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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

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JONATHAN CARVER
From the London (1781) edition of Carver's *Travels*

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THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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

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AN EXPERIMENT OF THE FATHERS IN STATE SOCIALISM

M. M. Quaife

The rapid advance of recent years along the pathway of state socialism has commonly been regarded as a new phenomenon in American life, as, indeed, in many respects it is. Curiously enough, however, one of its most advanced and recent manifestations, the entrance of the government upon the field of retail merchandising with a view to controlling prices in the supposed interest of the general public as opposed to the machinations of a set of grasping middlemen, closely repeats in many particulars a notable and now long-forgotten experiment of the United States government in the field of retail trade a century and more ago. Some account of the hopes entertained by the governmental authorities who initiated the enterprise and their disappointment as the result of actual trial may afford entertainment and mayhap even profit to readers in the present juncture of public affairs.

The ancient experiment of the government in retail merchandising was designed, like the recent one, to lower the cost of living and promote the contentment of mind of the public in whose interest it was instituted. Instead of citizens of the United States, however, that public consisted of an alien and inferior race, the red men along our far flung frontier. The origin of the policy of governmental trading houses for the Indians dates from the early colonial period. In the Plymouth and Jamestown settlements all industry was at first controlled by the commonwealth and in Massachusetts Bay the stock company had reserved to itself the trade in furs before leaving England. In the last-named colony a notable experiment was carried on during the first half of the eighteenth century in conducting "truck houses" for the Indians.

About the middle of the century Benjamin Franklin, whose attention had been called to the abuses which the Indians of the Pennsylvania frontier were suffering at the hands of private traders, investigated the workings of the Massachusetts system and recommended the establishment of public trading houses at suitable places along the frontier.

The first step toward the establishment of a national system of Indian trading houses was taken under the guidance of the ommiscient Franklin during the opening throes of the American Revolution. To the second Continental Congress the establishment of friendly relations with the Indians appeared a matter of "utmost moment." Accordingly it was resolved July 12, 1775 to establish three Indian trading departments, a northern, a middle, and a southern, with appropriate powers for supervising the relations of the United Colonies with the Indians. In November of the same year a committee, of which Franklin was a member, was directed to devise a plan for carrying on trade with the Indians and ways and means for procuring the goods for it.

Acting upon the report of this committee Congress adopted a series of resolutions outlining a general system of governmental supervision of the Indian trade and appropriating the sum of 40,000 pounds to purchase goods for it. These were to be disposed of by licensed traders, acting under instructions laid down by the commissions and under bond to them to insure compliance with the prescribed regulations. The following month Congress further manifested its good intentions toward the native race by passing resolutions expressing its faith in the benefits to accrue from the propagation of the gospel and the civil arts among the red men and directing the commissioners of Indian affairs to report upon suitable places in their departments for establishing schoolmasters and ministers of the gospel.

The exigencies of the war, absorbing all the energies of the new government, soon frustrated this new plan, and not until

1786 was a systematic effort made to regulate the Indian trade. In that year the Indian department was divided into two districts, a superintendent and a deputy being appointed for each. They were to execute the regulations of Congress relating to Indian affairs. Only citizens of the United States whose good moral character had been certified by the governor of a state were eligible to licenses; they were to run for one year and to be granted upon the payment of fifty dollars and the execution of a bond to insure compliance with the regulations of the Indian department. To engage in trade without a license incurred a penalty of five hundred dollars and forfeiture of goods.

This was, apparently, a judicious system, but the government of the Confederation had about run its course and the general paralysis which overtook it, together with the confusion attendant upon the establishment of the new national government, prevented the new policy toward the Indians from being carried into effect. Prominent among the problems which pressed upon the new government for solution was the subject of Indian relations and in this connection the question of the regulation of the Indian trade. In 1790 the licensing system of 1786 was temporarily adopted, shorn of some of its more valuable features, however. There was no prohibition against foreigners, and no license fee was required. This system was continued without essential change until 1816, when an act was passed prohibiting foreigners from trading with Indians in the United States except by special permission of the president and under such regulations as he might prescribe.

The young government shortly entered upon the most serious Indian war in all its history and not until one of its armies had been repulsed and another destroyed did Anthony Wayne succeed in extorting from the hostile red men a recognition of the government he represented. At the close of this war Congress, at the instigation of Washington,

determined to experiment with another system of conducting the Indian trade. In the session of 1795, stirred up by the repeated recommendations of Washington, that body debated a bill for the establishment of Indian trading houses. Though the bill was defeated at this time its purpose as stated by its supporters is worth noting. It was regarded as constituting a part only of a comprehensive frontier policy; this policy embraced the threefold design of the military protection of the frontier against Indian invasions, the legal protection of the Indian country against predatory white incursions, and the establishment of trading houses to supply the wants of the Indians and free them from foreign influence. It was believed that these three things embraced in one system would bring about the great desideratum, peace on the frontier; but that without the last the other parts of the plan would prove totally ineffectual.

The defeat of the advocates of the system of government trading houses in 1795 was neither final nor complete. Their principal measure had failed of passage, but at this same session Congress appropriated the sum of fifty thousand dollars to begin the establishment of public trading houses, and two were accordingly started among the Cherokee, Creeks, and Chickasaw of the Southwest. The next year a second act was passed, carrying an appropriation of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in addition to an annual allowance for the payment of agents and clerks. The president was authorized to establish trading houses at such places as he saw fit for carrying on a "liberal trade" with the Indians. The agents and clerks employed were prohibited from engaging in trade on their own account and were required to give bonds for the faithful performance of their duties. The act was to run for two years, and the trade was to be so conducted that the capital sum should suffer no diminution.

Until 1803, however, nothing was done to extend the system of trading houses thus experimentally begun in

1795. In the debates over the passage of the act of 1796 it was made evident that even the supporters of the measure regarded it in the light of an experiment. The recent war had cost one and a half million dollars annually; it was worth while to try another method of securing peace on the frontier. Since the Canadian trading company was too powerful for individual Americans to compete with successfully, the government must assume the task. If upon trial the plan should prove a failure it could be abandoned. On the other hand it was objected that public bodies should not engage in trade, which was always managed better by individuals; fraud and loss could not be guarded against; nor should the people be taxed for the sake of maintaining trade with the Indians. In spite of these objections and prophecies, the report of 1801 showed that the original capital had suffered no diminution, but had, in fact, been slightly increased; this, too, despite losses that had been incurred through the failure of the sales agent, to whom they had been assigned, to dispose of the peltries before many had become ruined.

In January, 1803 the powerful influence of President Jefferson was put behind the development of the government trading house system. He stated in a message to Congress on the subject that private traders, both domestic and foreign, were being undersold and driven from competition; that the system was effective in conciliating the goodwill of the Indians; and that they were soliciting generally the establishment of trading houses among them. At the same time the Secretary of War reported the establishment of four new stations at Detroit, Fort Wayne, Chickasaw Bluffs, and among the Choctaw, to which the remainder of the money appropriated in 1796 had been applied. This remained the number until 1805, when four more were established at Arkansas on the Arkansas River, at Nachitoches on the Red River, at Belle Fontaine near the mouth of the Missouri, and at Chicago. The following year a trading house was estab-

lished at Sandusky on Lake Erie, and in 1808 three more at Mackinac, at Fort Osage, and at Fort Madison. Meanwhile the two original houses had been removed to new locations and two others, those at Detroit and at Belle Fontaine, had been abandoned.

From 1808 until the beginning of the War of 1812 there were thus twelve factories in operation. At each was stationed an agent or factor and at most an assistant or clerk as well. The salaries of the former prior to 1810 ranged from $750 to $1,250, in most cases not exceeding $1,000; the pay of the latter from $250 to $650; in both cases subsistence was granted in addition. In 1810 the superintendent of the trade estimated that of the total amount of $280,000, which had been invested in the business, $235,000 still remained; the loss in the capital invested to this date was therefore, in round numbers, $45,000. The four-year period ending in 1815, on the other hand, in spite of the disturbance to trade which attended the operations of the War of 1812, produced a profit of $60,000. Approximately three-fourths of this gain was swallowed up in the destruction during the war of the factories at Chicago, Fort Wayne, Sandusky, Mackinac, and Fort Madison; however this was the fortune of war and not in any way the fault of the system.

Upon the conclusion of peace with Great Britain in 1815 fresh plans were laid for the extension of the department of Indian trade. Although the territory northwest of the Ohio River had been ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris of 1783, down to the War of 1812 American sovereignty had been but imperfectly established over much of this region. Even the limited measure of control which had been gained prior to 1812 was largely lost during the war, and the British diplomats strove earnestly at Ghent to render this loss permanent by erecting south of the lakes an Indian barrier state which should forever protect the English in Canada from the advancing tide of American settlement. This effort

failed, however, and the War Department moved promptly to the establishment of American authority in the Northwest.

The restoration and extension of the system of government trading houses was an integral part of the program; and hand in hand with the rebuilding of forts or the founding of new ones at such points as Mackinac, Green Bay, Chicago, and Prairie du Chien went the establishment of factories at the points of greatest strategic importance. The system continued in operation until the summer of 1822 when in response to a vigorous campaign waged by Senator Benton against it, it was suddenly abolished. To the reasons for this action and a consideration of the failure of the system our attention may now be turned.

The government trading-house system had been established under the influence of a twofold motive. The primary consideration of the government's Indian policy was the maintenance of peace on the frontier. This could best be accomplished by rendering the Indian contented and by freeing him from the influence of foreigners. Not merely his happiness, but his very existence depended upon his securing from the whites those articles which he needed but which he himself could not produce; and since the private traders took advantage of his weakness and ignorance to exploit him outrageously in the conduct of the Indian trade, it was argued that the welfare of the Indian would be directly promoted and indirectly the peace of the frontier be conserved by the establishment of government trading houses upon the principles that have been indicated.

The theory underlying the government factory system seemed sound, but in practice several obstacles to its successful working, powerful enough in the aggregate to cause its abandonment, were encountered. Not until 1816 was an act passed excluding foreigners from the trade, and even then such exceptions were allowed as to render the prohibition of little value. The amount of money devoted to the factory system

was never sufficient to permit its extension to more than a small proportion of the tribes. However well conducted the business may have been, this fact alone would have prevented the attainment of the larger measure of benefit that had been anticipated.

Another and inherent cause of failure lay in the difficulty of public operation of a business so special and highly complicated in character as the conduct of the Indian trade. Great shrewdness, intimate knowledge of the native character, and a willingness to endure great privations were among the qualifications essential to its successful prosecution. The private trader was at home with the red men; his livelihood depended upon his exertions; and he was free from the moral restraints which governed the conduct of the government factor. Above all he was his own master, free to adapt his course to the exigencies of the moment; the factor was hampered by regulations prescribed by a superintendent who resided far distant from the western country; and he, in turn, by a Congress which commonly turned a deaf ear to his repeated appeals for amendment of the act governing the conduct of the trade. The factor's income was assured regardless of the amount of trade he secured; nor was he affected by losses due to error of judgment on his part, as was the private trader. Too often he had at the time of his appointment no acquaintance with the Indian or with the business put in his charge. To instance a single case: Jacob Varnum at the time of his appointment to the Sandusky factory was a native of rural New England, who had neither asked nor desired such an appointment. It is doubtful whether he had ever seen an Indian; he was certainly entirely without mercantile experience; yet he had for competitors shrewd and able men who had spent practically their whole lives in the Indian trade.

The goods for the government trade must be bought in the United States; the peltries secured in its conduct must be sold here. This worked disaster to the enterprise in various

ways. From their long experience in supplying the Indian trade the English had become expert in the production of articles suited to the red man's taste. It was impossible for the government buying in the United States to match in quality and in attractiveness to the Indian the goods of the Canadian trader. Even if English goods were purchased of American importers, the factory system was handicapped by reason of the higher price which must be paid. On the other hand the prohibition against the exportation of peltries compelled the superintendent of the trade to dispose of them in the American market. Experience proved that the domestic demand for peltries, particularly for deer skins, did not equal the supply; therefore the restriction frequently occasioned financial loss. But there were further restrictions in the act of 1806 which narrowed the choice of a market even within the United States. That these restrictions would operate to diminish the business and accordingly the influence of the government trading houses is obvious.

Another group of restrictions worked injury to the factory system through their failure to accommodate the habits and desires of the Indian. To trade with the government the Indian must come to the factory. The private trader took his goods to the Indian. The red man was notably lacking in prudence and thrift and was careless and heedless of the future. He was, too, a migratory being, his winters being devoted to the annual hunt, which frequently carried him several hundred miles away from his summer residence. Before setting out on such a hunt he must secure a suitable equipment of supplies. Since he never had money accumulated, this must be obtained on credit and be paid for with the proceeds of the ensuing winter's hunt. The factor was prohibited, for the most part, from extending such credit; the private trader willingly granted it, and furthermore, he frequently followed the Indian on his hunt to collect his pay as fast as the furs were taken. In such cases as the factor did

extend credit to the Indian, the private trader often succeeded in wheedling him out of the proceeds of his hunt, leaving him nothing with which to discharge his debt to the factor.

The greatest advantage, perhaps, enjoyed by the private trader involved at the same time the most disgraceful feature connected with the Indian trade. From the first association of the Indian with the white race his love of liquor proved his greatest curse. The literature of the subject abounds in narrations of this weakness and the unscrupulous way in which the white man took advantage of it. For liquor the red man would barter his all. It constituted an indispensable part of the trader's outfit, and all of the government's prohibitions against its use in the Indian trade were in vain, as had been those of the French and British governments before it. The Indians themselves realized their fatal weakness, but although they frequently protested against the bringing of liquor to them, they were powerless to overcome it. The factor had no whisky for the Indian; consequently the private trader secured his trade.

The remedy for this state of affairs is obvious. Either the government should have monopolized the Indian trade, at the same time extending the factory system to supply its demands, or else the factory system should have been abandoned and the trade left entirely to private individuals under suitable governmental regulation. The former course had been urged upon Congress at various times, but no disposition to adopt it had ever been manifested. The time had now arrived to adopt the other alternative. As a resident of St. Louis and senator from Missouri Benton was the immediate spokesman in Congress of the powerful group of St. Louis fur traders, who, like their rivals of the American Fur Company and, indeed, all the private traders, were bitterly antagonistic to the government trading houses. Soon after he entered the Senate Benton urged upon Calhoun, then secretary of war, the abolition of the system. Calhoun, however,

entertained a high opinion of the superintendent of Indian trade and refused to credit the charges of maladministration preferred by Benton. This refusal led Benton to open a direct assault upon the system in the Senate. In this two advantages favored his success: as an inhabitant of a frontier state he was presumed to have personal knowledge of the abuses of the system he was attacking; and as a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs he was specially charged with the legislative oversight of matters pertaining to the Indians.

Benton believed and labored to show that the original purpose of the government trading houses had been lost sight of; that the administration of the system had been marked by stupidity and fraud; that the East had been preferred to the West by the superintendent of Indian trade in making purchases and sales; in short that the factory system constituted a great abuse, the continued maintenance of which was desired only by those private interests which found a profit therein. In view of the circumstances of the situation his conclusion that the government trading houses should be abolished was probably wise; but the reasons on which he based this conclusion were largely erroneous. His information was gained from such men as Ramsey Crooks, then and for long years a leader in the councils of the American Fur Company. This organization had a direct interest in the overthrow of the factory system. Its estimate of the value of the latter was about as disingenuous as would be the opinion today of the leader of a liquor dealers' organization of the merits of the Prohibition party.

Benton's charges of fraud on the part of the superintendent and the factors failed to convince the majority of the Senators who spoke in the debate, and the student of the subject today must conclude that the evidence does not sustain them. There was more truth in his charges with respect to unwise management of the enterprise; but for this Congress, rather

than the superintendent, was primarily responsible. It is evident, too, that in spite of his claim to speak from personal knowledge Benton might well have been better informed about the subject of the Indian trade. One of his principal charges concerned the unsuitability of the articles selected for it by the superintendent. But the list of items which he read to support this charge but partially supported his contention. Upon one item—eight gross of jews'-harps—the orator fairly exhausted his powers of sarcasm and invective. Yet a fuller knowledge of the subject under discussion would have spared him this effort. Ramsey Crooks could have informed him that jews'-harps were a well-known article of the Indian trade. Only a year before this tirade was delivered the American Fur Company had supplied a single trader with four gross of these articles for his winter's trade on the Mississippi.

Although Benton's charges so largely failed of substantiation, yet the Senate approved his motion for the abolition of the factory system. The reasons for this action are evident from the debate. Even his colleagues on the Committee on Indian Affairs did not accept Benton's charges of maladministration. They reported the bill for the abolition of the trading-house system in part because of their objections to the system itself. It had never been extended to more than a fraction of the Indians on the frontier; to extend it to all of them would necessitate a largely increased capital and would result in a multiplication of the obstacles already encountered on a small scale. The complicated nature of the Indian trade was such that only individual enterprise and industry was fitted to conduct it with success. Finally the old argument which had been wielded against the initiation of the system, that it was not a proper governmental function, was employed. The trade should be left to individuals, the government limiting itself to regulating properly their activities.

Benton's method of abolishing the factory system exhibited as little evidence of statesmanship as did that employed

by Jackson in his more famous enterprise of destroying the second United States Bank. In 1818 Calhoun, as Secretary of War, had been directed by Congress to propose a plan for the abolition of the trading-house system. In his report he pointed out that two objects should be held in view in winding up its affairs: to sustain as little loss as possible; and to withdraw from the trade gradually in order that the place vacated by the government might be filled by others with as little disturbance as practicable. Neither of these considerations was heeded by Benton. He succeeded in so changing the bill for the abolition of the system as to provide that the termination of its affairs should be consummated within a scant two months, and by another set of men than the factors and superintendent. That considerable loss should be incurred in winding up such a business was inevitable. Calhoun's suggestions would have minimized this as much as possible. Benton's plan caused the maximum of loss to the government and of confusion to the Indian trade. According to a report made by Congress in 1824 on the abolition of the factory system, a loss of over fifty per cent of the capital stock was sustained.

The failure of the trading-house system constitutes but one chapter in the long and sorrowful story of the almost total failure of the government of the United States to realize in practice its good intentions toward the Indians. The factory system was entered upon from motives of prudence and humanity; that it was productive of beneficial results cannot be successfully disputed; that it failed to achieve the measure of benefit to the red race and the white for which its advocates had hoped must be attributed by the student, as it was by Calhoun, "not to a want of dependence on the part of the Indians on commercial supplies but to defects in the system itself or in its administration." The fatal error arose from the timidity of the government. Instead of monopolizing the field of the Indian trade, it entered upon it as the competitor of the private trader. Since its agents could not stoop to the

practices to which the latter resorted, the failure of the experiment was a foregone conclusion. Yet it did not follow from this failure that with a monopoly of the field the government would not have rendered better service to the public than did the private traders. Lacking the courage of its convictions, it permitted the failure of perhaps the most promising experiment for the amelioration of the condition of the red man upon which it has ever embarked.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF JONATHAN CARVER

WILLIAM BROWNING

Few of our early native explorers rank with Carver. The importance of a correct account of him, however, depends not so much on the value of his discoveries as on the pragmatic fact that his name has occupied a prominent place for the past one hundred and forty years. The wide interest that Carver's work elicited and the hold it has kept despite all the attacks of critics have naturally aroused inquiry concerning his personal history. Yet, as John Thomas Lee says, "we know very little of Carver's early life."[1] Lee has done more than anyone else to correct the criticisms aimed at Carver and has with thoroughness gathered the material referring to him, but he recognizes, nevertheless, the mystery that shrouds the career of Carver.

