and Indian War came on, Decorah reëntered the army and died fighting for his country in the battle of Ste. Foye in 1760. The two sons of Glory of the Morning, on the separation of their parents, cast in their lot with her and thus remained in Wisconsin. In time both became chiefs of the Winnebago and left many descendants, the Decorahs being the most powerful Winnebago family in the early nineteenth century. We recall these facts to our readers apropos of a press dispatch from La Crosse which states that thirty-five descendants of Glory of the Morning enlisted in the Mauston company in 1917 and crossed the sea to do their bit in curbing the German menace to America. To three of these red citizens of Wisconsin in particular an inspiring, albeit pathetic, story attaches. Bill and John Decorah were brothers who enlisted in the Mauston company. Their father, Foster Decorah, begged to enlist with them, but his forty years were against him and at first he was refused the coveted permission. Later, however, permission was granted, and father and sons crossed the sea together. Foster Decorah died a soldier's death in the Argonne Wood, while his sons continued to "carry on." Later Bill was killed and only John was left to return across the ocean to his native Wisconsin. For two centuries the

name of Decorah has loomed large in Wisconsin history, but the thirty-five descendants (doubtless there were others the record of whose ancestry is lost) of Glory of the Morning who fought for their country in the World War have attached to the ancestral name a new significance. Wisconsin's red men performed their full share in the war, and this record deserves to be held in grateful memory by the commonwealth and the country they served.

A journey of unusual interest fell to the lot of the writer of these notes in August. Mention has heretofore been made in the "Survey" of the acquisition of valuable newspaper and manuscript records of James Strang's Wisconsin Mormon colony, first at the sacred city of Voree from 1844 to about 1850, and then at Beaver Island in Lake Michigan until the overthrow of Strang and his colony in the summer of 1856. Mr. Wingfield Watson, a resident of Burlington and now in his ninety-second year, became an adherent of Strang in 1852 and still remains his steadfast follower. In company with Mr. Watson we visited Beaver Island to go over the scenes associated with the Strangite movement and secure whatever information might still be gleaned about the persons and events connected with it. The city of St. James, founded by King Strang and named in his honor, is now a prosperous community, the only village on the island. On Whisky Point, where the unregenerate fishermen had their rendezvous, and against which on a certain memorable occasion the balls from the Mormon cannon sped their way across the tiny harbor of St. James, a dignified lighthouse and light keeper's home now holds possession. Of the home of Strang but a few signs of the foundations still remain, while of the Mormon temple (which was never completed) no trace can be found. The dock on which King Strang was assassinated is represented now by a decayed structure of rotting logs, owned, according to local information, by someone in Philadelphia. The home of the royal press is still intact, being used now as a dwelling house. The King's Highway, which ran southward from St. James midway down the island, is still the one considerable highway on the island; although covered with gravel along much of its length the original corduroys still afford forcible reminder of their presence as one travels over them in the omnipresent Ford. The printing office and the highway aside, about the only reminders of the departed Mormon régime are the names given by its leader to the different places on the island. The village of St. James still carries the name of its founder, James J. Strang; Mount Pisgah, the highest sand knoll on the island, still testifies to the Mormon habit of associating the scenes of everyday life with those of Scriptural times;

while the pond wherein the Mormons were wont to conduct their baptisms for the dead is still known as Font Lake, although all knowledge of the significance of the name has faded from the local mind. The material structures reared by the Mormons have vanished, but the names they gave, intangible as light, give promise of persisting for untold generations yet to come.

On August 29, 1919 there died at Beaulieu, Minnesota, a native American whose earlier career was passed in an environment as different from that of his later life as though it had belonged to another age. May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig, chief of the Mississippi bands of Chippewa Indians, was born ninety or more years ago in the vicinity of Brainerd, Minnesota, the eldest son of Quewezance, then leading chief of the Chippewa. The father was killed in battle with the Sioux near the site of modern Stillwater, and the son succeeded to his dignity and responsibility at the early age of sixteen. He promptly set about devising or contriving plans to avenge his father's death and to this end accompanied the noted Hole-in-the-Day on a war expedition against the dreaded warriors of the plains. (Incidentally it may be noted that the Chippewa was the only tribe ever able to hold its own against the Sioux.) Somewhere near St. Paul the enemy was encountered. The war parties were about equal in number, but in a desperate fight the Sioux were overwhelmed, and the scalps of most of them went to adorn the belts of the victorious Chippewa braves. When a brave distinguished himself in battle by killing and scalping his foe he was usually decorated with a feather from a war eagle. An indication of the prowess of May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig and of the manner of life he led is afforded by the fact that he accumulated some twenty of these prized trophies.

Other warriors have been as brave and successful as May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig, but we come now to a severer test of his ability for leadership among his people. The red man's sun was setting in the upper Mississippi Valley; an alien race with another manner of life had come to dominate the scene. In the spring of 1867 our chief signed, along with other chiefs of the Mississippi Chippewa, a treaty with the Great Father at Washington whereby the tribesmen surrendered their lands to the white man and had set aside for them as a permanent home the reservation at White Earth. Shortly after the ratification of the treaty May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig and his followers abandoned their familiar camping grounds and followed their guides along the sad trail which led to the home newly assigned to them, arriving at the site of the first agency in June, 1868. From this time forth for half a century the chief devoted his influence for the development of his people in the ways of peace and civilization, striving to better the

narrow limits prescribed for them by their segregated sphere and to lead them into the white man's way of life. In this endeavor he had the devoted aid of men like ex-Senator Henry M. Pierce, Governor Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota, Bishop Henry B. Whipple, and Bishop Thomas Grace. For these facts we are indebted to Theodore H. Beaulieu of White Earth, Minnesota, whose grandfather, Paul H. Beaulieu, was an early resident of Wisconsin and in 1800 conducted a trading post at Lac la Pluie (Rainy Lake). Paul Beaulieu's wife was an aunt of May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig, and hence the biographer is a blood relative of the subject of his sketch. We conclude with the following picture of the chief, published in the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* in January, 1899:

"Tall, sinewy and bony, standing fully six feet in his stocking feet, May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig, the most popular and leading hereditary Chief of the Minnesota Chippewas, is a most picturesque and typical representative of the noble American Indian. To a stranger the face of this grand Chippewa Chief would seem to have been carved out of granite or the mummified visage of some ancient Pharo king, whose cold rigid features were never softened or cheered by a smile, yet this venerable Oracle, with flowing locks, plentifully tinged with gray, possesses the genial light of love and devotion in his dark kindly eyes and betrays the munificent tendency of a big heart, pleasing disposition and is very popular not only with his people but with every one who comes in contact with him."

From Mrs. M. S. Stephens of Cassville has come an interesting addition to the Society's collection of manuscripts. The gift comprises the original manuscripts of the four annual addresses of Governor Nelson Dewey to the state legislature of Wisconsin. In the case of all but the fourth, the original, old-fashioned wrapper in which the address was placed for permanent keeping is still intact.

From Knud Henderson of Cambridge the Society has received a unique file of *Wossingen*, one of the early Norwegian newspapers established in America. *Wossingen* was a small sheet, issued monthly and sold at twenty-five cents a year. It is peculiar among early Norwegian-American papers as being chiefly a medium of communication between those who had come to America and their kindred at home. An account of the paper may be found in A. O. Barton's article, "The Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America," published in the Society's *Proceedings* for 1916.

A valuable addition to the Society's collection of newspapers is a file of *Freedom's Champion* published at Atchison, Kansas,