One sketch, that of Judge Daniel W. Bond,[2] gives some items, the best account perhaps that has appeared. But it is in a little-seen volume, lacks much of importance to the picture, has inevitable slips, makes no reference to the author's sources of information, and has doubt thrown on it by the editor.

The accounts of Lee and Bond give practically everything so far known regarding the personal side of Carver's career. Yet even so primary a fact as the date of Carver's birth has not been hitherto known. To anyone acquainted with Connecticut it must seem incomprehensibly strange that such a man could have been bred there, and yet no traces of his life or lineage be discoverable.

[1] "A Bibliography of Carver's Travels," in State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Proceedings*, 1909, 148.

[2] George Sheldon, *History of Deerfield, Massachusetts* (Deerfield, 1895), II, 101-104; Carver genealogy supplied by Judge Daniel W. Bond.

There remained one possible source of information that none of Carver's many commentators had exploited, viz., the various local archives that might shed light. From long familiarity with Connecticut and by the aid of friends the present writer has been able to find material that it is hoped will go toward establishing a correct view of Carver's origin and early surroundings.

Most later accounts point to Canterbury, Connecticut, as the place of the explorer's birth. It is therefore in order to turn to that town for possible facts. Though its early records are in part lost or scattered, facts relative to Carver have been found in the following still extant but unpublished records:

a. Town records in the present town clerk's office in Canterbury. Volume I of *Vital Records* is gone. Volume II does not begin until about 1750. Registry of early deeds seems also incomplete. Other town records, however, are well kept and indexed and prove useful.

b. Early probate records of Canterbury, now preserved at the Windham County courthouse in Willimantic.

c. Later probate records of that district, kept at the Plainfield town clerk's office in Central Village, Connecticut. These were examined but they yielded little prior to 1750.

d. Original record of the Canterbury Congregational Church, now in possession of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford.

In addition there is some scattering material published in recent years, or otherwise accessible, from which information may be gleaned to supplement the facts derived from the records which have been noted as of major importance.

An outline of Carver's early career can best be presented by following genealogical lines, beginning with his father, David Carver ("Ensign David") of Canterbury, Connecticut. The "First Volume of Records of Town Acts, 1717—" discloses the following information:

Town meeting, Canterbury, Dec. 8, 1719. Amongst the officials chosen was "David Carver, leather sealer."

Dec. 20, 1720. David Carver chosen first selectman, and again leather sealer.

Dec. 29, 1720. "Town Meeting. * * * David Carver was chosen Moderator for the day."

Dec. 19, 1721. David Carver was again chosen moderator; also again first selectman for the year.

Town Meeting. "July the 4th 1722 Mr. Carver was chosen moderator for the day."

Dec. 11, 1722, Town Meeting. "Ensign David Carver" was chosen one of two "jurymen."[3]

Jan. 24, 1722/3. "Ensign David Carver" was chosen one of "a Committee to agree with a schoolmaster or masters to keep the school as aforesaid."

Town Meeting, Feb. 26, 1722/3 voted to David Carver a tract of land (the boundaries of which are detailed at length).

Apr. 30, 1723. Voted to "Ensign David Carver" a half share of "undivided land or commons."

Dec. 17, 1723. "Ensign David Carver, leather sealer," so chosen at town meeting. On the same day he was chosen one of a committee on a highway award.

Dec. 8, 1724. "Ensign David Carver" again chosen leather sealer.

Dec. 21, 1725. "General Town Meeting"; Mr. David Carver chosen moderator and again "leather sealer."

Dec. 6, 1726. Town Meeting; "Ensign David Carver" was again chosen "leather sealer."

His name then drops out of the records. But it is evident that in his few years in the young community Ensign David Carver was elected to a good share of the offices in the gift of the town. And as he was sufficiently domiciled by Decem-

[3] This may mean the same as Bond's statement that he was a deputy to the General Court.

ber, 1719 to take part in town meeting, it is clear that he must have arrived prior to this date. There is little to indicate his personal character, except that he was not a member of the local church; but his career can be outlined very well.

An entry in the original record of Canterbury Congregational Church runs as follows: "Dec. 16, 1722, bapt. Benjamin son of Ens. David Carver." As this church list of baptisms begins in 1711, but gives no other child born to him, it is a natural inference that any other children he may have had were born elsewhere.

ESTATE OF DAVID CARVER

The particulars which follow are gleaned from the old probate records at Willimantic (not to be confused with newer series). Only so far as they bear on the present subject are they here transcribed or summarized. While the style, chirography, and paper are old, the text can be made out satisfactorily.

Volume I, 1713-34, pp. 220-22. The appraisers' list of Nov. 9, 1727 is given at length—lands, buildings, and a long list of articles of the estate. Signed, "Solomon Pain, administrator." In volume I, part 2, p. 157-58 the distribution of the estate is thus recorded:

At a Court of Probate held in Plainfield February 13th, 1727-8 for ye County of Windham. Present Timothy Pierce Esq. Judge.
Mr. Solomon Pain adminstrator on ye estate of Ensign David Carver late of Canterbury deceased. Presented to ye Court an account of his administration on ye said estate which account and receipts was examined by which and ye inventory of ye sd deceased Estate It appears that ye whole estate inventoried with ye debts due to sd Estate amounts to ye sum of L 2118- 1½S and yt ye administrator hath paid out sundry debts and charges amounting to ye sum of L 81- 15 S 4′ w-th is by this Court allowed and that there is now remaining of ye sd deceased Estate ye sum or value of L 2036- 15S - 10′ to be distributed and divided.
Which this Court distributes as follows to wit to Mrs. Sarah Carver relick to sd deceased one 3d part of ye movable Estate of sd deceased which is the sum of L 122- 5S - 7′ at Inventory price to be hers forever.
And ye one 3d part of Real Estate during life wch is ye sum of L556- 13S - 4′ and unto Mr. Samuel Carver eldest son to sd deceased the sum or value of L 387 - 19S -0′ and into Jonathan Carver 2d son to sd

deceased the sum or value of L193- 19S- 6′ and unto David Carver 3d son to sd deceased ye sum or value of L193- 19S- 6′ and unto Benjamin Carver 4th son to sd deceased ye sum or value of L193- 19S- 6′ and unto Sarah Pain eldest daughter to said deceased ye sum or value of L193- 19S- 6′ and unto Hannah Carver second daughter to sd deceased the sum or value of L193- 19S- 6′—and This Court orders that ye above said daughters shall have their portion out of ye personal estate of sd deceased—so far as they can extend and this Court orders and appoints Capt. Joseph Adams Mr. Solomon Tracy and Mr. John Felch all of Canterbury to distribute and divide ye sd estate accordingly and to make return thereof to this Court and to be sworn before the next Justice and this Court appoints Mr. John Dyer of Canterbury guardian to ye above sd Jonathan Carver David Carver and Hannah Carver Jonathan Carver and David Carver desiring ye same for themselves and also this Court appoints Mr. Solomon Pain of sd Canterbury guardian to sd Benjamin Carver Bond being given by sd guardian as ye law directs.
And also this Court orders that if any thing hereafter should appear to be due to or from sd Estate Each one to be at their ratable part in paying or recovering ye same.

Test John Crory Clerk of Prob.

Volume I, p. 301. "Canterbury, Apr. 24, 1728 pursuant to the trust committed to the subscribers by the Honored Court of Probate &c. For the division of the estate of Mr. David Carver of said Canterbury for the County of Windham deceased, viz.—Was ordered by said Court as followeth namely of the said personall estate to the widow relict of the deceased an 3 part being 122 L.-s.-p. We have set out according to the best of our understanding in particulars as followeth. Imprimis."

Then follows a list, two and one-half pages long, of the distributed articles of the estate, stated to lie in part on the Quinebaug River. Next are specifications of three divisions of land. Widow's dowry of one-third stated.

Volume I, p. 305. "Saml. Carver the eldest son of said David" is given a tract of land.

"We have set out to Jonathan Carver 2^{d} son to the deceased a tract of land lying on the west side of the River bounded as followeth," &c.

To David Carver (3d son) a tract is also set out.

Volume I, p. 306. "Fifthly we have set out to Benjamin Carver fourth son to said David a tract of land," &c.

"Sixthly we have set out to Sarah Paine—daughter to said David a tract," &c.

"Seventhly we have set out to Hannah Carver youngest daughter to said David, a tract," &c.

Signed,—Adams,—Feltch, & Sallomon Tracy, "distributors under oath." July 26, 1729.

Volume I, p. 301. "A Court of Probate held in Plainfield, June the 10th, 1729, Mr. John Dyer of Canterbury appeared in court and acknowledged himself bound to the Treasurer of the County of Windham in a recognizance of three hundred pounds money—that had said John Dyer as guardian to and for Jonathan Carver, David Carver and Hannah Carver minor sons and daughter to Mr. David Carver of said Canterbury deceased. Will be as his ratable part in paying all such debts that shall hereafter appear to be due from the deceased estate." His first bond in February, 1728 was for L 500.

Volume I, p. 301. "A Court of Probate held in Plainfield, July the 8th 1729—Mr. Saml. Carver, eldest son to Mr. David Carver of Canterbury deceased, appeared in said Court and acknowledged himself bound to the Treasury of said County of Windham in a recognizance of two hundred pounds money that he—Will be as his ratable part in paying all such debts that shall hereafter appear to be due from the deceased estate."

"A Court of Probate held in Plainfield July the 8, 1729, Mr. Solomon Pain of Canterbury as Guardian for Benjamin Carver, minor son of Mr. David Carver of Canterbury deceased, appeared in the Court and acknowledged himself bound to the treasury of the said County of Windham in a recognizance of one hundred pounds money that he the said Pain as guardian to said minor will be as his ratable part in paying all such debts as shall hereafter appear to be due from the said deceased Estate." His earlier bond was for L 200.

The facts here first set forth are matters of legal record, established at the time and by those quite familiar with all the members of Ensign David Carver's family. They consequently furnish a sure basis from which to trace out the line of the Jonathan named therein, a key to the obscure parts of his history.

These records show that Ensign David Carver must have died between December 6, 1726 (when he was last elected to office) and November 9, 1727 (when his estate was appraised) and thus sufficiently corroborate the date given by Bond, viz., September 14, 1727. His estate appears to be recorded at greater length than any other of that period, indicating that he was a man of personal and financial importance, necessitating the appointment of administrator, appraisers, distributors, and guardians. The value of the estate, some $10,000, may not now seem very impressive, but for that time and place it represented a surprisingly large amount—more than David Carver could well have accumulated in his few years at Canterbury. For his day and generation he was a man of wealth.

Since Samuel Carver, the eldest son, was of age, it is certain that Jonathan, the second son, was approaching his majority though still a minor in 1729. As Ensign David does not appear in these records until 1719, and his fourth son was baptized in 1722, the fact that there were two children between the latter and Jonathan raises again a presumption that he was born before the family removed to Canterbury.

The following items bearing on the marriage of Jonathan Carver are found in the town records of Canterbury:

Mary the daughter of Jonathan and Abigail Carver was born Apr. the 8th, 1747.

Abigail the daughter of Jonathan and Abigail Carver was born May the 29th 1748.

These names and dates agree perfectly with those given by Bond for the first two children of Jonathan Carver of Franklin County, Massachusetts. The items afford sufficient corroboration also of Judge Bond's further statement that

his Jonathan Carver, the explorer, married Abigail Robbins October 20, 1746 in Canterbury. A list of Carver's children, correct in part and possibly in toto, is given by Bond.

The following evidence should convince even those who "prefer darkness to light" that the Jonathan Carver who lived at Canterbury, Connecticut, and Jonathan Carver the explorer, of Franklin County, Massachusetts, were one and the same individual:

a. The general recognition and acceptance by the Massachusetts local historians of the fact that their Jonathan Carver came from Canterbury, Connecticut. This conclusion is accepted by Lee and apparently by all other recent writers who have given special attention to the subject.

b. The existence of a very real Jonathan Carver at Canterbury, as the wise men of history have presumed, and the further fact that he dropped out of the Canterbury records just before the appearance of a Jonathan Carver in Franklin County, Massachusetts.[4]

c. The identity of Jonathan's two children born in Canterbury, Mary and Abigail, with the first two children of the Massachusetts Jonathan.

d. The general agreement alike of hostile and friendly critics that the explorer came from Connecticut, in conjunction with the un-Homeric fact that no other place in Connecticut has competed for him.

e. The fact that in 1770 at Montague, Massachusetts, a summer school was kept at Mrs. Abigail Carver's amongst others,[5] the name thus agreeing with that of Jonathan's wife in Canterbury earlier.

f. The direct testimony of the Rev. Samuel Peters that he knew the explorer to be from Canterbury, although as a "colossal liar" and "spiteful historian" little credence is placed in his unsupported word.

[4] Montague, Deerfield, and Northfield were all in Franklin County.

[5] Edward P. Pressey, *History of Montague* (Montague, Mass., 1910), 217.

Rarely can a personal item of two centuries ago be established more conclusively.

ORIGIN OF ENSIGN DAVID CARVER AND BIRTH OF JONATHAN, THE EXPLORER

The fact that Canterbury was not settled until shortly before 1700 shows that David removed here from some other place. Since Bond states that he married Hannah Dyer of Weymouth, Massachusetts, we naturally turn to that town's records for light on this point.

In the *Vital Records* of Weymouth[6] these entries are found:

> Jonathan, s. of David & Hannah Carver, b. Apr. 13, 1710.
> David, s. of David & Hannah Carver, b. Sept. 14, 1713.
> Hannah, d. of David & Hannah Carver, b. Oct. 25, 1717.

Since these names are identical with those of three of Ensign David Carver's children, are in the same chronological order, and since the dates of birth accord with the known facts concerning Ensign David's family, born at just the right period to conform, and furthermore since the parents' names agree with those given by Bond, it appears mathematically certain that they are identical.[7]

It is consequently certain that we have here the long sought date of birth of Jonathan Carver, the explorer, April 13, 1710. Various writers, critics as well as supporters, have inclined to place the explorer's birth before 1732, the date commonly assigned. Their guesses have ranged all the way back to "about 1712"—that of Bond. It follows from the same evidence that Carver was born at Weymouth, Massa-

[6] *Vital Records of Weymouth, Massachusetts* to 1850 (Boston, 1910), 70.

[7] The name Sarah, as the widow of David, given once in the settlement of the estate, does not negative this conclusion. While it might be due to any one of several reasons, the real explanation evidently is connected with the following fact: Of the twenty-one entries of births or baptisms in the family, as found recorded, in but one (that of Benjamin, last child of Ensign David) is there failure to include the mother's name. It is therefore apparent that something had happened to her before the entry was made.

chusetts. Since he passed most of his younger years in Connecticut it was natural for him to say he came from there.[8]

Other facts tending to confirm these conclusions are noted in the Weymouth town records and early deeds (the latter preserved in the registry of Suffolk County). At the town meeting of March 4, 1700 and subsequently David Carver was chosen tithingman; later constable; and then selectman. In 1712 he handed back to the town its stock of ammunition. In 1713, as a "householder," he received his share of a cedar swamp. In 1716 he took title to 15 acres at his mill pond. And on January 28, 1718 he sold his mill pond with 40 acres including "housing and building and grist mill thereon." From this date he seems to drop out of the Weymouth records. It can consequently be concluded that he left there soon after; this tallies with his advent in Connecticut.

This would account for his having property, as indicated above, before moving to Canterbury. Maturity of years, experience in town government, and the possession of means account also for his prompt participation in public affairs on settling in the frontier town.

Thus far in this paper every connecting link has been established by authentic contemporary records and the conclusions reached can fairly claim to be decisive. We may now consider some points of secondary importance, the evidence for which seems sound but possibly not in every respect as conclusive.

THE ANCESTRAL LINE OF ENSIGN DAVID CARVER

The names of three Carvers appear in the early annals of Massachusetts, only one of whom (Robert, 1594-1680) left a

[8] As Carver was seventeen years old at the death of his father, Lettsom's statement that he was fifteen is not far amiss. But his assignment of 1732 as the date of Carver's birth seems at first a strange error. Carver however made no statement of record as to his age. If he allowed a wrong impression to go out, the reasons are now a matter of probability rather than proof. It is easy to see one that is entirely sufficient to account for this. He was intently striving to organize and lead an expedition that should realize his dreams by going through to the Pacific. But his age, if stated correctly (he was in his sixtieth year on reaching England, and died at seventy), would militate seriously against gaining support. To meet this a large cut in his age was imperative.

male line. It is stated and with apparent correctness that all the subsequent Massachusetts Carvers of that period were descended from this Robert. Hence it can be concluded that Jonathan, the explorer, and his father, David, were of that stock, whether the line of descent can be made out in detail or not.

A plausible line of descent for our first David can be traced in the local histories of Marshfield, Massachusetts, an offshoot of Plymouth Colony.[9] John Carver, 1575-1621, the first governor of Plymouth Colony, left no Carver line. His brother Robert, however, (v. *supra*) settled at Marshfield as early as 1638 and had a son John (1637-79). This John Carver had a son David, born about 1668 (anyway nearer 1670 than 1663). He, Richards suggests, removed to "Connecticut, and became the ancestor of Jonathan Carver," the explorer.

Chronologically this David corresponds well with the first in Canterbury; and, as a collateral descendant of Governor Carver, it would explain in a way Dr. Lettsom's statement that the explorer was a descendant of an early governor. Jonathan Carver may have supposed that he was directly descended from the governor.[10] There is nothing to gainsay this line from Robert, and the only uncertainty is the lack of direct proof that its David was identical with the Weymouth-Canterbury David.

Since there were in all several David Carvers it may be well to differentiate those of possible interest:

[9] See Carver genealogy given by L. S. Richards, *History of Marshfield* (Plymouth, Mass., 1901-5), II, 160 ff. Also, more briefly, in Marcia A. Thomas, *Memorials of Marshfield* (Boston, 1854), 52-53.

[10] An old instance of this identical mistake is on record in connection with another branch of the family: "William Carver [oldest son of John, and grandson of the above Robert] died at Marshfield 1760, ae. 102, and is noticed by Gov. Hutchinson and Dr. Belknap in the biography of Gov. Carver as the grandson of the Governor" (from Mitchell's *History of Bridgewater, Massachusetts*, 1840, p. 363). In view of such an illustration and of the undeveloped state of genealogic lore in Carver's time, the statement in the text affords the most reasonable explanation of his ancestral claim.

a. Ensign David Carver; his career has been sufficiently discussed.

b. His third son, David, born Weymouth, 1713, elected "an inhabitant" by the town of Canterbury in 1736, married Susanna ———— in 1739, had seven children and appears to have remained there, as a daughter was baptised in 1758[11]; two sons took a deed in 1770,[12] and a son, Nathan, was married at Lisbon in 1770.

c. David, son of No. 2, born Canterbury, May 2, 1747.[13]

d. David, baptised December 21, 1730,[14] son of Jonathan's brother Samuel.

e. An uncertain David.[15]

YOUTH OF JONATHAN CARVER

More directly to establish the conditions under which the explorer passed his youth a word may be said of his dominant seniors. As he went with the family to Connecticut when about eight years old, he had the stimulus of a change of environment at an impressionable age. Any special formative influences were more likely to have been active after than before this removal. In view of Ensign David Carver's position in life it is evident that the boy, Jonathan, enjoyed whatever advantages, educational and otherwise, the resources of the community afforded.

Col. John Dyer, 1692-1779, guardian of young Jonathan, was also his maternal uncle. Mrs. David Carver (née Hannah Dyer, born Weymouth, February 13, 1684) "was a

[11] Original record of Canterbury Congregational Church.

[12] Later probate records of Canterbury, in Plainfield town clerk's office.

[13] Original record of Canterbury Congregational Church.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] The *History of Hingham, Massachusetts* (1893, III, 288) says a David Carver of Weymouth married Ruth Whitmarsh, December 14, 1696 (or December 16, 1696, according to a Whitmarsh pedigree). And the Weymouth *Vital Records* give a "Ruth, d. of David & Ruth Carver, b. Dec. 1, 1701," also a "Samuel, s. of David & Ruth Carver, b. Nov. 4, 1704." Whether this was an earlier marriage of Ensign David Carver is not material to the present story,—though there are reasons for thinking it was, in which case this daughter, born Ruth, was later called Sarah.

sister of Col. John Dyer of Canterbury, and Col. Thomas of Windham, both prominent in the affairs of Connecticut." They were grandsons of Thomas Dyer, settler in Massachusetts, and "moved to Windham County, Connecticut." The Dyers went to Connecticut before Carver and doubtless induced him to remove thither. Col. Thomas Dyer (1694-1766) was the father of Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, LL.D., a member of the Continental Congress and later chief justice of the state of Connecticut, own cousin of the explorer.[16]

Solomon Pain, 1698-1754, born in Eastham, Massachusetts, lived at Canterbury and was later minister of the Separatist Church there. He married Sarah Carver, eldest daughter of Ensign David, on March 2, 1720. She died August 9, 1731.[17] This Solomon, known also as Elder Pain, was the administrator of Ensign David's estate and guardian of his youngest son, Benjamin. Pain became widely known as a leader and organizer of the Separatist Church movement in Connecticut, perhaps the greatest religious schism that has ever stirred the old state. In discussing this movement the late A. A. Browning of Norwich says:[18] "Then came the notable contest at Canterbury concerning the Saybrook platform, in which Col. Dyer played a conspicuous part upon the one side and the brothers Solomon and Elisha Paine on the other."

These facts are mentioned to show that Carver was closely related to and in his younger years associated with men of more than local reputation. Canterbury has had some prominence for a small community, and these men were among her representative citizens.

To sum up: Carver came of able stock on both sides. His family had means. He enjoyed the best advantages the

[16] "History of Ancient Windham," by Wm. L. Weaver, in the Willimantic *Journal*, 1864-65.

[17] H. D. Paine (ed.), *Paine Family Records* (New York, 1880-83), I, 161. The name is spelled either with or without a final *e*.

[18] *Records and Papers of the New London County Historical Society*, II, 154. See also S. L. Blake, *The Separates or Strict Congregationalists of New England*, 1902.

time and place afforded. His nearest older relatives were men of influence and standing, large factors in the life and activities of a wide region.[19] Both phases of the biologic formula, heredity and environment, are duly typified.

DID CARVER STUDY MEDICINE?

It was a reason quite aside from the preceding presentation that turned the writer's attention to Carver. In connection with a paper on "Medical Explorers"[20] some question arose whether Carver had studied medicine. It was with the hope of settling this point that the foregoing material was gathered. Though the net result seemed worth publishing for its value otherwise, it has but a limited bearing on the moot question. Some facts and considerations however favor an affirmative answer.

Carver had plenty of time to study medicine, as now appears, between the death of his father and his own marriage. As his army and camp life was without doubt a large factor in qualifying him for exploring work, the casual possession of medical knowledge even at that period would have given him an added sense of preparedness. But the main evidence is the direct statement of Lettsom,[21] based, presumably, on remarks of Carver. It hence comes back in part to the degree of credence placed in this statement plus any corroboration which may be adduced.

The name of the place where Carver is said to have studied, "Elizabeth Town, in the same province," sounds very sug-

[19] To some writers it seems puzzling that Carver ever made or supplied a shoe. In point of fact any such incident only serves, if at all, further to identify him. His uncle, Col. Thomas Dyer, "was a shoemaker by trade," yet became a leading citizen (v. *The Dyar Family*, 1903, p. 7; also *supra*, note 16). Natural enough for the nephew to pick up the trade, and perhaps turn a hand at it on occasion. If he actually practiced it he must have been a captain of industry for 1754 to furnish twenty pairs at one call! It comes back to the difficulty of appreciating the conditions of early days. Even in the last century we find men of distinction who had toiled at the last. Moreover, the shoemaker before the machine-age ranked higher as an artisan and in the general estimation than he does at the present time.

[20] New York *Medical Record*, Oct. 28, 1918.

[21] Carver's *Travels* (London, 1781), 2.

gestively like Lisbon, the next town to Canterbury, where at that time lived Dr. Joseph Perkins (1704-94). Though the town was not incorporated until 1786, the name was in use long previously. Perkins graduated at Yale in 1728, started in practice soon after, and was thought "very eminent, both in medicine and surgery." One of his pupils was his own son, Dr. Elisha Perkins, famous in two continents as the originator of "metallic tractors" and "perkinism." He lived farther down on the same little river as Carver, the Quinebaug, and on the usual road to Norwich, then the nearest business center. It is certain that Carver must have known Perkins, at least in a general way.

Both from the statement that Carver gave up medicine for other activities and from the lack of any evidence that he practiced, it seems unlikely that he finished his medical studies. That he did some surveying, as indicated by Lee, would not be strange, as such work was done in early days by many medical men.

On the face of the evidence and in default of anything to the contrary the only fair conclusion is that he pursued medical studies for a time.[22]

[22] The writer wishes in closing to acknowledge indebtedness to the dozen and more probate and town clerk offices consulted in connection with this study. It has been a lesson in Americanism to experience such uniform courtesy.

A PHYSICIAN IN PIONEER WISCONSIN

JOHN C. REEVE[1]

My residence in Wisconsin began with a temporary stay in Fond du Lac, on Lake Winnebago, while I looked about for a location. That portion of the state then presented two widely different conditions. Portions known as "oak openings" had scattered trees and parts approaching to, or really, prairies; the other, and the larger portion of the country, was heavily timbered. The former parts were already well-settled farms, opened and cultivated. The forest-covered portion was naturally behind in development; it required the heavy labor of clearing. My choice finally settled on a village in the wooded part of the country, a small village in Dodge County. In this village was a sawmill and a flour mill run by water power. Near by was a furnace for the reduction of a surface-deposit of iron-ore which existed a few miles away. There was a schoolhouse in the village, two small stores with stock of general merchandise, a postoffice, kept in the kitchen part of a log house (through this there was a mail once a week), but no church building or church organization. In the village were two or three very good families connected with the mills and the furnace, but the population was a mixture, some Germans, a good many from northern Ohio. The country around for miles was covered with woods. The Potawatomi Indians had been assigned to a reservation but had not yet been moved, and I often saw bands of them riding single file in silence through the forest.

The field of my choice was already occupied. Two men practicing medicine were in the village. One was a regular, a graduate. To him, of course, I was an unwelcome and an

[1] Reprinted by permission from *The Medical Pickwick* for October, 1919. This is the second installment of Dr. Reeve's life story published serially in that magazine.

JOHN CHARLES REEVE
(From a photograph in the Wisconsin Historical Library)

uncongenial neighbor. The other was an elderly man, an herb doctor, pursuing also other callings; he was an exhorter and carpenter as well as practitioner. Sometimes all his varied callings came into service, as may be well imagined in a new country. On one occasion a settler in clearing his land threw a tree across his cabin, fatally injuring his wife. The doctor attended her until she passed away, then made her coffin, and finished by preaching her funeral sermon. The old man was very firm in his botanic orthodoxy and proud of it. Once he assured me in manner and tone that enforced conviction that he never administered any mineral medicine except the iron in the "cast steel" soap used in making pills!

Here, then, provided with an Indian pony and saddlebags, I began practice and faced the trials, the privations, and the hardships of pioneer life. There was no delay in their making their appearance. Straw for a bed was an immediate and pressing necessity. No straw was to be obtained except from a farm out in the open country. No conveyance was to be had. So, in company with a neighbor who was in like necessity, I set out for the straw. We slung it beneath a pole, one end of which rested on a shoulder of each, and thus carried the required amount a distance of three miles.

The inconvenience, the difficulty, and the fatigue of getting about in this undeveloped country cannot be exaggerated; sometimes they entailed positive hardship. Roads there were none, although in two directions there were what were called such, the trees having been cut away and some of the stumps removed. They were but mud-ways, and for the most part I rode through wagon-tracks from one clearing to another. Of course, as time passed improvements were being constantly made and conditions were changing for the better. But in the early part of my career the difficulties of getting about were indescribably bad. Once I had to follow a blaze-mark in order to reach a settler's cabin. Twice I was lost—in the daytime, however—and I suffered only a few hours'

delay. On one occasion, however, and that not at a very early period, I was not so fortunate. I was called just after night to go some miles to render service to a man said to have been injured in a fight. Part of my way was by a wheel-track through thick woods. I had traveled this path many times and did not dream of any trouble, but my pony, in the darkness, following the habits of her kind, browsed right and left from the bushes, and soon I found that I was out of the track—lost! In vain I tried to regain the path; in vain I essayed to keep a direct course in any one direction. I could not see the stars and so could get no help from the heavens! When tired in my efforts to find my way, I groped to a sapling, tied my horse to it, took off the saddle, and passed a drizzly September night as best I could. When morning came I got out readily and reached home hatless!

Scarcity of money was a constant and most trying inconvenience; settlers in a new country have pressing demands for every dollar. They have to pay for their land, buy seed, procure agricultural implements and articles for housekeeping. So it was with the greatest difficulty that money enough could be procured for the purchase of things indispensable, such as medicines. Of food there was a supply, but very limited as to variety; canned goods were not then in the market; marsh-hay for my horse was procurable, and so was lumber with which to build shelter for her; sometimes an order on one of the stores was received, but of money there was next to none. My cash receipts during my first year's practice amounted to sixty-eight dollars and some cents.

Some of my professional experience during my residence here is worthy of record. I passed through two epidemics of smallpox, the first very severe. The disease was brought from a neighboring county by settlers who came to the flour mill. How often have I wished for the photograph of a certain young woman who died of this disease, for the benefit of anti-vaccinationists—her face a solid mass of crusts,

cracked by seams through which pus welled up, swollen so that the eyes could not be seen, and the nose scarcely visible—she was a horrible and revolting sight. One man of the village volunteered to go with me and bury her. We went to the house, put her in the coffin, and made together a funeral procession to the prepared grave.

One case early in the first epidemic deserves a more minute record for its unique character, for its short duration—a little over thirty hours—in which death took place, for the detrimental influence it had on my reputation, and for other reasons. A young man employed in the mill, of good habits, and in the prime of life, was taken suddenly with most atrocious pains in the back and most violent vomiting. I was quite at a loss as to the nature of the case and confessed my ignorance. An express was sent for a consultant, who lived about twenty miles away—a young man, graduate of a New England college. He arrived about two hours after death had taken place. The body was in the position just as the man had died, lying on one side. By this time a deep discoloration had appeared on all the dependent parts of the body. Across the face no more clearly marked line could have been drawn by a ruler, separating the upper from the dependent portion, which was of dark purple hue. The case was pronounced, by the consultant, to be one of erysipelas. In vain I protested that there was no discoloration before death, that the deep purple hue did not correspond with the bright red coloring of erysipelas. The verdict was against me and I suffered the consequence. "What a pity that our young doctor did not know a case of erysipelas!" I knew nothing then of death from smallpox before the appearance of the eruption, but I had had an attack of erysipelas myself and knew that disease. Besides, I had been drilled in Williams' *Principles of Medicine*. In that book there was a chapter on the different modes in which death takes place. One mode was designated as death by "necraemia"—death by disorgani-

zation and dissolution of the blood. This case was, then, I was sure, a death by necraemia, although I did not dream, at the time, that this decomposition of the blood could be produced by the poison of variola, nor have I found anything since about it in the books. However, I have known of two cases of sudden death in an epidemic, which took place before the time for appearance of the eruption had arrived, but I have never seen another such a case, nor another so well-marked a case of death by necraemia.

A most singular fact, and one to me without explanation or attempted explanation, is the great difference between the virulence of smallpox in the early period of my practice and that of later years. I have not known of it for a long time other than as a mild disease, dreaded mostly for its contagiousness. This modification adds to the difficulty of control of epidemics, from the greater difficulty of an early diagnosis; it so nearly resembles varicella or chicken pox.

I may and very probably will expose myself to ridicule by going back in history three hundred years to enter a controversy as to the cause of death of a member of the royal family of France. To attempt to draw a parallel between a death in a village in the wilderness of Wisconsin and one in the palace of Versailles is bold, perhaps an overbold attempt. But I make the attempt and accept the consequence. My warrant for doing so is that the death in France is one of great historic interest; its cause has been the subject of controversy between historians and still remains unexplained. Its suddenness and the violence of the symptoms preceding it gave rise to the belief of poisoning, casting grave suspicions upon persons of the highest standing.[2]

The death was that of Henrietta of England, daughter of Charles I, sister-in-law of Louis XIV. There is no improbability in the death being one from variola, the disease

[2] See Littré, "Henriette d'Angleterre, est elle morte empoissonnée?" in *Medicine et Medecins*, Paris, 1872.

prevailing everywhere in those times and sometimes with great virulence. Too often had pale death *(pallida mors)* in the hideous guise of smallpox entered the portals of the palace, as history records. Then the facts sustain the argument. They furnish strong support: the sudden attack, the excruciating pains, the violent vomiting, the early death, only nine hours after the attack began—all these support my position. Littré makes a labored argument in favor of simple ulcer of the stomach, with perforation and resultant peritonitis. I challenge a comparison of views. Bossuet's funeral oration over the remains of the royal personage is one of the masterpieces of French literature.

Toward the end of the second year of my practice I encountered a case which put me on my mettle, which called forth all my resolution, and the successful issue of which exerted a powerful influence in shaping my future course and in developing my powers. Called to a farm where the first grain crop was being garnered, I found a stalwart Irishman with an arm mangled to the elbow in the threshing machine. Here was a situation and a dilemma. It was then nightfall, the man nearest who had a reputation for surgery lived thirty miles away. That was a journey requiring all the next day; then a stay over night, and another day's journey back. Then, too, the surgeon might not be at home, for he was in demand over a wide range of territory. Meantime, what would become of the patient? There was but one course to pursue to save his life—immediate amputation. For this I was not at all prepared. An improvised tourniquet is a simple matter; for instruments I had only those of a pocket case. But the operation must be performed and it was. I still have the finger bistoury which I used, while a carpenter's sash saw rendered service. For assistant I had a man who had been sent for in another direction. He had never seen chloroform administered, so when the patient began to snore under its influence he became frightened, and I had to stop the operation

several times to direct him. The operation was successfully completed, and the man survived. I am sure that if any professional brother who reads this will reflect a moment he will not envy me that night's repose on the puncheon floor of the little cabin, my saddle-bags for a pillow. I had never performed an operation on the cadaver nor assisted at one on the living subject. I had never tied an artery in an open wound; and I lay there, dreading every moment a call to arrest hemorrhage.

I could relate many more dramatic incidents of my early professional life, but what have been given must suffice. The conditions prevailing at that period throughout a large section of our country cannot but be of interest. These can best be shown by giving the itinerary of a journey made in January, 1852. Called to Cleveland by the critical illness of a sister, I left home on a Sunday morning in a sleigh, a private conveyance, and reached Milwaukee, about fifty miles away, that night. From there, on runners, to Chicago. Thence, some thirty miles by Michigan Central Railroad, and then by vehicle across to the Southern Michigan at that time building from Toledo to Chicago. The appointments of the road were not yet made, so several times the train stopped, the passengers alighted and chopped fence rails to make fuel for the locomotive. From Toledo, on wheels, to a point on the railroad from Sandusky to Cincinnati, where a vehicle was taken to the railroad from Columbus to Cleveland; I think the place was Galion. I reached my destination just at dark on Saturday night; I had traveled during the whole week, passing but two nights in bed.

I made another journey to Cleveland in summer time, took a private examination, and received my degree. My diploma bears that date, 1853. By this I have no class affiliation.

With pen and ink it is impossible to convey an idea of the dreariness, the isolation, and the dullness of life in my chosen

village. Absolutely deprived of professional companionship, and with little of any other kind, traveling over wretched roads through the intense cold of winter and the storms of summer, bearing as best might be the innumerable privations of domestic life, the dreary time dragged slowly away, week by week, month by month, varying only with the changing seasons. The one enlivening ray of life was the ardently looked-for, the eagerly-welcomed, weekly mail day. The only connection I had with the professional world was a medical journal from Boston. I subscribed for that—the only one I then knew of—as soon as I was able, and in doing so went directly contrary to the advice of my old preceptor. He opposed the reading of medical journals by young practitioners—it made them unsound in doctrine and variable in practice! For reading, I had a small collection of medical books procured on credit through the kindness of friends, and there were the weekly newspaper and letters by mail, and I received also the early numbers of *Harper's Monthly,* just then making its appearance. I also read *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* little dreaming the force the book would exert in promoting a movement which should shake the structure of our government to its very foundation.

The pleasure I experienced in having, in 1853, an opportunity to sell my practice needs no emphasis. I left for the East in pursuit of further professional improvement—of post-graduate instruction. Vain pursuit! I was chasing a mirage, always attracting, constantly receding, ever elusive, never attained!

THE STORY OF WISCONSIN, 1634-1848

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

CHAPTER V—FOREIGN IMMIGRATION IN TERRITORIAL TIMES

Wisconsin is noted throughout the Union as the home of a large number of Americans of foreign origin. According to the census of 1910 those of either foreign birth or parentage outnumber the native-born more than three to one. During the territorial period, however, Wisconsin was largely peopled by the native-born. The census of 1850 showed 197,000 of the latter to 107,000 born abroad. Moreover a large proportion of the latter class arrived during the first two years of statehood. It is, however, safe to estimate that during the territorial period of Wisconsin's history at least 60,000 found their way to her borders from the Old World. These were almost entirely from the countries of northern Europe. Leaving out of consideration the immigrants from Canada, most of whom were but a few years removed from European residence, the Europeans who came to Wisconsin between 1836 and 1848 were almost evenly divided between English-speaking and foreign-language groups. The British Isles contributed about one-half of the foreign-born territorial population; among these fully one-half were Irish, a few were Welsh and Scotch, and a large number Cornish.