covering the years from 1858 to 1894. In 1855 the *Squatter Sovereign* was founded at Atchison as a radical proslavery organ. Two years later the free state party gained control of the paper, and in February, 1858 John A. Martin, a young Pennsylvanian still in his teens who had come to Atchison only four months before, became its editor. Martin promptly changed the name of the paper to *Freedom's Champion*, and under this name, shorn of the qualifying adjective, it is still published. Although but fifty years old at the time of his death in 1889, Martin had for thirty years played a leading rôle in the development of Kansas. He was one of the organizers of the Republican party in the territory, a colonel and brevet brigadier general in the Civil War, state legislator, mayor of his city, and twice governor of Kansas. Thus, in part because of its location but largely because of the character of its editor, the *Champion* became one of the most important of Kansas newspapers. The file the Society has acquired begins with volume I, number 1 of the *Freedom's Champion* and through a third of a century of time and more than sixty bound volumes is practically complete. An interesting sample of the spirit of the times as reflected in the early years of the paper is afforded by a sarcastic editorial in the second issue under Martin's editorship entitled "How Great are Thy People, Oh! Kickapoo!" At this place, whose material surroundings, like its name, reflected the atmosphere of the American wilderness, the slave state party under the inspiration of the "border-ruffians" of Missouri had returned over a thousand badly-needed ballots for their cause in the election of December, 1857 on the adoption of a proslavery state constitution. A commission which was promptly appointed to investigate frauds in the election procured the original poll book of votes cast by the residents of Kickapoo. By this "it appears that James Buchanan, President of the U. S. *and resident* of Kickapoo, was the 270th voter; casting a ballot for the Constitution *with* Slavery—a fact which conclusively proves the vote is veritable. Next on this roll of illustrious names comes W. H. Seward as the 176th voter—a ballot somewhat unaccountable, as the distinguished Senator from New York was at that time making speeches *against* the Constitution at Washington: But we suppose it is all right—who in Kickapoo would be guilty of frauds?" After further comment on now-departed illustrious one-day residents of Kickapoo, which we omit, the editor continues: "Thomas H. Benton here takes a 'view' of the Kickapoo polls, as the 916th voter; and then with white coat all in trim comes Horace Greeley, who deposits the 980th ballot. The last scene of the drama is now on the tapis, and in all the majesty of a first appearance before a Kansas audience, in struts Edwin Forrest, the great trage-

dian, as the 1056th voter—*positively his last appearance on the Kansas boards*—and down goes the curtain."

From the fact that in the great collection of Kansas newspapers belonging to the state historical society at Topeka the file of the *Champion* begins with the year 1876, it seems fairly probable that for the first eighteen years the file which has now come to Madison is the only one now in existence.

THE GENERAL BRYANT PAPERS

George Edwin Bryant was an outstanding figure in Wisconsin's contribution to the Civil War. Born on February 11, 1832, in Massachusetts, he was educated at Norwich University, Vermont, studied law, and came to Wisconsin about 1856. He was active in organizing the Governor's Guard and the Madison Guards, and as captain of the latter became part of the First Volunteer Infantry sent forward in March, 1861 to the front. The following September he was commissioned colonel of the Twelfth Infantry and led that regiment through all its vicissitudes, in Missouri and Kansas, around Vicksburg, in the Atlanta campaign, and in Sherman's March to the Sea. During part of the time Colonel Bryant commanded a brigade but was never granted the rank of brigadier general—his title coming from militia service after the war. In this later period of his career he served the state and community in many capacities,—as county judge, postmaster, legislator, superintendent of public property, etc. He died at his home near Madison, February 16, 1907. His son Frank H. Bryant has presented to the Society a number of his father's Civil War papers, which cover in time the entire four years of the conflict. Among them we note the original muster roll of the famous Company E of the First Wisconsin Regiment that having been organized as the Madison Guards was offered to the governor for the country's service before the firing upon Sumter. Among other rolls is one made out by Simeon Mills, signed by William L. Utley, of the companies enrolled in October, 1861 in the Twelfth Wisconsin. There follows in point of time the certificates given by Colonel Bryant to the railroads that transported his regiment to Missouri, and then in succession orders and military documents, some of them signed by General Grenville M. Dodge, who was later to build the Union Pacific Railway.

Some of the most interesting of the papers are copies of letters to President Lincoln urging the promotion of Colonel Bryant to the rank of brigadier general; these were signed by every officer in the regiment and by many of his superior officers and testify not only to his worth as a soldier but to the personal regard he inspired in all

who served with him. Although these requests were never honored by the desired rank, Colonel Bryant had the satisfaction of knowing how highly his colleagues and comrades regarded him.

There are in this collection but few private letters and such as there are are on military subjects. Among the writers are Senator Timothy O. Howe and General James K. Proudfit. The collection as a whole is a valuable addition to the Society's growing store of Civil War material.

THE KNAPP DIARIES

In the decade following the Civil War the lumbering corporation of Knapp, Stout and Company at Menomonie, Wisconsin was reputed to be the largest in the world. The senior member of the firm was John Holley Knapp, who was born in Elmira, New York, March 29, 1825 and came west with his father (of the same name) in 1835. The Knapp family settled at Fort Madison on the Mississippi; and young Knapp grew up among the steamboat and raftsmen of the great river. In 1846 he visited the pineries on the Chippewa River in company with Captain William Wilson, an older lumberman. Young Knapp invested his capital of a thousand dollars in a sawmill, and thereafter spent his life in developing the lumber trade. He had several partners during the early days, Andrew Tainter and James H. Stout being the best known. Fortunately two of Mr. Knapp's early diaries have been preserved and have recently been deposited with the Society by his son, Henry E. Knapp of Menomonie. These cover the formative years 1848 and 1851, and are a valuable source of study for the early lumbering industry.