The settlements of the English and the Irish are difficult to trace, because as a rule they came as individuals or families rather than as colonies. We have noted in a previous chapter some English coöperative enterprises that brought groups of settlers to the territory. Many English families settled during the territorial period in the southeastern counties, particularly in Racine, Kenosha, and Walworth. They

came largely from the small proprietor class, bought land, lived frugally, prospered, and soon blended indistinguishably with the "Yankees" from New England and New York.[26]

The Irish were more clannish, and some distinct areas of settlement may be traced. They belonged as a rule to the Catholic Church; thus the earlier organizations of that body often afford evidence of Irish dwellers. The first Irish residents of Wisconsin were those who came to the lead mines either as miners or purveyors for the frontier settlements. Thus many of the Irish families of the state are found in Green and Iowa counties. As a rule, however, the people of this nationality sought the lakeboard counties. Green Bay had a considerable Irish population that came in early days, while Rockland, Morrison, and Glenmore townships of Brown County were almost wholly settled by Irish farmers. Milwaukee was also a favorite residence for these immigrants; by 1847 there were 2,500 sons of Erin in the city, most of whom lived in the Third, usually known as the Irish ward. From Milwaukee a number of small Irish settlements stretched northward along the lake coast to Washington, Ozaukee, and Sheboygan counties. In the first was a township called Erin settled in 1841. A small settlement in Cedarburg Township was known as New Dublin; while Random Lake, Russell, and Mitchell townships of Sheboygan County were chiefly populated by Irish immigrants. Dane, Jefferson, Dodge, and Columbia counties likewise secured many Irish settlers. In Dodge there was by 1845 an Irish Catholic church at Fox Lake. Emmet Township was named by the compatriots of the Irish martyr, Robert Emmet, while in Clyman and Lowell townships Irish farmers predominated until after 1845. Watertown, likewise, was much liked by the Irish, but here as well as in Dodge, Washington, Ozaukee, and Sheboygan counties the Irish maintained a precarious

[26] For a typical English family settlement in Wisconsin Territory see M. M. Quaife, *An English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin, Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XXV.

hold when once the great German immigration set in. In Dane County the Irish have for the most part kept their farms. Burke, Westport, Cross Plains, and Fitchburg townships were largely settled by this nationality, while Medina Township is the home of a group of Irish Protestants. Many of these Dane County settlers were wealthy and prominent, highly educated, members of the learned professions. Madison has had a considerable Irish element of this kind since early territorial days. In Walworth County, Lyons Township was first settled by the Irish, and numbers of that race were found in Mukwonago Township of Waukesha County and in the city of Racine. The Irish immigrants quickly showed their capacity for political action. Both constitutional conventions had members who were born in Ireland. They also represented constituencies in every territorial legislature. In 1850 there were 21,043 natives of Ireland living in Wisconsin, of whom three-fourths or more came during territorial days.

The Welsh element in Wisconsin's early population was much smaller than the Irish. These people usually settled in colonies and while not clannish or separatistic in feeling they were very tenacious of Old World customs and even of the language of their forefathers. Three well-defined groups are to be noted outside of Milwaukee, where a considerable number of the early Welsh immigrants gathered. One, perhaps the largest of the three groups, was in Columbia County, the northeast township of which was almost wholly settled by the Welsh, who called their village center Cambria. This colony has spread into the neighboring townships of Dodge County, has a settlement at Elba, and a church at the city of Fox Lake. In Cambria was celebrated for many years the annual eisteddfod or musical festival of the Welsh race. This settlement was begun in 1845, and most of its members came from northern Wales. By 1843 a considerable group of Welsh immigrants had taken up land in Genesee Town-

ship, Waukesha County, and in that year a Welsh Calvinistic Methodist church was built. This settlement has since much enlarged, overflowing into the southern part of Delafield Township. The railway station which serves this group on the Chicago and Northwestern road is called Wales. Most of the Welsh of the lead-mining counties came from South Wales and were miners in the Old World. They are scattered over the three counties of Grant, Lafayette, and Iowa, being especially strong in the latter near Mineral Point and Dodgeville. In the same county the river townships Arena and Wyoming contain many Welsh. In 1850 there were 4,300 Welsh among us.

The sturdy Scotch stock has also contributed its share to our commonwealth's growth. The largest and most influential Scotch colony is in Milwaukee, where George Smith, Alexander Mitchell, David Ferguson, and John Johnston did so much from territorial days onward to build up sound financial institutions.[27] Scotch immigrants settled in Kenosha and Racine counties; in the latter three townships, Caledonia, Dover, and York, were largely farmed by them. Green Lake County had a small Scotch colony, while the name of Caledonia Township of Columbia County indicates the nativity of its first settlers. In 1850 there were 3,527 Scotch-born in Wisconsin, many of whom came during the territorial days.[28]

Very large and very important in its contribution to the upbuilding of the commonwealth was the Cornish immigration, which began as early as 1827 but was of small proportions until after the Black Hawk War in 1832. The cause of this migration was almost wholly economic, small wages in the Cornwall mines making it difficult for the heads of households to provide for their large families. The rumors of the richness of the Wisconsin mines and of large wages for operatives had

[27] "Alexander Mitchell, the Financier," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 435-50.
[28] James A. Bryden, "The Scots in Wisconsin," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1901, 153-58.

a strong influence in Camborne, where tin mines were being worked out and wages ranged from $13 to $15 per month. There was also the hope of becoming proprietors in America, which was quite beyond the possibility of any workman in Cornwall no matter how industrious and frugal he might be. The earliest Cornish immigrants settled near Shullsburg, Mineral Point, and Dodgeville. After 1836 the stream of these mining newcomers grew in volume, increasing with each year until 1849, when it was diverted to California. In all about 7,000 Cornishmen settled in Wisconsin and added much to the growth and development of the southwest. Physically sturdy, with large families, industrious, frugal, and religious, their cramped circumstances in Cornwall had made them illiterate and clannish, but in the New World they expanded quickly. They patronized schools and churches; many of their number filled the minor offices of local government; while their children have become leaders in education and progressive politics. Several of their number represented the southwestern counties in the legislature, and when the test of patriotism presented itself, they cheerfully enlisted in the Union army. Of all the English-speaking foreigners that came to Wisconsin during territorial days, none have been more helpful in upbuilding the commonwealth than the Cornish.[29]

The foreign-speaking Europeans that settled in Wisconsin during the territorial era were from Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Norway. The first of these furnished the largest share of the foreign-born population and in certain portions of the territory constituted foreign communities which have had much influence on Wisconsin's destinies.

Germans were induced to leave their homes in Europe for religious, economic, and political reasons. Some of the earliest German groups in Wisconsin were religious com-

[29] Louis A. Copeland, "The Cornish in Southwest Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XV, 301-34.

munities which migrated to escape state persecution in the Old World.[30] These religious groups came from north Germany to America under the care of their pastors. A bad harvest year throughout Germany in 1846, with the threat of famine, sent many southern and Rhenish Germans to America. The well-known political emigration did not occur until 1848, after Wisconsin had become a state. Nevertheless, the presence of a large body of compatriots in Wisconsin was one of the inducements that brought the intellectuals of Forty-eight into our midst.

Wisconsin was selected as a place of residence by the emigrating Germans largely because its climate, products, and natural features corresponded to their home environment. Some of the earliest Wisconsin settlers were active in promoting immigration thither, sending back letters and printed pamphlets urging Wisconsin's claims. A few Germans settled in Milwaukee during the first territorial years, but it was not until 1839 that the first large colony arrived. They brought gold to purchase lands; and their arrival was a boon to the community, which was still struggling with the financial depression that had begun in 1837. This first German colony bought a large tract of land in Washington County, established a church, and cleared the soil for farms. Others of the same faith, the Old Lutheran, soon followed and settled in Washington, Ozaukee, and Dodge counties. The Germans liked the hardwood tracts and took up the lands avoided by Americans as difficult to clear. For this reason they filled in the counties along the lake shore and back towards the center of the state. By 1845, 250,000 acres had been sold to immigrant Germans. The south and Rhineland Germans began coming to Wisconsin about the year 1840, settling west of Milwaukee in Milwaukee and Waukesha counties and gradually filling in the vacant lands in Dane

[30] Wm. F. Whyte, "The Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1915, 99-110.

and Jefferson counties. By 1847 Manitowoc, Sheboygan, Calumet, Outagamie, Green Lake, and Marquette counties had received large accessions of German population. In Ozaukee seven-eighths and in Washington two-thirds of the inhabitants are of German stock. During the early years it is estimated that in the open navigation months from two to three hundred Germans a week landed at Milwaukee, and by 1844 this number had risen to 1,000 or 1,400 per week.

Nearly all the early German immigrants to Wisconsin were farmers, and their contribution to the state's agricultural growth has been immense. The lands they bought they improved by constant industry, women and children working side by side with the men to develop the farms. They farmed more scientifically than the average American, rotating crops and conserving the land. They also appreciated the forests and kept woodlands for the benefit of themselves and the community. Few Germans sold any land they once possessed, and the poor renters saved assiduously in order to purchase a small piece for themselves. In manufactures the Germans turned their attention chiefly to brewing and tanning. Many of the large fortunes of Milwaukee have been made in these industries that had their beginnings in territorial days. The German contribution to the intellectual and social life of Wisconsin has been characteristic. In music and some forms of art they excel. They appreciate education but are tenacious of their old country ideals; the church communities maintain separate schools and encourage the use of the German language.[31] In politics the early Germans were imbued with democratic ideals; consequently they were almost all members of the Democratic party. Not until the slavery issue grew acute did the Germans enter politics as a factor; then they were largely on the side of the Liberty, Free-soil, and Republican parties.[32] Three members in the first constitu-

[31] Louise P. Kellogg, "The Bennett Law in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Sept. 1918, 3-25.

[32] Ernest Bruncken, "The Political Activity of Wisconsin Germans, 1854-60," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1901, 190-211.

tional convention and one in the second were Germans. The German press during the territorial period consisted of the *Wisconsin Banner* published at Milwaukee in 1844 by Moritz Schoeffler; and the *Volksfreund,* an opposition paper begun in 1847. In 1850 the census reported 36,064 Germans in Wisconsin.

The Dutch element in Wisconsin was small during territorial days, numbering but 1,157 in 1850. The largest colony of settlers from Holland was in the southeast township of Sheboygan County where in 1845 several Dutch families settled. Upon their recommendation others emigrated in 1846; and in 1847 a considerable company came under the leadership of the Reverend Peter Zonne. The principal village was called Amsterdam. Father T. J. Van den Broek came in 1834 as a missionary to Wisconsin; some time later he settled at Little Chute on Fox River; in 1847 he made a visit to his old home in Holland, where he induced a large number of his friends and neighbors to emigrate. The first arrivals came in the summer of 1848 and bought land in what is now Holland Township of Brown County.[33] The Dutch are mostly agriculturists and have aided in the development of the dairy interests in Wisconsin. Some add to their support by fishing in Lake Michigan and by shipping their cattle to the large cities.

Both French- and German-Swiss were among the immigrants to Wisconsin in preterritorial and territorial days. French-Swiss came to the lead region before the establishment of the territory, either directly from the old country or from the Selkirk settlement on the Red River of the North. Among these were the Gentil, Gratiot, and Chetlain families. The Rodolfs, one of whose number had been president of the Swiss republic, settled in 1834 in Lafayette County. Several Swiss families settled during territorial days in southeastern

[33] C. A. Verwyst, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer Missionary," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings,* 1916, 148-65.

Fond du Lac County and at Madison. One of the earliest settlers of Buffalo County in 1842 was a Swiss, who was later followed by others of his nationality. A number of German-Swiss families came as part of Count Haraszthy's colony to Sauk County; their descendants are now living in Troy, Honey Creek, and Prairie du Sac townships. The largest Swiss colony in the state is at New Glarus and in its vicinity in Green County. This group was sent out in 1845 by the canton of Glarus because of its overpopulation; the passage of those who emigrated was paid; their land was bought by the cantonal authorities. Although all organic relation with the home country long ago ceased, the colony for many years remained essentially Swiss, speaking the German-Swiss dialect and maintaining the customs of the motherland.[34] The success of the settlers of New Glarus resulted in the emigration of more of their countrymen to Wisconsin, so that the neighboring townships of Washington, York, Monroe, Mount Pleasant, and Sylvester in Green County, and Primrose and Montrose in Dane County are largely owned and farmed by Swiss people. Dairying and cheese making are their principal industries.[35] Sheep, for their wool, are also pastured on the hills of Green County. In 1850 there were 1,244 Swiss residents in Wisconsin; they and their descendants have contributed to its wealth by their industry and thrift; they have also aided the commonwealth in the maintenance of democratic ideals.

The migration of the men of Norway to America reads like an epic from their early sagas. The earliest colony, founded in New York State in 1825, was composed of those who fled for conscience' sake to the New World. The first Wisconsin Norwegians were the Nattestad brothers who explored Rock Prairie in 1838. However, before the colony

[34] Several articles on the Swiss of New Glarus are in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 411-45; XII, 335-82; XV, 292-337.

[35] John Luchsinger, "History of a Great Industry," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1898, 226-30.

brought out by Ansten Nattestad in 1839 had arrived, another group of Norwegians landed at Milwaukee, intending to pass on to northern Illinois. At Milwaukee, however, the colonists were persuaded to change their destination. They bought lands on Muskego Lake in Waukesha County, and although they removed the next year to Norway Prairie in Racine County, the group has ever since been known as the Muskego Colony. New accessions added to their number and importance; in this locality was published in 1847 the first Norwegian newspaper in the United States. When the Civil War began the Norwegian regiment that took its place among Wisconsin's ranks was commanded by Colonel Hans Heg, son of the chief settler of Muskego Colony. In the meanwhile the pioneers who had followed Ansten Nattestad to Rock County settled in Clinton and Turtle townships. A few of their number went farther west and chose land in Newark, Avon, Spring Valley, and Plymouth townships, while others crossed the state line into northern Illinois. The descendants of this group now own about one-third of the land in Rock County and are a prosperous and progressive people. These two latter groups constitute the Jefferson and Rock Prairie settlements.

The largest, strongest, and most prosperous groups of Norwegian settlers in Wisconsin are found in Dane County; their migration to this region, beginning in 1840, continued with accelerating numbers throughout the territorial period. The first settlers bought land in southeastern Dane County on Koshkonong Creek, and the entire area is thus known as the Koshkonong settlement. It extends eastward into the adjacent townships of Jefferson County and embraces most of Albion, Christiana, Deerfield, Dunkirk, Pleasant Springs, and Cottage Grove townships. Its earliest church, the first Norwegian church in America, was built in 1844 in Christiana Township. The city of Stoughton is almost entirely peopled by Norwegians. The second Dane County area includes the

northern townships of Vienna, Windsor, and Bristol, with the northern part of Burke and the eastern edge of Westport. The first settlers in this region came in 1844; after 1846 the settlement developed rapidly. The commercial center is called Norway Grove; De Forest and Morrisonville are almost wholly Scandinavian villages. In 1844 the western Dane County Norwegians began coming largely from the older colonies to Blue Mounds Township. This group occupies Springdale, Blue Mounds, Primrose, Perry, and Vernon townships and finds its commercial center at Mount Horeb.

Lafayette County has a considerable Norwegian population near Wiota. A small group of miners settled there in 1840; the agricultural immigration began about 1842; and two years later a Norwegian Lutheran church was built, which is now one of the oldest in Wisconsin. In Jefferson County Scandinavians are found in two localities. In Sumner Township on the western border a Norwegian family was the second to open a farm; during the territorial period the Koshkonong settlement expanded over this and the neighboring Oakland Township. A few Swedes likewise settled in this locality. In the southeastern part of Jefferson County the so-called Skoponong settlement expanded from Walworth County through the southern part of Palmyra Township. This little settlement, formed in 1844, was the childhood home of Senator Knute Nelson of Minnesota. Other groups in Walworth County were on Heart Prairie in Whitewater, La Grange, and Richmond townships, and upon Sugar Creek, near Elkhorn and Delavan. All these settlements were begun during the middle forties.

The Waukesha County settlement (aside from the early Muskego group) of Norwegians began in 1841 on Pine Lake when Gustaf Unonius settled there and when in 1843 fifty families came from Norway and bought homes in Delafield, Merton, Summit, and Oconomowoc townships. This settlement was connected with Nashotah Seminary, several

of its young men becoming Episcopal clergymen. The entire group was more rapidly Americanized than those of the other settlements.

Columbia County received a considerable accession of Norwegian immigrants during the middle forties, an overflow for the most part of the colony in northern Dane County. In 1844 one family settled in Lodi Township, which within three years received several additional families. Spring Prairie in Hampton Township was settled in 1845; Bonnet Prairie of Otsego Township was almost entirely purchased by Norwegians, who came mostly from the Koshkonong settlement. Leeds and Columbus townships have likewise some Norwegian families. The large Scandinavian settlements in Waupaca, Waushara, Portage, and Winnebago counties were but just begun during the territorial period. In 1850 there were 8,651 Norwegian residents in Wisconsin.

As appears from this record the Norwegians were almost entirely an agricultural people upon their advent to Wisconsin; their largest contribution has been in opening land for cultivation. Mining, lumbering, and manufacturing were for them casual occupations during the territorial period. In more recent years their contribution to other industries, especially to manufactures, has been more marked. Their part in the intellectual life of the commonwealth has been considerable, although they cling tenaciously to the language and literature of their forefathers, in which many have a high degree of culture. In politics the Norwegians have generally been Republican; they have had their share of state and local offices, one of their nationality serving in the second constitutional convention.[36]

The other foreign-language immigrants to Wisconsin—Armenians, Belgians, Bohemians, Danes, Finns, Hungarians, Icelanders, Italians, Poles, Russians, and Swedes—have come

[36] Rasmus B. Anderson, "First Norwegian Settlements in America," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings* 1898, 150-67; Albert O. Barton, "Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America," *Ibid.*, 1916, 186-212.

in under the state government. Wisconsin as much as any other commonwealth of the Union has served as a melting pot for the new American. It is perhaps significant that the first professional chair of Americanization has been established at our state university. Still more significant are the honor rolls of Wisconsin men in the European War. Foreign names are there in abundance, frequently in preponderance, but their owners were inspired by a common ideal, serving a common cause, loving one flag and one country. Americans all, they have offered their blood and their sacrifice for the country of their birth or of their adoption. Henceforth immigrants to Wisconsin may be "foreigners," but citizens of Wisconsin are all Americans.

(To be continued)

HISTORIC SPOTS IN WISCONSIN

W. A. Titus

II: THE FOND DU LAC TRADING POST AND EARLY SETTLEMENT

On thy fair bosom, silver lake,
The wild swan spreads his snowy sail.—Percival.

It would be of interest to the student to know the name of the first white man to reach the Fond du Lac region, but the question must remain unanswered. It is not unlikely that the early French explorers visited the farthest end of the lake of the Winnebago to satisfy themselves as to the shape and extent of so considerable a body of water. Perhaps away back in 1634, when Jean Nicolet came to Wisconsin as an ambassador to the Winnebago Indians, he voyaged to the southern end of the lake in his search for a navigable inlet, but if so, he left no record of his observations. It is probable that early traders frequently visited the Indian villages in the Fond du Lac region, although it is not until 1787 that we find recorded the names of these daring adventurers who were willing to push on a few leagues in advance of civilization.