Mr. Knapp's share of the business was the buying and transportation of supplies and goods from the river to the pinery and the sale and disposal of the sawed lumber from the rafts as they floated down the stream. These activities kept him traveling from point to point on steamboats, by horseback, in stage coaches, and on his own lumber rafts, all the way from St. Louis to Lake Pepin. As the rafts came down he would meet them on the river and endeavor to sell from them lath, shingles, and boards, sometimes disposing of a crib or two at a time, occasionally selling to a dealer the entire raft. In his diary for 1848 Mr. Knapp frequently complains of the lack of a market. "Lumber cant be sold in Galena at this time," he writes on August thirteenth. "The market is glutted & no cash on hand to buy with." At one river port he exchanged lath and shingles for a yoke of cattle. Finally he succeeded in selling the entire raft.

Again he made a visit to the mill, going up on a steamboat to Nelson's Landing in Lake Pepin, riding horseback through the wil-

derness. All was well at the mill, and the garden had produced a thousand bushels of potatoes and a thousand cabbages. Upon one of his visits to the mills in 1851 Mr. Knapp met the first Methodist itinerant in the Chippewa country. At Prairie du Chien on his way down he listened to a "biological lecture" where there was afterwards a dance.

Mr. Knapp was no mere devotee of business; his diary shows how many were his interests and how full his life. He was a great reader and commented with good judgment on what he read. At St. Louis he went often to see good plays, mentioning in his diary that he once saw Charlotte Cushman in the "Hunchback." When possible he attended divine service and gave good heed to the sermons. Once he visited Galesburg and vividly describes the embryo college, the academy with its pretty girls, and the library "which is quite an extensive one for so young an institution." In his leisure hours he studied Latin and perused "Paradise Lost." He likewise enjoyed social life and was greeted by friendly invitations at most of the river towns where he stopped.

In 1849 Mr. Knapp brought a bride from Massachusetts to Fort Madison, and the opening entry in his diary of 1851 records the birth of his son Henry. Thereafter home was his first interest, and he eagerly turned thither after every trip up or down the river. In 1848 Mr. Knapp voted for Zachary Taylor but appears to have taken no active share in politics. He was a member of the Masonic order and occasionally attended lodge. His diaries reveal the true character of the man, upright, honorable, of unblemished integrity, untiring industry, and neighborly kindness. Of such were the commonwealth builders of the Great West.

THE WILLARD KEYES DIARY

We venture to recall to our readers an anecdote of ante bellum days which is now venerable enough to gain admission to the columns of a magazine of history. A Kentucky slave, who had obtained license to preach, was discoursing to his flock on the process of Adam's creation: "When God made Adam," he said, "he stoop down, scrape up a li'l dirt, wet it a li'l, warm it a li'l in he hands, squeeze it in de right shape, and den lean it up agin de fence to dry—"

"Stop right dere," interrupted a member of the flock who was possessed of meditative proclivities, "you say dat are de fustest man eber made?"

"Sarten," said the preacher.

"Den," rejoined his questioner, "jes tell a feller whar dat 'ar fence come from?"

"Hush yo mouf!" cried the preacher. "Two more questions like dat 'ud spile all de theology in de worl."

Apropos of which we are moved to observe that in history as in theology it is a hazardous thing to speak with assurance about the first beginnings of things. We are taught in the schools that Columbus discovered America in 1492. Yet a distinguished curator of this Society once wrote a book with the title *America not Discovered by Christopher Columbus;* and at the present time there are those who believe in the authenticity of the Kensington Rune Stone, which indicates the presence of Norsemen in Minnesota in the year 1362. Were Jolliet and Marquette the first white men to see the upper Mississippi? Or was Robert Peary (or Dr. Cook, as the case may be) the first to visit the north pole? The recent discovery of a fascinating diary of life in Wisconsin a century and more ago gives local point to these reflections. Hitherto our earliest knowledge of logging on Black River—several tantalizingly scanty allusions aside—has had to do with some pioneer lumbermen who began operations about the year 1840. The newly-discovered diary carries the story backward more than two decades, revealing that white men were logging at Black River Falls as early as 1818 and rendering it fairly probable (although positive information of this is lacking) that others had engaged in the industry here at a still earlier date.

The diary in question was kept by Willard Keyes, a resident of Wisconsin from 1817 to 1819, and is now owned by a grandson who lives in California. By him it has been loaned to the Society for the purpose of making an accurate copy. The diary itself is an intensely interesting document and richly deserves publication either in this MAGAZINE or in another suitable medium. Keyes was a young Vermonter who in June, 1817, "impelled by a curiosity or desire of seeing other places" than those of his home vicinity, set forth "intending to travel into the western parts of the United States." That in his wildest dreams he had not anticipated more than a fraction of what subsequently befell him becomes evident as we proceed with the journal which he began keeping on the day of his departure from home. The "western parts" of the United States was then an extensive region, and our adventurer set forth apparently with no definite idea as to whither his travels might lead him. As so often in real life, pure chance determined his entire future, and incidentally the writing of the present notice. Passing westward to Albany and beyond, he fell in with one Constant Andrews. Andrews was a member of the party of the Rev. Samuel Peters, who was coming to Wisconsin in pursuit of that will-o-the-wisp, the Carver Grant, with a view to establishing his colony of Petersylvania. The story of Petersyl-

vania yet awaits writing (the recovery of the Keyes diary will prove of material assistance in writing it), and we venture to doubt whether a single one of the learned readers of this MAGAZINE has ever even heard the name, heretofore, of this abortive colony. The name of its progenitor is a familiar one, however, for Peters was an ex-Connecticut Tory clergyman who achieved lasting fame (or infamy, depending on the point of view one takes) by publishing in London in 1781 a *General History of Connecticut*, wherein, along with much innocent matter, the foibles of his erstwhile neighbors were exposed to the world in such fashion as to win for the author the undying animosity of all loyal sons of the Nutmeg State. Now, well beyond the age of four score, the venerable author was seeking to win for himself a truly imperial dominion in the wilds of modern Wisconsin. Andrews urged Keyes to join Peters' party, and after earnest and pious reflection upon the probable consequences of such a course, he concluded to do so. Thus it was that he made the long and dangerous journey, chiefly by canoe and Mackinaw boat, to Prairie du Chien in the summer of 1817 and became for the ensuing two years a resident of this curious and already venerable wilderness outpost. The only law in vogue was that of the military; and this was dispensed at the time of Peters' arrival by a born autocrat, Colonel Talbot Chambers. This dignitary prevented Peters, notwithstanding his credentials, from proceeding into the Sioux country (his destination was the River bands of Sioux in the vicinity of the mouth of the St. Peters); and after a six-months' wait in vain the old man, disappointed but not despairing, made the long journey back to New York City. Here he died in poverty some eight years later, having striven to the end to gain recognition of his claim to the Carver Grant. Keyes stayed in Prairie du Chien, taught school for a time (incidentally we learn that he was not Wisconsin's first pedagogue, for another New Englander had preceded him as teacher at Prairie du Chien), helped to build and then operate a gristmill, likewise to build and operate a sawmill, and as already noted passed his second winter in the West logging at Black River Falls. In the spring of 1819 with infinite difficulty he piloted his raft down the Black and the Mississippi, bade farewell to Prairie du Chien, and like Huckleberry Finn of more recent fame floated down the great river in search of further adventure. A few years later he turned up as one of the founders of Quincy, Illinois, prospered with the growth of the city, and long before his death a half century later had come to be regarded as one of the pillars of the community. But our present interest in him ceases when his raft cuts loose from its moorings at Prairie du Chien, terminating therewith its owner's career as a resident of

future Badgerdom. The finding of this diary after a hundred years of obscurity would constitute in itself an interesting story, but lack of space forbids our telling it here. The discovery and preservation of the Willard Keyes diary should afford gratification to all who are interested in the records of Wisconsin's past.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

James H. McManus ("A Forgotten Trail") has been for forty years a pastor attached to the West Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. His present contribution indicates to some extent what his intellectual tastes and diversions have been during this period.