The Indian name for the Fond du Lac region was "Winne-o-me-yah." When the traders first came the Winnebago tribe had two villages in the vicinity: one on the east branch of the river near the place where the malt house now stands, and one on the west branch just below the Forest Avenue bridge. The first trading post was located on the east bank of the Fond du Lac River at the forks. Laurent Ducharme was the first trader whose name has been preserved, the period of his occupation being somewhere between 1785 and 1787. In 1788 a Spanish trader named Ace[1] occupied the post at the forks of the river; with him were his wife and children and his

[1] Recollections of Augustin Grignon in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, III, 264-65.

clerk. This is the first record we have of a white woman at the Fond du Lac post. The Indians of the Winnebago village, Sar-ro-chau, located where Taycheedah now stands, were always friendly to the whites. The Winnebago of the Rock River villages, however, were generally hostile. One day a band of these under their chief, Pakan, came into the vicinity and enticed Ace and the clerk some distance away from the cabin, whereupon both were immediately slain by the savages. The band then attempted to capture the trading post, but Mrs. Ace, being well armed, defended her children and her property until the friendly Indians from Taycheedah came to her assistance and escorted her back to the Green Bay settlement. Pakan escaped punishment for this crime; Augustin Grignon states that he frequently saw the old chief around the Fond du Lac post in 1801.

The next trader we hear of at this post was a Canadian named Chavodreuil,[2] who had with him two clerks. A Menominee Indian named Thunder, who had his wigwam near the post, became jealous of Chavodreuil, possibly with sufficient reason; consequently this trader soon met the fate of his predecessor. Punishment was rarely meted out to Indian murderers at this early day, as the whites did not feel strong enough to apply either retaliatory or corrective measures. It is probable that after the murder of Chavodreuil the post was abandoned for a time.

In 1795 the post was reoccupied by agents sent out by Jacob Franks, a Jewish trader of Green Bay. Franks never lived here himself, but placed Jacques Porlier in charge. He was succeeded in 1797 by John Lawe, who spent considerable time in Fond du Lac as a trader. Lawe later became prominent in the social and official affairs of Green Bay. During the second war with England he entered the service of the British army, but at the close of hostilities he became a citizen of the United States and was eventually commissioned a

[2] *Ibid.*

WEST BRANCH OF FOND DU LAC RIVER AT THE "BIG BEND" SOUTH OF WESTERN AVENUE BRIDGE
At or near the point marked (x), Augustin Grignon built his trading post in 1801

judge in Brown County. Louis Beaupré was associated with Lawe at the Fond du Lac post.

About 1800 the old post at the forks of the river, which had been the scene of savage attacks and bloodshed, was abandoned and never again occupied. Augustin Grignon and Michael Brisbois, who were located at Fond du Lac for two winters, one of which was 1801, established a new post on the west branch of the river just below the first rapids at the big bend and not far from where the Soo Railway bridge now spans the stream. It will be understood that Fond du Lac was not considered a settlement at this time nor for many years thereafter because the post was occupied only during the winter.

In 1815 Joseph Rolette, who had already established trading posts at the portage and at Prairie du Chien, opened a post at Fond du Lac, but, more enterprising than his predecessors, he did not depend entirely upon his post as a mart for the fur trade. He states that he was in the habit of loading his light draft canoe with merchandise, paddling up the east branch of the Fond du Lac River, and then making a portage of two miles in the present township of Oakfield to reach the Rock River. As he floated down the Rock River he was enabled to do a thriving business with the Indians at the numerous villages situated on that stream.

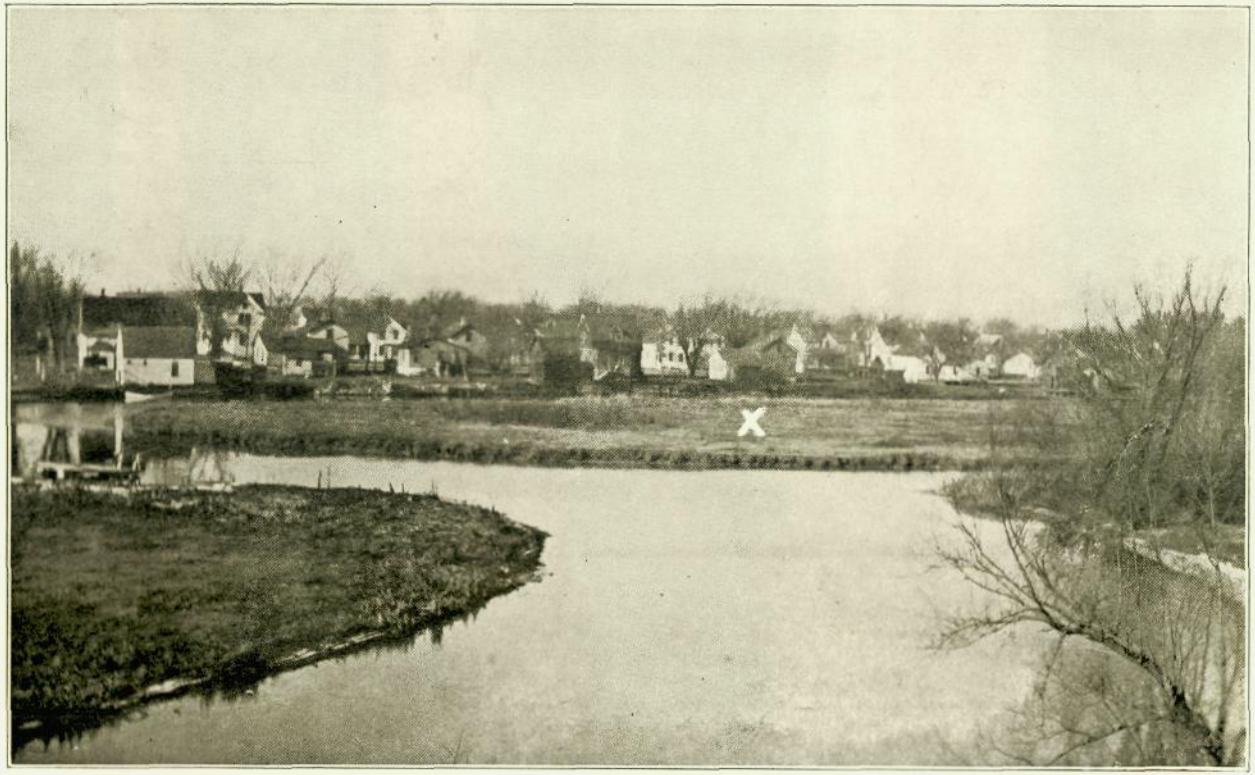
From 1815 to 1819 we know nothing of the history of the Fond du Lac region, but in the latter year Louis Grignon in a letter to John Lawe wrote that there were many savages in the Fond du Lac lodges of the Puants (Winnebago). In 1820 John Lawe was again in Fond du Lac, for he states that few furs were brought in during the winter. In 1821 Charles Grignon in a letter to his brother Pierre complains of his lack of success in getting furs; and in 1825 Amable Grignon in a letter to John Lawe states that although he has done his best he has not been able to secure a single peltry. He also mentions in the same letter that the savages burned his trading

post, which indicates that the Winnebago were again becoming unruly. This tribe became more and more hostile until the summer of 1827, when a number of settlers were massacred along the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers. Military forces were then sent against the savages, and the uprising was quelled, but for several years thereafter the Winnebago were restless and ore or less dangerous. In 1829 Jaes D. Doty passed through the Fond du Lac region on his trip from Green Bay to the Four Lakes and found the Indians numerous in the vicinity. On account of their known hostility, Doty made a detour to avoid the Fond du Lac lodges. In 1833 the savages ceded their title to this region and that fall and the following spring removed to their new home west of the Mississippi.

In 1835 a corporation known as the Fond du Lac Company was formed at Green Bay and received from the government a grant of 3,700 acres of land at the head of Lake Winnebago, which today comprises a part of the site of Fond du Lac City. The first house was built by the company in the spring of 1836 on lot 9 of block 9 of the original plat. Its general appearance is familiar to almost every person in Fond du Lac because of the numerous reprints and copies of the painting by the late Mark R. Harrison which portrays this historic building. The first actual settlers were Colwert Pier and his wife, who arrived from Green Bay in June, 1836. A few months later Edward Pier with his wife and two children arrived to augment the little colony.

In 1837 Fond du Lac was visited by Captain Frederick Marryat, the celebrated English author, who made a trip on horseback from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien. In his *Diary in America,* published soon after his return to England, he presents a glowing description of the scenery from the ledge east of Fond du Lac.

Gustav de Neveu, a native of France, came to Fond du Lac in 1838 and built his log house on the high shore above



FORKS OF FOND DU LAC RIVER, LOOKING NORTHWEST

At or near the point indicated by the cross (x) stood the old trading post, first mentioned in the records in 1785, but probably in existence long before that time. The land is low and marshy, but the post was occupied in winter only

the beautiful lake that still bears his name. His father, Francis Joseph de Neveu, was a soldier in the expeditionary force sent out from France under the command of D'Estaing to aid the American colonies in their struggle for independence and was seriously wounded a little later in an engagement with the British fleet.[3] It is worthy of note that Lieutenant Gustav de Neveu Wright, a grandson of Gustav de Neveu and one of the most popular young men of Fond du Lac, was killed on a French battle field in the autumn of 1918, thus paying the debt to France for services rendered to America by his brave ancestor of the eighteenth century.

Governor J. D. Doty and Governor N. P. Tallmadge both located on farms just east of Fond du Lac in 1844; the former was just completing his term as territorial governor of Wisconsin, and the latter was succeeding him as the chief magistrate of the territory. Governor Doty had for many years prior to this time been prominent in the territorial and preterritorial affairs of Wisconsin. He resided in Fond du Lac only two years (1844-1846) and then removed to Doty Island at Neenah-Menasha. At the time of his death in 1865 he was governor of Utah Territory. N. P. Tallmadge during his second term as United States Senator from New York resigned to become governor of Wisconsin Territory where he had previously made extensive investments in lands. He was one of the prominent New York statesmen of his day, and when William Henry Harrison was nominated for the presidency Senator Tallmadge was offered the vice presidential nomination but declined it. President Harrison's death soon after his inauguration showed how closely Senator Tallmadge missed a place among the presidents of the United States. He died in 1864 and sleeps on the topmost knoll of beautiful Rienzi Cemetery which he generously set aside from his farm as a resting place for the dead.

[3] From data supplied by the De Neveu family.

FURTHER DISCOVERIES CONCERNING THE KENSINGTON RUNE STONE

H. R. Holand

In the last issue of the Wisconsin Magazine of History I presented an article on the Kensington Rune Stone. After that article was in type certain important discoveries were made confirming some of the arguments presented and adding new light to our understanding of the circumstances under which the events recorded in the inscription transpired. The present contribution is for the purpose of recording these discoveries and bringing the discussion down to date.

As I shall refer to the text of the inscription a number of times in the following article, a translation of it is given below for the convenience of the reader.

Eight Goths 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.

In my former article I proved that the term "day's journey" in the Middle Ages represented a unit or measure of distance of approximately eighty miles. Therefore, when the rune master in the last sentence says that they were fourteen days' journey from the sea, he means that they were 14×80 miles from the sea, or 1,120 miles, which agrees excellently with the actual distance from Kensington to Hudson Bay, the nearest "sea."[1]

[1] *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 176-78. Since writing the former article I find that William Hovgaard, professor of Naval Design and Construction in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in discussing the navigation of the Norsemen has also conclusively shown that a day's sail or day's journey, commonly written *dægr*, was used as a unit of distance as described above. See his *Voyages of the Norsemen to America* (New York, 1914), 61-64.

If "day's journey" means about eighty miles in one part of the inscription it must have the same meaning when used elsewhere in the same inscription. Therefore, when the rune master says that the two skerries (marking the camp where the massacre of the ten men occurred) lie one "day's journey" north of the rune stone, these skerries should be sought for about eighty miles north of Kensington.

On learning the meaning of "day's journey" a few months ago I became very curious as to the whereabouts of these skerries. If they could be found approximately eighty miles north of Kensington, the find would go far toward proving the truth of the inscription in that it would prove that the new and hitherto unguessed interpretation of "14 day journey" was correct. A discovery of these skerries would also lead to the discovery of the camp site where the massacre occurred, where other remains might be found. In October, 1919, therefore, I made a trip to Otter Tail and Becker counties, Minnesota, and searched all the numerous lakes there for skerries. I am very pleased to say that I found them.

The lakes of Becker County lie in the northern end of the beautiful Lake Park Region of Minnesota, studded with hundreds of sparkling lakes. I examined all the lakes of Becker and northern Otter Tail counties to see if there were any skerries. A "skerry" (Scandinavian, *skjær*) is a very small island of rock or gravel, void of vegetation and lying low upon the water. This kind of formation is very rare in the Lake Park Region, there being no place rock within the entire area. In none of these lakes, except one, were there any skerries to be seen. However, in Cormorant Lake, one of the largest of them all and lying farthest to the northwest, were two unmistakable skerries. No one who has stood upon the high hill on the northwestern shore of the lake and has seen these two remarkable skerries lying in a straight line before him can doubt that these are the right skerries. Nor could the rune master have found a better topographical mark of identification to describe the location of his camp.

While the skerries can be discerned from different points on the shore of the lake, there is only one place from which they can be seen prominently. This is the large hill south of John Johnson's farmhouse on the northwestern shore of the lake. This hill was in olden times covered with an open grove of very large trees and was used as a village site by the Indians. They told the first settlers that "this hill had always been their home." Many Indian remains have been found here. This hill was no doubt the camp site of the twenty explorers who in 1362 visited this region. It is almost a hundred feet high and rises steeply from the margin of the lake. The shore is covered with thousands of granite boulders.

As we were about to leave the stony shore and climb directly up this steep hill we noticed near the shore a particularly large, flat boulder almost overgrown with bushes and brambles. In the middle of this stone was a small hole which plainly had been bored by human agency. The hole was an inch in diameter and three-quarters of an inch deep. As we stood pondering upon the significance of this hole another of the party called our attention to another large stone close by which also had a hole in the center. This second hole was seven inches deep and was roughly triangular in shape. A triangular stick of wood, with the angles rounded off, seven inches long, each side measuring one and a quarter inches, would just fit the hole. Both of these boulders were about six feet in length and somewhat less in width. Their surfaces were flat and the insides of the holes were so weathered by the action of the elements that they appeared to have been chiseled hundreds of years ago.

What is the meaning of these strange holes? They could not have been intended for purposes of blasting, for the stones lie in one of the most inaccessible spots on the shore and thousands of similar boulders lie far more conveniently for anyone seeking such. Moreover the weathered appearance of the holes shows that they were made long before the first

white settlers came here. The holes are plainly prehistoric in origin. These holes, bearing plain testimony of the presence of man, would be worthy objects of speculation when found in any desert place, but appearing as they do on the very spot where these explorers of 1362 must have embarked and disembarked upon the fatal fishing trip they are doubly significant. As a memorial of their presence these boulders are second in importance only to the rune stone itself for they speak in mute language of the presence of these pre-Columbian travelers.

Being a mute testimony it is not easy to read the message right, but I would like to make a surmise. Serious deductive reasoning should be able to find the correct explanation of this faint message of bygone times. My solution is as follows:

These explorers came to Cormorant Lake and there need of food prompted them to go fishing. They had no boat but for twenty experienced men the problem of making a raft or punt would be simple. This must have been quite large as we read that ten men went out fishing. They presumably desired to use the raft more than once. The inscription reads "we were (out) and fished one day"—which indicates that they made a prolonged stay at this camp. Owing to its size they could not easily pull the raft up on the stony shore. Some other means was therefore needed for anchoring it. If they carried no flexible ropes they could not anchor the raft in the ordinary fashion; moreover, the roundish boulders of that region are unsuited for anchors. However, necessity is the mother of invention. One of the men is set to work to bore a hole in an immovable stone on the edge of the beach. He makes unsatisfactory progress because some stones are harder than others. He therefore leaves this stone after having made a hole three-quarters of an inch deep and chooses another large boulder near by. In this he chisels a hole seven inches deep and, upon second thought, makes the sides triangular. A flexible withy of some sort, a vine or birch root is then chosen

and securely wedged into the triangular hole. The other end is then tied to the raft which is thus as securely moored to the shore as any rope could do it.

The use of withies for cordage was very common among the Scandinavians of the Middle Ages. Such withies also entered largely into the construction of their vessels. According to Professor Hovgaard the heavier timbers of all their ocean-going vessels, such as the keel, the frames, and the bottom planks, were always fastened together with withies.[2] This gave a greater flexibility to the vessel than was possible with iron bolts. So deft were they in the manipulation of withies that sometimes large ocean-going vessels were securely joined together without any iron bolts, nails, or rivets in their construction, withies and wooden plugs taking the place of these.[3] Even at the present time the Norsemen make large use of withies for binding purposes. I have before me a sheep collar which a farmer of Norway fashioned for me out of two birch twigs a few years ago in five minutes' time. The ends are shaped into a very serviceable snap and ring; the collar, which is very flexible, is so strong that I was assured that a horse could not pull it in two with a straight pull. This sheep collar shows that birch twigs one-quarter inch in diameter when twisted can be bent to an arc of a radius equal to their diameter without breaking.

These observations are sufficient, I believe, to show that it would be a simple and natural thing for these explorers to make a stout rope out of withies with which to tie their raft. Nor would the problem of wedging these into the anchor stone present any difficulty. The withies used in the construction of their vessels were wedged in so securely that they withstood the heaviest buffetings of the sea. The same principle is used nowadays by builders in elevating large stones. A small hole

[2] *Op. cit.*, 52-53.

[3] See account in *Flatey Annals;* also *Annals Regii* and *Odda Annals* under date of 1189, telling of Asmund Kastanraste's vessel built in Greenland which contained only one iron bolt.

is chiseled in the middle of the stone; a wedge called a "lewis" is inserted; and the stone is safely lifted to the desired height.

These anchor stones are at present lying about five or six feet above the level of the lake; this indicates that the lake level in 1362 may have been four or five feet higher than it is at present. It could not have been much higher as this lake at high water has an outlet both at the north and at the south. Cormorant Lake happens to be the highest of all the lakes in that region, being the uppermost source of Pelican River. But even if the lake were only five feet higher than at present, both of the skerries would be under water. Does this then mean that in 1362, when the water presumably was five feet higher than it now is, these skerries did not exist as skerries but only as reefs? Not necessarily. The great mass of boulders which are strewn around the shore indicates that these skerries formerly were much bigger and higher than now. The nature of these skerries is such that their height above the water is determined by the moving ice which shoves back and forth like a huge planer each spring. They consist of boulders of all sizes which are cemented together with sand and gravel. Let us assume that the skerries formerly were five feet higher than now and that the water fell five feet. Little by little as the water fell the rains would wash out and erode the sand and gravel which bind the boulders together until finally the moving icefloes would get a grasp upon them and carry them away. In this manner, therefore, the tops of the skerries would diminish as the lake level lowered.

Cormorant Lake is the first lake of any size that these explorers would come to from the northwest, the probable direction of their approach. After a very long and wearisome march over the vast Red River Valley prairie, where game would be scarce and hard to approach, the wooded hills and beautiful expanse of Cormorant Lake would look very pleasant to them and invite them to a long stay. This is also one of the largest of these lakes, with many coves and head-

lands. This explains why the ten men who were out fishing heard or saw nothing of the tragedy that had overtaken their comrades until they returned and "found ten men, red with blood and dead." Even in the brief words upon the stone we can recognize the horrified surprise which met them and which causes the rune master to exclaim, "Ave Maria! Save (us) from evil!"

There can be no doubt that the survivors gave themselves time to bury their dead in a decent fashion. The next step in this investigation is therefore to find this burial spot. As we stood upon the hill of the camp site, Mr. Johnson pointed out a small knoll about sixty rods back from the lake and said: "Someone is surely buried over there."

"Why?"

"Because there are several sunken graves on that knoll."

We went over to the knoll and found that there really were a number of "sunken graves" on the knoll. They were not hollows caused by uprooted trees, except in one instance, but looked just like neglected graves. Whether these are of red or white men's origin I do not know. The knoll has never been plowed as it lies just inside the bounds of a piece of stony woodland. I made no excavations and requested Mr. Johnson not to disturb the mound until it can be excavated in a scientific manner. This will probably be done next spring.

DOCUMENTS

A JOURNAL OF LIFE IN WISCONSIN ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

KEPT BY WILLARD KEYES OF NEWFANE, VERMONT

On the second day of June in A. D. one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, I, Willard Keyes, (being impelled by a curiosity, or desire of seeing other places than those in the vicinity of my Native town,) started from Newfane in Vermont intending to travel into the western parts of the United States.—

Pass through Wardsboro—Stratton—across Green Mountain nine miles entire forrest—Arlington—South road to Shaftsbury—30 miles.

June 3d—through a corner of Bennington—Hoosick N. Y.—leave the main road, pass Hoosick-falls—Pittstown, Fosters inn, 24 miles.

" 4th Detained by rain till one oClock muddy roads—Brunswick—Troy, Pattersons inn, rainy—only 11 miles to day—

" 5th Cross north river and ride to Albany 6 miles—71 from Newfane—ramble about the City till one oclock—grow tired of a City life, dine in Washington St.—and start, taking the great Western turnpike leading to Cherry Valley travel in company with a sociable Dutchman—who gives me a ride in his waggon) muddy. Clay—a sudden shower—lodging at Deprats, Dutch inn Guiteerland 14 miles from albany—

June 6th Breakfast at Cheesmans—Princeton get a ride 20 miles, through, Duanesburg, Schoharie-Bridge—Carlisle—36 miles from Albany conclude to leave this road and strike the Mohawk find company, agree to an evenings walk stop & rest at a Cave arrive at Canajoharry-bridge.

11 at night—47 miles fr. Albany

June 7th Breakfast, and start late, being well jagged with yesterdays travel—proceed up the Mohawk, on the south side, (the turnpike is on

[1] For a short account of this journal see the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, III, 268-70.

the north)—Mindon—German-Flats—Herkemer-Courthouse—Emmersons inn—27 miles to day—the Grand Canal[2] is staked out on and near the road I traveled to day

" 8th Sabbath, day of rest—A dutch meeting—some young emigrants from Newhampshire came along, made some appology for traveling on the sabbath, and invited me to accompany them, but I declined

June 9th—Appearance of rain at hand—start for Utica 13 miles—Breakfast at Frankfort—begins to rain—get a ride to Utica—a very handsome Village rainy—towards night set forward for Whitestown 17 miles this day—large woolen factories in this vicinity but doing very little buisiness

Fall in Company with a Gent. traveller who gives the following account of himself.

"Constant A. Andrews by name, from Newyork City going to a tract of land on the mississippi river called "Carvers Purchase,—has purchased some of sd. land.—that the Proprietor, Dr. Samuel Peters,[3] with agents from a Company of merchants in Newyork who have purchased sd. tract of Dr. P. are coming on and will join him at Rome., or York in Canada.,.

June 10th Rainy—get a ride to Rome, about 100 miles from Albany—put up at Merills, Stage hotel, ...

I must now sit down and determine what course to pursue—the prospect is rather gloomy—

Swarms have been and are pouring from the "nation's hive" (New England) to people the Western forrests; it seems they have overstocked the market; for I daily meet those who are retracing their steps; they tell a discouraging story—

I have the choice of two ways before me, either to sneak back again like a henhearted fellow, or boldly venture beyond the beaten track of former adventurers, I have dissuasives from the former, and incentives to the latter course. Mr. Andrews is solicitous to have me accompany him; and I am inclined to think I shall—

[2] The Erie Canal, begun in 1816 and opened to traffic in 1825.

[3] Rev. Samuel Peters was an Episcopal clergyman of Connecticut, who because of Tory proclivities was driven out of the country at the opening of the Revolution and for thirty years resided in England. In 1805 he came back to America and devoted the remaining twenty years of his life to vain efforts to obtain ownership of the Carver Grant in western Wisconsin. Peters is perhaps best known to posterity for his history of Connecticut, publlshed anonymously in London in 1781.

May the Almighty God who rules the Universe be my Protector, may he incline my heart to pursue that which will conduce most to his glory, and my Eternal happiness.

June 11th—Wait the arrival of boats, intending to take passage down to Oswego—Rome is situated on the Mowhawk where it is united by a canal with Wood-Creek.

" 12th Superior Court sits at Rome—a large number of criminals indicted, among whom I recognised one familiar face, vis. Benjamin Flint a native of Newfane Vt.

(for Counterfeiting.

" 13-14th Rainy—wait with impatience for boats—attend court—several crininals tried and sentenced to hard labor, from 5 to ten years—an Indian convicted of murdering his brother—Evening—boats atlength arrive up the Mohawk—Write to my father—enclose a ticket in the Washington Bridge lottery No. 9102—

" 15th—Sabbath—take our passage down Wood-Creek, which is very winding. Country flat and in many places inundated Arrive at Oneida Lake, 22 miles by the Creek—a tavern without beds—take lodging across 2 chairs—

" 16th—Windbound at the head of Oneida wait with great impatience—Eve. wind abates—10 oclock start by rowing—I lend some assistance—continue all night by rowing.

" 17th Fair wind for sailing—7 oclock opposite Rotterdam unfortunately run on a rift of rocks get of[f] with some difficulty—28 miles across the lake—enter Oswego river—stop for the night at "three river Point"—18 m. fr. the Lake a bridge across the river here—two or three houses—obtain lodging in one of them

" 18th take a pilot to pass the rapids—12 miles to the falls—at very high water, boats sometimes pass down but never ascend these falls—one mile, land Carriage—by the falls—fortunately find a boat ready to start. 12 miles to Oswego on Lake Ontario—a considerable village—it was taken by the British in the last war—arrived here about noon—Engage a passage to York Upper Canada in the Schooner Morning Star—140 miles for $3—

June 19th—Wait a favorable wind—Sunset hoist sail with a light breeze—the cargo consists entirely of passengers, about 40 in number, mostly emigrants from England, going to Canada.

June 20th Very little wind, therefore we make but little progress—the water of the Lake is clear and cool.

" 21t A dead calm most of the day

June 22d—Sabbath—York light-house in sight—scarcely any wind—4 oclock PM. cast anchor in the bay of "little York" (otherwise Toronto.)[4]

" 23d—Mr. Andrews calls on Mrs. Jarvis, daughter of Dr. Peters, and wife of the secretary of U. Canada and informs her that her father is on the way here—she is transported with the news—requests me to start with the information to his son Wm. B. Peters, Attorney, in Dundass, near Burlington heights, 50 miles west—(now called Hamilton) furnished with a good horse, and letters of introduction arrive in Dundass late in the evening.

June 24th Esq. Peters, absent from home—am invited to tarry till his return—am treated with much politeness—Mrs Peters and her daughter, are very amiable in the afternoon walk out to view "Burlington heights" the British headquarters during the late war.

June 25th—return to York—the country is newly settled principaly by "Americans (or as they are called, Yankees")—the land is generaly flat, heavy timbered, and clay soil, but appears to be fertile, their farms tho—new, look flourishing—the road is mostly on a streight line, called "Dundass street" 50 miles in length—with farms arranged on each side—adjoining York I passed through a Pine forrest of 8 miles—

June 26th hire my board at a private house $3.50 per week—purposing to wait the arrival of Dr Peters

" 27 Write to my Brother Royal in Ellicott Ny.

" 28th this place is the seat of Goverment for Upper Canada, it is handsomly laid out into building lots and will probably be a place of considerable trade when the back country is well stocked with inhabitants it was taken by the Americans under Gen. Pike who lost his life by their blowing up the Arsenal—

By an act passed since the war if a citizen of the U. Stats purchases land in this Province it is forfeited to the Crown it is said nearly half of the inhabitants are natives of the States, and they begin to grow jealous of them—Dureing the war any who were suspected of being

[4] The parenthetical explanation was, apparently, added to the manuscript at some later time.

friendly to the Americans were persecuted with the greatest severity.
June 29th Sabbath—A meeting for religious worship is held in town, but being a stranger, I did not attend

" 30th C. A. Andrews executes a deed of 100 hundred acres of land in "Carvers tract" to me

July 1t Busy myself by making board rules—reading or sauntering through the streets—

" 2d—Dr. Peters arrives—Accompanied by Messrs—Thos. Taylor and John Tuthill—an affecting meeting of him and his daughter, after 12 years abscence—

" 3d. Dr Peters is about 84 years of age,[5] quite infirm, but says he will pursue his object of obtaining "Carvers land till he obtains it, or ends his life—he is very sociable—promises me good encouragement, as do the other agents if I will go with them

July 4th American Indepependance—hear the Cannon at fort Niagara which makes the royalists snarl Some American mechanics imprudently ride through through the town with a flag hoisted—some miscreants collected at night to mob them, but did not succeed—

July 5th—3 oclock PM. After much trouble, we start in a waggon for Lake Simcoe—distance 40 miles North—our company consists of Taylor, Tuthill, Andrews and myself—Dr Peters stays till monday.

July 6th Sabbath. Have had entertainment and lodging in a town Called "Volney"—our rout is through a Quaker Settlement—handsome farms though mostly new 3 oclock PM arrive at "Holland Landing" "Gillington"—just escape a tremenduous shower—a Mr Johnson keeps tavern here—and owns a small schooner that can come up the river to this place

July 7th Walk out to Newmarket—Robinsons mills store &C—6 miles—

July 8th—Indians are as thick as bees—the British have been dealing out presents to them

" 9th Johnsons schooner sails—Andrews and Taylor take passage in her—Tuthill and myself wait with impatience for Dr Peters—

" 10th Dr. P. arrives—12 oclock we start in a little Birchbark Canoe, with a frenchman, his squaw, 3 children and several hundred weight of baggage—tis astonishing how much these "eggshells" will

[5] Peters was born Nov. 20 (O. S.), 1785; he was, therefore, in his eighty-second year at this time.

bear up on the water—the least movement of those unacquainted with them will overset them—they are so light that an Indian will carry a considerable one on his head across the portages—We paddle down Holland River, 10 miles—enter Lake Simcoe 30 miles across—night overtakes us about halfway—land—strike up a fire—and encamp in the open air—a tough beginning for old Dr- P- but his courage holds good

July 11th—start early—soon commences a heavy rain, that drenches us to the skin—11 oclock Arrive at Kempenfelt bay—west end of the Lake—find Andrews and Taylor here the British have 3 store houses here.

July 12th- Cross a portage of 8 miles, horrible road thro. woods and swamps, to Nottowassauga Creek—Moscketoes beat all I ever met with before—a few store houses here Dr P. Andrews, and Tuthill, immediately start down the river in an Indian Canoe deeply laden with baggage—

July 13th Sabbath—Taylor and myself proceed in our frenchmans canoe—a very winding stream—the country flat, thickly wooded and in many places overflowed so that we sometimes left the crooked channell and sailed through the woods—1 oclock arrive at Nottowasauga, on Lake Huron[6]—40 miles by the Creek—a few houses here the British had a considerable establishment at this place but have lately transfered it to Pentanguechine

July 14th The Schooner we intended to have taken passage in, sailed before our arrival; therefore we are obliged to purchase a small boat, $60—it being calm we set of[f] by rowing—our Company consists of 10 persons viz. Dr Peters, Andrews, Taylor, Tuthill, our frenchman, his wife and three children—5 working hands, 4 at the oar and one at the helm, at which we take turns—Intend to coast the N. E. shores of Huron to Drummond island, and thence to Mackinaw—expect to be out 10 or 12 days—stop to dine on a barran sandy shore—we regale ourselves with a dish of tea, and mess of fish our course is about N.W.—stop for the night on a small island inhabited, chiefly, by gnats who recieved us gladly.

July 15th start by rowing—pass "Mackodash bay" at the head of it the British have an establisment called Pentanguechine—the shores and bottom of the Lake is solid rock.

[6] The travelers had now reached Nottawasaga Bay, which is at the south-eastern end of Georgian Bay.

" 16th—The Lake still and smooth the greatest curiosity we have is the immence piles of rocks. islands of rocks innumerable—encamp on one of them,—tormented by Mosketoes—sleep but little.

July 17th Start Early, row accross a large bay—high surf—afternoon, another bay, wind and waves uncommonly high, our passage dangerous among rocks that present themselves on every side the billows breaking over them—Again pleasant sailing being sheltered by islands 3 oclock, head West, wind against us—make our bed on the soft side of a rock.

July 18th Start with the sun—wind ahead, surf high—row hard about 10 miles—stop on an island of rocks curiously broken into square pieces as nice as if sawed—Juniper, and Goosbery bushes are the principal vegetable productions—exercise our ingenuity in making a goosbery Pie, have rare luck—4 oclock PM. start again—very little wind—sundown, encamp on rocks

" 19th Set of[f] at sunrise—wind strong ahead obliged to lie by all day

" 20th Sabbath, rather cold, breakfast and proceed—the wind still in our teeth—stop at 4 PM.

July 21t Free wind for sailing—pass an Indian village, at a place called by the French "cloche" (Bell, in English[7]) they offer us a Beaver skin for Skittewabaw (rum)—a long string of islands—sail till near dark.

July 22d Dr. Peters quite sick with the Lumbago—sail by daylight—6 miles, the wind Comes ahead and compells us to lie by all day high winds the foaming billows dash and break over the rocks with great fury.

July 23d High winds from the west confine us still to our little island of rocks—our fire overruns the most of it and burns both wood and soil the principal timber that grows on these barran shores is stintid pine, cedar and juniper.

July 24th Start by daybreak—still a westerly breeze—sunset encamp on a sandy shore thick woods—quite cool.

July 25th Wind against us by hard rowing reach an Indian encampment—11 oclock A. M. stop—they are called Missasauges—a sandy plain surrounded by high rocky mountains—tack to the SW. meet

[7] Apparently Cloche Island, which lies between Manitoulin Island and the Ontario mainland.

some Mackinaw boats laden with peltry—encamp on an island some distance from land

July 26th Continue steering S. W.—wind ahead—Drummond island in sight—and we begin to take courage—encamp on a small island.

July 27th—Sabbath—Rainy morning—the first we have had for 16 days—St. Joseph's, at the outlet of Lake Superior, in sight—11 oclock AM. reach the settlement on Drummond's island a new establishment by the British[8]— — — this island is said to be about 45 miles long the settlement is on the south end, they keep a garrison here commanded by a Col.

July 28th, Start for Mackinaw—45 miles West the wind soon sets in against us—with hard tugging at the oar we reach a small island about half way.

" 29th One oclock in the morn—we start, by the light of the moon—lake still and smooth—sunrise the wind helps a little—9 oclock, fine breeze, Mackinaw in sight—the fort makes a handsome appearance, standing on high ground and completely white-washed—12, we sail up handsomely to the celebrated island of Mackinaw and landed once more on American soil having coasted the Northern shore of L. Huron about 400 miles—a chain of islands stretch along near the shore most of the way—we were obliged to keep behind them as much as posible with our little boat to avoid the roughness of the lake—the island of Mackinaw is about 3 miles long and 1½ broad the fort stands on elevated ground and can command the whole island[9] the town is on the south shore—a small plain just under the fort, the houses are many of them built of logs and roofs covered with bark however their appearance is better inside than out, many of them are handsomely furnished the inhabitants are a mixture of Americans French, British and Indians of all sorts and descriptions—the garrison consists of about 200 men commanded by Col. Mc.Neil[10] con-

[8] The post on Drummond Island had been established after the British withdrew from Mackinac in 1815. Although in fact within the boundary of the United States, the establishment was maintained by the British as a center for the control of the Indian trade until 1828.

[9] The latter observation is incorrect, as the Americans learned to their sorrow when the British attacked the place in the summer of 1812.

[10] Col. John McNeil had distinguished himself for bravery and hard fighting in the War of 1812. He left the army in 1830, having received from President Jackson the appointment of surveyor of the port of Boston. He was one of the commissioners who negotiated the Indian treaty of 1829 at Prairie du Chien; copies of his journals on that occasion were later supplied the Wisconsin Historical Society by the executors of his will.

siderable trade is carried on here it being the general rendezvous of Indian traders.

July 30th Write to my friends—Mr. Taylor concludes to return to Newyork—the rest of our company prepare for a voyage to Prairie du Chien, 600 miles,—where we expect to winter—were disappointed of finding persons at Mackinaw with whom we intended to open our buisness.

July 31t Taylor sails for Buffalo, about 700 miles

August 1t—About thirty bark canoes full of Savages arrive, part Sacks and part Winnibagoes, or Peunt towards night they commence a dancing frolic—it was a novel sight to me—they danced and sung before almost every door in the village from each of which they expect a present of Bread, tobacco, whiskey or something else—most of them were nearly naked and were painted or daubed with black, red and white, and decorated with quills, feathers, tails of wild beasts &C. so as to appear horridly frightful.

Aug. 2d Two months since I left Newfane about sundown start for Prairie du Chien having hired our passage in an Indian trading boat, belonging to Mr John Dousman,[11] our company consists of Dr. Peters, Andrews, Tuthill and myself passengers,—Andrew Leiphart master, 1 interpreter 1 clerk, and 6 french boatmen. proceed about 5 miles and encamp—

Aug. 3d—Sabbath Indians hooting all night—Breakfast and proceed—pass the Michegan streights—wind comes ahead obliged to lie by

Aug. 4th A very heavy shower, with sharp Lightning and hard thunder last night in the morning, cold and high winds—strike our tent and remove into the woods for shelter from the wind

" 5th " 6th Wind high, from the west, the white caps roll and break on the shore with violence—

Aug. 7th A calm—we proceed on our voyage encamp at the mouth of a river—some indian graves in this place.

Aug 8th Warm weather—12 oclock arrive at a place called by the French Shuchwa (Shouchoio)[12] 25 Leagues from Mackinaw—a soft

[11] John Dousman was a Pennsylvanian who had come west as an army sutler some years before the War of 1812. He lived for a time at Green Bay, then at Mackinac, and still later (1824) returned to Green Bay, where he died the following year.