Hjalmar R. Holand ("The Kensington Rune Stone") is a farmer and orchardist at Ephraim, who has long concerned himself with local history. In the present article he explains how he became interested in the Kensington Rune Stone, about which a lengthy debate has been waged in recent years. Mr. Holand is the most active champion of the historicity of the rune stone and his present article is the latest word on the affirmative side of the debate.

W. A. Titus ("Historic Spots in Wisconsin: I. Portage, the Break in a Historic Waterway") is a native of Fond du Lac County, where he now resides. Mr. Titus has long pursued the study of archeology and has built up a notable archeological collection. He is a member of the Board of Visitors of the University of Wisconsin and life member of the State Historical Society. The present is the first of a series of articles by Mr. Titus on the general subject to be printed in the MAGAZINE.

Louise P. Kellogg ("The Story of Wisconsin, 1634-1848") is senior research member of the staff of the State Historical Society and a frequent contributor to its publications.

William F. Whyte ("Observations of a Contract Surgeon") is a native of Scotland who came to Wisconsin in childhood and for forty years practiced medicine at Watertown. Dr. Whyte has been a member of the State Board of Health for twenty-one years and its president for sixteen years. He has previously written for this Society "The Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County" (in *Proceedings* for 1915) and "The Watertown Railway Bond Fight" (in *Proceedings* for 1916).

THE WIDER FIELD

A joint meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical and the Menominee County Historical societies was held at Menominee, Michigan, August 6 and 7, 1919. Among the numerous addresses delivered were several dealing with phases of the history of Menominee, of Iron and Dickinson counties, and of the Upper Peninsula in general. The recent gathering was the fourth annual meeting of the Pioneer and Historical Society devoted to the interests of the Upper Peninsula.

The July, 1919 issue of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains the usual lengthy list of historical contributions. Among them we note the following as being of more particular interest to readers of this magazine : "Historical Work after the War," by Augustus C. Carton; "The Forests of the Upper Peninsula and their Place in History," by Alvah L. Sawyer; "Place Names in the Upper Peninsula," by W. F. Gagnieur; and "History of the Marquette Ore Docks," by D. H. Merritt.

The annual volume of *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1918 came to hand in September, 1919. It contains the addresses delivered at the centennial meeting of the Society in May, 1918, several of which are of much interest. Among them we note "Virginia in the Making of Illinois," by H. J. Eckenrode; "Illinois in the Democratic Movement of the Century," by Allen Johnson; and "Establishing the American Colonial System in the Old Northwest," by E. J. Benton. The most considerable contribution to the volume in point of length is Andrew J. Mills' narrative "One Hundred Years of Sunday School History in Illinois."

In Volume V of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* are printed the pioneer recollections of John H. Fonda of Prairie du Chien which originally appeared serially in the Prairie du Chien *Courier* in 1858. Although much of Fonda's life was passed in Wisconsin, by about the year 1819 he had migrated from New York to Texas, and the next few years were for him a life of adventure and hardship in the far Southwest. The portion of Fonda's recollections dealing with this period of his life has been reprinted with appropriate editorial comment in the July *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. The editor introduces Fonda to the *Quarterly's* readers as "a practically overlooked explorer and trader in the Southwest."

For many years the Lakeside Press of Chicago has published annually for gratuitous distribution at Christmas time a small volume dealing with some phase of Middle Western history, and for the last three years the editing of this volume has been done by M. M. Quaife of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The volume for the present year is entitled *A Woman's Picture of Pioneer Illinois*. It is a reprint, with historical introduction and appropriate editing, of the recollections of Mrs. Christiana H. Tillson, who came as a bride from her native Massachusetts to the very edge of the Illinois frontier in 1822. Originally printed privately for family distribution, the volume has long since become exceedingly rare. A canvass of the leading reference libraries of the country disclosed but three copies of the book—at Madison, at Chicago, and at Springfield, Illinois. More recently two more copies have been found, both in the Quincy Historical Society collection. The new edition in the *Lakeside Classics* series should give to this charming narrative a fresh lease of life.

STATEMENT

of THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, published quarterly at Menasha, Wis., required by the Act of August 24, 1912.

Name of—	*Postoffice Address*
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Superintendent, M. M. Quaife	Madison, Wis.

No Stockholders.

Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders, holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities:

None.

George Banta, Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1919.

[SEAL] Gertrude W. Sawyer,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 21, 1920.)