[12] Point Seulchoix, in Schoolcraft County, Michigan.

kind of stone or marble is found here—on which we, as new comers must engrave our names, and pay a customary treat to the boat-men—encamp again at the mouth of the river.[13]

Aug. 9th We give the boatmen a treat, one of them turns down about a pint and lies dead drunk—We keep on the North side of the Lake—encamp on a stony flat—

August 10th Arrive at the entrance of Green Bay cross over to the South side—numerous islands, with remarkable high precipices—one, the French call Le De Pou (the Louse)—Pleasant weather—encamp on an island they call "Petite Detroit" (little Streight) a band of Indians reside here, they are employed in building Birch Bark Canoes, and weaving flag mats.[14] Sabbath—

August 11th Pass point "De Mort" (or point of Death) so called from the many Indian canoes wrecked there in attempting to pass the point which is perpendicular—rocks rising out of the water

August 12 Pleasant weather, fair wind for sailing encamp on a white oak plain—Mosketoes troublesome

Aug. 13th Arrive at the head of Green Bay, enter Fox river steering about south—12 oclock arrive at Fort Howard—We had neglected to obtain pasports at Mackinaw but after some difficulty have permission to proceed—pitch our tents about 2 miles above the mouth of the river the inhabitants are French and live on both sides of the river—distant from Mackinaw 240 miles

Aug. 14th This appears to be a pleasant place and the land fertile, though poorly cultivated—their crops of Wheat and corn look well obtain garden vegetables, milk, &C. but at a high price A funeral on the death of a frenchman—cermonies performed in the Roman Catholic style—sunset—proceed about 2 miles and encamp—the river I should judge is near ½ mile wide the water, very dirty occasioned I believe principally by the Rice blossoms.

Aug. 15th Foggy morning—proceed about 2 m. stop at mr. John Jacobs[15]—Dr. Peters Baptises two of his children—our course is S. W. the land on the N. W. Side has a beautiful appearance being

[13] The Manistique River.

[14] For an interesting account of a visit to this village only a month after Peters' party see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 165-66.

[15] John B. Jacobs, a native of Canada, who settled at Green Bay about the year 1800. About the year 1827 he returned to Canada and there spent the remainder of his life.

composed of gentle rises interspersed with vales of high grass—very thinly wooded with scattering oak and hickory.

August 16th Start early, proceed to the rapids before breakfast—6 Leagues from Green Bay they unload the boat and drag it near a mle up the rapids—a frenchman[16] lives here who transports the loading in carts—here is an elegant seat for mills and will probably be improved at some future day—the country looks beautiful and inviting—the weather is warm—Lockwood[17] with another trading boat overtakes us—they hire Indian canoes to take part of the load as the river is rapid for several miles

several of us walk 2 or 3 miles—meet two persons by the names of "Gunn, and King"[18] who have been out to gain inteligence respecting Carvers land

Aug 17th Sabbath—The hands have to drag the boat most of the way against a swift current sometimes perpendicular falls—a heavy shower pitch our tent in a twinkling and just escape it—Start again about noon—3 oclock arive at some falls[19]—they are about 5 or 6 feet, perpendicular a solid rock stretches from one shore to the other the two boats double their team, mustering Indians and all, about 25 strong, and haul the boats up without unloading—encamp 1 m. above the fals

Aug 18th Morning Cold—the river spreads out near ¾ of a mile wide—smoth sailing a short distance—more rapids—half unload, and cary it at twice to Winnibago Lake—I proceed there by land—it begins to rain—Indians bring us green corn, beans, and potatoes for bread salt and tobacco

Aug 19th Rainy most of the day—Indians continue to supply us with vegetables, ducks venison &C. they take out the boat and Caulk it—

Aug 20th Heavy shower with thunder & lightning last night—cloudy—the men backward about starting—Lockwood started yester-

[16] Apparently Augustin Grignon, a prominent trader of Wisconsin. His recollections are printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, III, 197-295.

[17] James H. Lockwood, a prominent resident of Prairie du Chien in the early part of the nineteenth century. Lockwood was a native of New York; he came west as a young man at the close of the War of 1812 and engaged in the Indian trade. His permanent residence at Prairie du Chien dates from 1819. See his recollections in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, II, 98-196.

[18] These men were grandsons of Jonathan Carver and were returning, disappointed, from the same mission on which Peters was outward bound—to gain the recognition of the Sioux chiefs of their claim to the Carver Grant.

[19] Known as the Grand Chute, where the modern city of Appleton has arisen.

day—we move about 12 oclock—the Lake is about 24 miles long from N. to S.—and 6 broad—we steer S—20 miles, then turn west and enter Fox river again—6 miles up we come to Dead Lake 9 m. long, and in the broadest part about 3—course through the Lake N. W. till we arrive at (La Be des Mort) "the Bank of the dead" where we encamp—a band of Menomine Indians live here—called by the French "Folsavoine" (or Wild Rice)—the French in former days destroyed an Indian village at this place for committing depredations on their trade which gave the Bank its name.

Aug. 21t—Pleasant, but cool—proceed 2 miles and the river branches, the one from the W. is called Wolf river—the Fox river turns S—then E. and almost every point of the Compas but the general course appears to be S. W. Extensive Prairies, or Meadows on each side of the river covered with high grass, and interspersed with groves of young trees—Wild Rice grows in great abundance—ducks and other wild fowl are plenty the day is pleasant and the scenry is beautiful beyond description—the river is about 6 rods wide, very smooth and a serpentine course, winding to the S. and W.—Encamp on a white Oak plain about 6 feet higher than the river—40 m. from Winnibago Lake—90 to the Ouisconsin

Aug 22d—Some rain last night—cloudy and foggy—proceed 4 miles, pass a place called "Yellow Thunder"[20]—prospect of rain—steer all points of the compass—5 oclock PM. it begins to rain, encamp on the W. side of river

Aug. 23d Heavy rain last night—10 oclock arrive at a place where one and half mile by land, equals 15 by the river—several of us walk across the isthmus—shoot Pheasants, ducks and pigeons—the boat in doubling the point steer west and then turn east again—they pass some Indian Lodges, get green corn and mellons this, is said to be midway between Winnibago Lake and the portage into the Ouisconsin 24 leagues each way—a few miles and we enter a Lake called by the Indians "Pockwak" (Flag Lake) 9 miles long—3 broad, course through the lake S.W.—Rice, and flags, or bulrushes are in such abundance as impedes our progress—some of it grows to the height of 6 feet above the water—pitch our tents on the N. side—

[20] This was the village of the noted Winnebago chief, Yellow Thunder. He died at an extreme age in February, 1874.

Aug. 24th Sabbath—Pleasant weather—some of us take a trip on land, but in pursuit of game we miss the point we intended to take the boat, and wander over hills and through meadows near 6 miles—arrive on the banks of "Lac la Beuf" (or Ox Lake)—some high hills for this country—shoot a large speckled snake off a tree rattlesnakes are said to abound through this country this lake is 9 miles long but narrow—near night another portage of ½ mile, but the boat has several miles, and is seen meandering through the meadows in every direction, the river is concealed by the grass—

Aug. 25th—24 miles to the portage—general course appears to be near S.—9 oclock pass a place where a girl was buried, said to be poisned by a cruel stepmother—the grave enclosed with pickets on the Cross at her head was an inscription in French to the following import "Theresse Chappeau died Oct.—1815 aged 10 years"—the river grows narrow, 6 of us get out to walk, thinking to make a short cut we wandred out of our way 6 or 8 miles, crossed a large meadow, a termerack swamp &C. part of us joined the boat a few miles before it reached the portage—they had passed a small Lake called Mud-lake—the channel is narrow and full of rice and mud, in some places almost impassable—arrived at the portage 4 oclock P. M.

the distance from Mackinaw to this place is, called 140 Leagues, or 420 miles—from Green Bay 60 Leagues—and from this portage to Prairie du Chien 60 Leagues—

Fox river from Winnibago Lake has a very winding course, no rapids, several small lakes and great quantities of Wild Rice—its general course appears to be S. S. W.

On both sides of the river are large and extensive Prairies or meadows covered with high grass—the upland is dry and sandy, principaly timbered with various kinds of Oak The Indians inhabiting this country are Winnibagoes and Menomines (called by the French Puants, and Folsavoins) they are reported to be rather inimical to Americans but I saw nothing unfriendly in their behavior—the only domestic animals I saw among them were horses and dogs—they cultivate corn, potatoes, turnips, beans &c.

Aug 26th—The portage between Fox river and the Wisconsin (or as the French spell it Ouisconsin) is little more than a mile, low level land, and free from wood, I think they might be easily united by a

canal—A Frenchman lives here and transports boats and their cargo—he broke his carts and hindered us one day—encamp on the banks of the Wisconsin—Saw a Rattlesnake the first I ever saw. Killed by an American, Indian Trader named Lockwood

Aug. 27th More boats Arrive to the number of 6 12 oclock, our boat, in company with two others, starts down the Wisconsin—rapid current, sandy bottom, not very crooked, and no rice—about 50 or 60 yards wide though it frequently spreads out much wider—full of islands and sand-bars this river is said to head 300 miles above the Portage our course about S. W.—25 miles, and encamp

Aug. 28th Rainy—frequent difficulty in dragging the boat over sand-bars—the adjacent country is full of small hills that shoot up very high and seem to terminate in a point, some are of solid rock, others appear to be sand—the low land is thickly covered with wood—4 oclock PM. pass a perpendicular rock of considerable height—

Aug. 29th—Commences raining at day-break clears up at eight—9 oclock pass the halfway place, 30 Leagues each way, the river turns from S. to S.W.—the land uneven, precipices frequently occur of solid rock—sand-bars numerous, and sometimes rocks—pass a place called "English meadow"[21] from an English trader and his son, said to have been murdered there by the savages, 20 Leagues to Prairie du Chien

Aug. 30th—9 oclock pass a large plain with high banks, called "Prairie du Bay"—11 Leagues from "Prairie du Chien" pass Blue river, a small stream that comes in from the South between two high points of land, said to be navigable 30 Leagues for small boats—a few miles below another stream from the North called C[l?]ousy river[22]—3 Leagues from the mouth of Ouisconsin several of us leave the boats and proceed by land to Prairie du Chien about 6 miles, where we arrive about 4 oclock P. M.

And here I am on the banks of the far famed "Missisippi"—the rout I have traveled is about 2000 miles Three months ago I was in my native town; in the pleasing circle of youthful acquaintance beyond which I had never ventured.

[21] Probably English Prairie, on which the present town of Muscoda is situated. The usual explanation of the origin of the name is that the English troops under Col. McKay camped here in 1814, en route to the capture of Prairie du Chien.

[22] Evidently the modern Kickapoo.

Since that time what varying scenes have been presented to my view! Scenes of terror and disgust, of admiration and delight, have alternately excited my attention. With admiration have I beheld the rare productions of Nature in these uncultivated regions; the verdant plains and varigeated hills and dales all clad in Nature's gayest livery without the aid of art, have filled my bosom with delight—On the other hand the tawny Savage of the wilderness, sculking in the thicket, besmeared with paint of various hues, and otherways decorated to render them frightful, thrill terror through the breast of those unacquainted with their manners; and their mode of living and eating is disgusting to those who have any sence of decency or cleanliness—

Aug. 31t Sabbath—A general muster of the garrison, being the last day of the month about 200 riflemen commanded by Col. Chambers,[23] they appear to be well dissiplined—the fort is about 50 yards square, composed of barracks built of hewn logs, with two block houses at opposite corners, mounting several small pieces of artillery—Called Fort "Crawford."

The Prairie is an extensive plain 10 or 12 miles long and from 2 to 4 broad—the inhabitants are French who settled here from Canada about 40 years ago—there is 20 or 30 houses in the vicinity of the fort, besides several clumps in differant parts of the Prairie—the river is said to be about a mile wide opposite the town, and full of islands—the people are galloping about on French Ponys playing at ball, billiards &c. so that the Sabbath appears to be a day of recreation and amusement among them—

Sept. 1t—Rainy—Indians are numerous though they do not appear so plenty as at Mackinaw—the French I believ have most of them Indian wives

Sept. 2d—three months since I left home—Excessive warm—the Thermometer 102 degrees in our tent—

[23] Colonel Talbot Chambers was appointed to the army from Pennsylvania about ten years before this time. At the close of the War of 1812 he was sent west to command at Mackinac. In the summer of 1816 he accompanied the troops to Green Bay to establish Fort Howard and commanded here for one winter. He was transferred to Prairie du Chien early in 1817, remaining until the spring of 1818. At Prairie du Chien he acquired an unenviable reputation for despotic conduct. He was dismissed from the army in 1826—according to one account for cutting off a soldier's ears—and entered the Mexican service, where he opposed his former countrymen in the war of 1846-48.

Dr Peters and Tuthill visit Col. Chambers were politely received, and promised his assistance in the prosecution of their object, he is commander in chief here, there being no civil authority in the place
Sept 3d—Almost every thing bears an exorbitant price—we hire a small room for $3 per week
Sept. 4th I engage to work for a few days for a Mr Shaw.[24] who is building a mill about 4 miles N. by E. from the fort—$1 per day
Sept. 8th agree to work for Mr Shaw as a carpenter at $26 per month—Mr. Andrews as a millwright
Sept 14th Sabbath—visit the town on sundays being at work other days—it is the custom with many here to spend this day in riot and drunkenness
Sept 20th Taken very ill expect the Fever and Ague coming on
Sept 21t Sabbath—Rainy—take a potion of Calomel and Jallap—
Sept. 22d Ague and Fever hangs on with great severity—commence taking Peruvian bark, as a sure remedy—
Sept. 25th My disorder begins to abate and I commence work though feeble
Oct 10th A second attack of the Fever and Ague—but after a few days, by the Blessing of God and the use of proper medicine am enabled to get rid of it
Oct. 17th Lord Selkirk[25] a Scotchman passes the fort, from his settlement on "Red River" on his way to the City of Washington—
Oct 19th Sabbath—Pleasant weather—At ½ past 8 in the Evening a messenger at full speed gave an alarm that the Indians had attacked the town directing us to make the best of our way to the fort—our firearms were all absent, or out of order we immediately concluded to flee—at the same instant the Indian whistle began to sound (the signal for attack) we rushed out were fired upon, and the war-whoop commencd we scatered retreted to the hills, finding ourselves not pursued, collected our company together and found two missing—

[24] This was Colonel John Shaw, whose recollections are printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, II, 197-232.

[25] Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, in 1811 purchased 116,000 square miles of land in the Canadian Northwest from the Hudson's Bay Company and devoted the remainder of his life to establishing a colony there. He is the real founder of the Canadian West. At the time of his visit to Prairie du Chien Selkirk was en route to settled Canada to stand trial upon charges preferred by representatives of the NorthWest Company, with which he had become embroiled. The story of Selkirk's life and work is told by Louis A. Wood, *The Red River Colony. A Chronicle of the Beginnings of Manitoba* (Toronto: 1915).

after a long consultation we, from various reasons concluded it to be a false alarm, created by some evil disposed, drunken, lowlived persons—we cautiously returned to our cabin, where we found one of our men who in retreating a different way was driven back—and one man lay in the woods all night

Oct 20th—The Indian exploit of last night was performed by the officers of the garrison and some of the principal citizens, led on by the Col.—who came up today to excuse the matter—to palliate the unwarrantable act he said we were too carless in not being well armed, and being too far from the fort for protection he had adopted that plan as the only method of bringing us to our sense of duty—

Oct. 25th A snow storm—cold weather

Oct. 27th Warm—for the season—

Nov. 2 A sleight head ache—symptoms of the Ague returning

Nov. 3d Finish working for Mr. Shaw by the month—Undertake, in Co. with mr- Andrews to finish the mill for the use of it till the first of June—expect likewise to build a horse mill for mr- Rolette[26]

Nov.4th Quite sick with the Ague though not so violent as at first

Nov. 9th Write to my father and friends in Vermont—

Nov 11 Rainy day—thunder at night

" 12th Rig up our cabin and make it comfortable for the winter

Nov. 16. Sabbath—Seldom go to town on other days

Nov. 18th Col. Chambers lends us some muskets

Nov. 23d Sabbath—take a walk several miles up the Creek—Snow is about 3 inches

Nov. 28th An Indian Chief of the Fox tribe with his family takes his residence near us—the Indian agent, Mr. Johnson,[27] gives him a written recommend to us for friendship and protection

Nov. 30th Sabbath ride to the village—pleasant—the Missisippi has been nearly frozen over, but appears to be breaking up

Dec. 1st—a heavy rain—

Dec. 2d—A sudden change in the weather—high winds and cold—

[26] Joseph Rolette was a leading citizen of Prairie du Chien in the early decades of the nineteenth century. He was born in Canada in 1781, came to Prairie du Chien in 1806, and died there in 1842.

[27] John W. Johnson was the factor in charge of the government Indian trading house at Prairie du Chien. Before the War of 1812 he had served as factor at Fort Madison, Iowa. On the abandonment of the factory system in 1822 Johnson removed to St. Louis. His wife was a woman of the Sauk tribe.

Dec. 5th A French Citizen confined and punished at the fort for selling whiskey to hirelings and soldiers contrary to orders[28]
Dec. 10th Mild weather—take a walk to the village just at night—
Dec. 19th—Friday Severe cold Thermometer said to be below cypher, or zero.
Dec. 21t Sabbath remain at home to keep garrison—several ladies visit me[29]
Dec. 23d Moderate weather—rainy—
Dec. 25th Thursday—Christmas—the people here observed it with great exactness some as a holy day, and some as a holiday
Dec. 28th Sabbath—take a walk across the Missisippi and thence to town
Dec. 30th AD. 1817 Started the first mill by water in Prairie du Chien—it is a great wonder to most of the people
Dec. 31t Col. Chambers and other officers visit the mill—bestow many praises upon it
January the first AD. 1818
A new, and may it be a happy year
Farewell to AD. 1817—another year is added to the thousands that have rolled away since time began! — — — —
A new year is ushered in with greetings of happiness—May I indeed have reason to bless it as auspecious, for many years to come.
This, appears to be a proper time to pause and take a retrospect of what is past. — — — —
In reviewing my conduct through the year that is past, with as much impartiality as self is capable of doing, I cannot find a base or unworthy action—A character fair—and conscience clear of intentionaly giving offence, or doing an injury, to any of the Children of men!
And am I then so happy as to be in the "path of Wisdom", so perfect as to need no amendment?—Alas! my consience tells me no; it whis-

[28] Lockwood describes (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, II, 129) one such punishment at the instance of Colonel Chambers. The culprit was "whipped, and with a bottle hung to his neck, marched through the streets, with music playing the Rogue's March after him." A similar affair, wholly to Chambers' discredit, is described in *Ibid*, 229-30.

[29] "To see mill" has been added at this point in the manuscript, evidently at a later time. Shaw's was the first water mill at Prairie du Chien, and hence may well have been an object of interest to the townsmen. Before its erection the people had had resort to "band mills" for grinding flour, the power being supplied by a horse attached to a sweep.

pers the words of Christ, "one thing thou lackest"—for notwithstanding thy self righteousnes, thy soul is in the gall of bitterness and bonds of iniquity!—O! God, it is thou, and thou alone, can cleanse the heart of sin, and draw it out in holy love to thee—suffer me not to remain another year in the stupidity of sin—Save, oh save my soul from endless torment, in Mercy give me grace for the sake of Jesus Christ the Savior and Redemer of sinners, Amen!

Jan. 2d Write to Pardon Kimball and Lewis Newton, send by the express—the gentry visit the mill again—

Jan. 4th Sabbath—Remain at home alone—am visited by about 20 indians and squaws returning from a hunt, give them a little food and tobacco, they in return give me some venison—

Jan 5th commence cutting timber for Roletts mill—hire one man by the name of Fisher—

Jan 7th Several Indians and squaws encamp about ½ mile above us

Jan. 10th—We had considerable sport in killing a large wolf that had infested our doors for some time

Jan. 11th Sabbath—Ride to the village—Mr Johnson loans to me a file of New[s]papers—Severe cold—the frost bites my ears in returning—

Jan. 12th Our Indian neighbors visit often—we generaly give them a little food they bring us some venison to day—

Jan. 13th Andrews leaves here for Roletts mill—some of the Neighbors children come in the evening to learn to read

Jan 14th Weather more moderate

Jan. 19th Start the mill—but little water

" 20th—The water clears away the ice and finds the bottom of the canal—

Jan. 21t—Pleasant weather—the mill run pretty well—Beautiful evening—the moon at the full—let the mill run all night

Jan. 23d Cold, the mill freeses up—go to town, return in the evening and find two lusty indians with Fisher, determined to stay through the night but drive them off—

Jan 25th Sabbath Cold, squally—snow about 3 inches—ride to town in a "cariole" (French Sleigh) on the Missippi—whiskey sells at 6 dollars per gal.—but I am very clear of buying any—return in the evening, and find Fisher very much alarmed by some Indians visiting him and behaving rather uncivil—

Feb. 1t Sabbath. Write a letter to Moses Rice in, Vt.
Feb. 5th Keen Cold weather—Dr Peters makes me a visit — — — — —
Feb. 7th High winds—take a skip across the Prairie to town
Feb. 8th Sabbath—As severe cold I think as I most ever witnesed
Feb 9th fair sun but piercing cold
Feb. 10th A duel fought this morning between Mr O, Fallon,[30] Indian Agent and Lt. Shade[31] of the garrison—the latter recieved the second shot in his under jaw—O, fallon unfortunately escaped without injury
Feb. 15th Sabbath—Col. Chambers lends me a bundle of news papers—Vt. news—Galusha reelected Gov.—A law about passing to establish three banks—and an abortive attempt to rob, near Brattleboro
Feb. 20th been at work with Mr Andrews for several days, at Rolettes mill—
Feb. 21 Mr J. Shaw's brother arrives from St Louis with several men going to the Pinery for rafting timber
Feb. 22d Sabbath—Washingtons Birthday under pretence of celebrating it, some of the principal charactors get notoriously drunk.
Feb. 27th—Shaw and his party start for the pinery take Fisher with them who has formerly lived with me.
Evening—Am now entirely alone my nearest Neighbors on one side ½ mile distant on the other a savage wilderness—
" 28th Pleasant weather—Cut out the canal and bring the water on the wheel
March 1t Sabbath—After much hard work, start the mill this morn— very warm weather—the People flock in to see the wonderous mill go by water Evnings when destitute of company spend my time in reading, writing, or mending my stockings—my library consists of a Bible and "Baxter's Call"—two precious books—"Carvers travels" an Almanac, and now and then a borrowed file of Newspapers—
My living at present is prety much as follows—Breakfast, Coffee, Bread, dried Beef and Onions—Dinner, fried Pork, Venison, Potatoes, Bread, &c.—Supper, Coffee—Flapjacks Beef and onions—

[30] Benjamin O'Fallon was a nephew of George Rogers Clark of Revolutionary fame. He seems to have shared Colonel Chambers' reputation for arbitrary conduct, which may account for Keyes' observation upon the outcome of the duel.

[31] William G. Shade of Maryland. He resigned from the service in November, 1818.

March 6th Too cold to grind—dress the stones, they are poor things for grinding
March 8th Sabbath Very warm—People anxious to have grinding, let the mill run—thronged with visitors—
March 10th Rainy by spells all day—Evning steady rain—10 oclock, the flood breaks my waste-gate and stops the mill—My Cellar is full of water and Potatoes drowned—
March 11th A heavy flood last night the dam swept away—Canal broken in many places and a bridge across the Creek has gone down the Missisipi
March 12th—Snow all gone—ground full of water—the Prairie almost impasable—
Eve. 10 oclock—Commences raining very hard
March 13th—Mr Andrews with several men come to assist mending the dam—water very high—we do but little good—
March 14th Clear and cold—work hard at the dam—grind a little—
March 15th Sabbath—Quite Cold—ride to town—Missisippi rising, and breaking
" 18th—Warm—towards night get most of the water turned into the Canal—start the mill. 10 oclock, water fails, stop the mill feel unwell—a pain in my bowels, and sickness at my stomach—
" 19th—Pleasant—dress the stones—in the afternoon start the mill—12 at night commenced raining—
March 22d Sabbath Pleasant—the mill out of order which hinders me from grinding
" 23d dress the mill stones—
" 26th Stop the mill for want of wheet
" 27th Sabbath—Snow and rain together
Sab.Eve.—have been reading "Baxters Call to the Unconverted" his words cary Conviction to the Conscience, but alas! how soon they are forgotten
March 30th Warm and Pleasant—
April 1t People begin to plow their land and sow wheat—
" 4th The mill out of order, by the works settling, Mr- Andrews assists in regulating it
April 5th—Sabbath—Walk to the village—the Prarie quite dry—green herbage just springing up—All Nature looks smiling and gay—

Surely if we have hearts susceptible of gratitude, they would at this time teem with grateful love, to that Benificent Being who gives life and animation to countless Millions!— — —

April 8th Warm and Pleasant—quit the mill for want of Wheat, and work with mr- Andrews

April 10th Return to the mill—

Mr- O' Fallon, Indian Agent, starts for the falls of "St. Anthony" and St Peters river, with two boats and 50 or 60 men, to visit and council with the Souix—

" 12th Sabbath—beautiful weather—

" 14th Quit the mill again— —

" 16th Shaw and Fisher come down from "Black river" in a starving condition—have had bad luck in getting their raft into the Missisippi

April 19th High wind from the North for several days, and cold—

April 22d Col. Chambers orders 4 building lots to be laid off, below the village on the river for the use of Americans—I obtain the 2 choice—purchase some rails and partly enclose it—the Menomine Indians have a meeting or dance—it seems to be of the religious kind—they performed a great many ceremonies the meaning of which I did not comprehend—the speakers delivered their discourses with great rapidity and vehemence some of them continue to harangue more than two hours without intermision— — — —

April 24th—A Boat arrives from St. Louis 35 days—laden with Provisions, Whiskey, dry goods also packets of letters and Newspapers—Whiskey has been sold at 10 or 12 dollars the gallon—many other articles exorbitantly high

April 25th Walk out into the Prairie to see an Indian game at Ball—the Menominies and Winnibagoes play on opposite sides—they display great activity and address in catching and hurling the ball, and mind neither broken bones nor bruises—indeed it is a most vigorous and manly exercise—"Carver gives a particular description of it in his travels— — — the Menomines are victorious 3 times out of 5 and win the prize—

April 26th Sabbath—Indian traders returning from St Peters river and other places the celebrated Col. Dickson[32] comes in with them—

[32] Robert Dickson, noted British-Indian leader in the Northwest. Dickson had great influence with the Sioux, having married the daughter of a Sioux chief. An account of his career is printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 133-53.

lately from "L. Selkerks settlement" he is detained on suspision of transgressing our laws—the militia or "fensibles of Prairie du Chien" mustered—A false alarm at the fort about midnight—to try the spirit of the militia in turning out— —

April 28th O' Fallon returns from council with the Souix. (formerly called Naudowessies)

May 1tt—Warm—Andrews and myself cross the river in a canoe, pass through a narrow slue between two islands—the river about one mile wide—ascend a small stream opposite the town about 2 miles to look for a mill seat—wind high in returning—

May 2 Rather cold—Northwest wind—

May 3d Sabbath Suddenly taken with the Crick, occasioned by taking cold—

A complaint is made to the Indian agent against the Winnibagoes for stealing horses and shooting hogs—they are threatened with confinement and punishment at the fort unless they make restitution

May 4th—Write to my father—work at Roletts mill—Rolette sells the whole of his property in this place to Mr Ayrd[33] a fur trader for $9000

May 5th Evning—have been grinding all day, and continue—the fire is overrunning the country which is always the case here in the spring and autumn—it is slowly decending the hills south of my cabin in a column of more than a mile in length, enlightning the whole valley otherwise dark and cloudy—it is a pleasing though solemn prospect.

May 6th Cool morning, with a little rain and snow—borrow some Newspapers of Mr Johnson

May 9th Dissolve partnership with Mr.- Andrews by mutual consent—raise my price from 25, to 37 ½ cts. per bushel for grinding

" 10th Sabbath Warm and Pleasant—visited by a number of French people at the mill

" 11th—A smart thundershower in the morning—showry all day—there has been no rain for some time before

" 12th Uncommon heavy thunder last night attended with rain—from the best observations I have been able to make, there is not near the quantity of rain falls here, there does in Vt.,—but there is generaly every morning a very large dew—

[33] James Aird, a Scotch trader who had located at Prairie du Chien in the latter part of the eighteenth century. His trade was largely with the Sioux.

May 14th At the mill—beautifuly pleasant weather—Plum, and Cherry trees in full bloom—here I live like a hermit among the mountains, enjoying the Pleasures of solitude and retirement—tend the mill, read and write, prepare my victuals, and work a little

May 15th People are planting their corn—it sells at $6 per bush. Potatoes, at $5 they are miserable farmers—but little better than the Indians—have plenty of good land if they would but cultivate it

May 16th—Rolette, and Ayrd have had an arbitration of several days about their bargin.

May 17th Sabbath—cool and likely for rain

May 20th Dr. Peters not being permited by the authorities here to open his business is obliged tho reluctantly to return, but is still confident he shall ultimately succeed having had private inteligence from several sources that are encouraging—

Write to Mr Thos. Taylor of Newyork City Bowry—likewise to my brother Royal, at Ellicott N.Y.

May 21t Mr Tuthill starts this noon—write to my sister Philinda—am quite unwell—take a potion of Physic of Dr Peirsons—return to the mill—

May 22d had a restless night—about noon just able to crawl to the nearest Neighbors

May 23d Growing better of my sickness close my business at the mill and remove to the village—have made arrangements to commence a school—limited my engagements to 3 months—30 students subscribed, at $2 per month each—2 large Barges arrive from St Louis

May 24th Sabbath—Commence Board with Mr Faribault[34] $15 per month

May 25th Commence teaching school have but 2 or 3 pupils, that can speak much English

May 26th Rainy most of the day—the roof of my house leaky

[34] Jean Baptiste Faribault, a native of Canada, who came west in 1798 as an employee of the Northwest Company. About the year 1806 he located at Prairie du Chien, leaving here in 1819 to settle at Fort Snelling. From 1799 (when he was stationed on the Des Moines River) on he was engaged in trade with the Sioux. A county in Minnesota is named in his honor, and the city of Faribault in honor of his son, Alexander, who was born at Prairie du Chien in 1806. An account of Faribault's career is given in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, III, 168-79.

May 27th A heavy rain last night clear and fair in the morn—have about 20 scholars that attend—a few of them can spell considerably—and form letters tolerably correct in writing

May 28th Quite cool for the season—requiring a fire in my school—At the mill I was nightly serenaded by Whipperwills—here, it is Indian Powwows—the Copper coulered Natives, are as thick as grasshoppers in a dry autumn—

May 29th Have a tooth rotting, that gives me much inconvenience at meal time—borrow a Dictionary of the French and English Language—

May 31st Sabbath—General muster of the garrison troops—being the last day of the month—the militia are mustered every Sunday—I have not mustered with them yet—nor will I, on the Sabbath if I can avoid it—the Sabbath is used here as a leisure day, when those who do not choose to work, amuse themselves with play and holiday recreations

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.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME "WISCONSIN"

Do you issue any literature on the subject of the origin of the name "Wisconsin?" This subject of names is one of great interest to me and, strange as it may seem, it is quite difficult to obtain reliable information as to the origin of our states' names.

FREDERICK W. LAWRENCE
Brooklyn, New York

Wisconsin is named for its principal river, but the origin of that name has never been satisfactorily determined. It had over twenty spellings on the early maps ranging from "Miscous" to the ordinary French form "Ouisconsin," Anglicized as "Wisconsin." An early governor of the state insisted on the form "Wiskonsan" until the present spelling was established by legal enactment.

The United States board on geographic names gives the significance as "wild, rushing river"; this is not accepted by our archeologists, however, all the more that the portion of the river first seen and named was not of that character. A member of the Society's research staff is working out a theory of the name, but is not yet prepared to publish it.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF SINSINAWA

I write you today for information which is of vital interest to us at the present time. In March, 1918 among the Indian names given to ships by Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, "Sinsinawa" attracted our attention. At our request and through the courtesy of an official of the United States Shipping board, Saint Clara College was accorded the honor of naming

the sponsor for this ship. The *Sinsinawa* was intended for war service, but after the armistice the plans were changed to make it a cargo ship. The ship was built between January, 1919 and the present date and was scheduled to be launched on September 6, 1919. A member of our alumnæ was appointed sponsor and had the honor of christening the vessel at the Hog Island shipyards on the date named. All of this has brought the name "Sinsinawa" very prominently to our interest and we are now desirous of celebrating the event in a particular way. For this reason I am interested in obtaining all the information which your records may be able to afford us; below I am enumerating under separate heads the details about which I should like to have special information.

I. A complete history of the name "Sinsinawa."
   1. Whether name of a chief, maiden, or what.
   2. The Indian dialect to which the name belongs.
   3. The meaning in the Indian language.
   4. Why applied to the mound which bears the name.
   5. When first used.

II. Association of the name with events in the history of the territory of Wisconsin.

III. Association of the name with events in the history of the state of Wisconsin.
   1. Association of the name with events in the history of Grant County.

IV. Date of establishing the post office bearing this name.
   1. Names of persons responsible for the establishing of post office.

V. Local history of interest, if there is any.

VI. Names of citizens and legislators of the territory or state of Wisconsin associated in any way with the history of the place.

VII. If there are any Indian traditions or recorded historical facts relating to the place while this section of Wisconsin was still a part of Michigan, we should be glad to have whatever your files may contain.

SISTER M. CLEMENTINE
Saint Clara College, Sinsinawa

The following report, taking up in order the several points noted in your inquiry concerning the history of Sinsinawa, has been prepared by Miss Kellogg of our research staff:

I. *Bulletin of United States Geographical Survey*, No. 197, p. 239 gives the origin as "Sinsiawe," meaning rattlesnake. It does not give the name of the tribe, but we incline to think it is a Sauk and Fox word. All the region around there was the Sauk and Fox mining ground. The mound took its name from the creek, and this name was first applied to the former by Gen. George Wallace Jones when in 1827 he leased a thousand acres containing the mound. The creek

first appears upon a map of the lead mines drawn in 1829. It is there spelled "Sinsineua." See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 400. Other spellings are "Sinsinewa," "Sinsinniwa," and "Sinsinnawa." General Jones states that the Indians accented the next to the last syllable.

II, III. During the early period of Wisconsin history Sinsinawa was known as the home of General Jones. The best authority on his career is Parish, *Life of George Wallace Jones*, Iowa Biographical Series. The Jones manuscripts belong to the Iowa Historical Society. You may secure additional information from them. The property you now possess passed directly from Jones to Father Mazzuchelli about 1844. The records of your institution must supply the local history of the place in its later years.

IV. The first post office was established in 1835 when General Jones was territorial delegate from Michigan. He was himself postmaster and his emoluments were $1.92. In 1837 William P. Ruggles was postmaster. In 1839 no such office was reported. In 1841 Charles Swift was postmaster, receiving 76 cents, with net proceeds $1.82. After that date there was no post office bearing the name Sinsinawa Mounds until 1857 when Thomas L. Powers was appointed postmaster and kept the place until 1865 when he was succeeded by O. S. Brady.

V, VI, VII. The region of Sinsinawa Creek is that of the earliest lead mining by the Indians that is known. See account in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIII, 271-92. Old Buck, the Indian who discovered the Buck lead, was living on Sinsinawa Creek in 1828. There is a local tradition that an American trader was killed at Sinsinawa during the War of 1812, probably on some branch of the creek. All of the Indians of this region were then in the British interest, and no "Long Knife," as they called the Americans, was safe if his nationality was known. This tradition may thus probably be true. In 1832 a log fort was built at General Jones's place, and there on June 29 three men working in a field without the fort were attacked by Indians and after a brief skirmish two of them were killed. The names are given differently by different authorities; some say John Thompson and James Boxley, others Lovell and Maxwell. It is possible all four were victims of the war, since one authority (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, X, 192) says four men lost their lives at Sinsinawa during the Black Hawk War.

General Jones is the only man of prominence, so far as we know, who lived at Sinsinawa. However, he had as visitors most of the prominent men of the territory. In his autobiography, published in Parish's book, he tells of visits from Henry Dodge, the Gratiots, Jefferson Davis, and others.

OLD TRAILS AROUND EAU CLAIRE

As chairman of the National Old Trails Roads of the Eau Claire chapter of the D. A. R. I have been advised by the state chairman to ask you for help in securing information in regard to old trails in Eau Claire County or vicinity. We are in our infancy as a chapter, having been organized only a little over a year, and while we are most anxious to do our part we are sadly in need of guidance by those of greater experience. If you can give me any information in regard to the old trails or advise me as to where I may secure such aid, I shall be very grateful.

IDA LINTON HAINER,
Eau Claire

We are glad to make such suggestions as we can concerning the early trails. The exact locating of these trails is, however, such a local matter that we can only give general directions to be worked out by recourse to old settlers and local authorities.

The valley of the Chippewa is, historically considered, one of the most interesting and one of the oldest locations in Wisconsin history. The lower part was the scene during one hundred years of the great contest between the Chippewa and Sioux tribes wherein the former gradually pushed the latter back to the Mississippi. If you can secure *Minnesota Historical Collections*, V, you can read about it in the account of the Chippewa historian, William Warren. His sisters are still living near White Earth, Minnesota, and perhaps you could obtain information from them. Address Theodore H. Beaulieu, and ask him if Mrs. English or her sisters can give you any information.

The first English traveler in Wisconsin, Captain Jonathan Carver, ascended the Chippewa in 1766. He says that about thirty miles from its mouth the river branches and that between the two branches ran the great Road of War between the Chippewa and the Sioux. The boundary between the two peoples was settled at the Prairie du Chien treaty of 1825. It began half a day's march below the falls, thence to the St. Croix. It would be interesting for you to locate that boundary. The half a day's march below the falls is said

to have been at the mouth of Mud Creek near Rumsey's Landing. There was an overland trail from Lake Pepin to Menomonie and probably on to the Chippewa, used by the early lumbermen; probably Mr. Henry E. Knapp of Menomonie could give you information about that. The first mail route was opened in 1850. Some of your old settlers might be able to trace that out for you.

Mrs. Hainer of this city has shown me your letter in which you state your belief that the point on the Chippewa River established by treaty as dividing the lands of the Sioux or Dakota Indians from that of the Chippewa was at Rumsey's Landing at the mouth of Mud Creek.

We in Eau Claire have always believed that it was the rocky bluff in our city near the Normal School and at the mouth of Little Niagara Creek. This answers the description of being "half a day's march below the falls of the Chippewa River"—about 12 miles by the trail. I also feel sure that in some old work I have read that this point was "one mile below the mouth of the Eau Claire River." A "day's march" was supposed to be from 20 to 25 miles, carrying packs of moderate weight as the Indians did on all ordinary journeys. Mud Creek would, I think, be too far to answer the description as being "half a day's march."

I have taken some interest in such matters—such as the origin of the name Eau Galle—or Ogalla—spelled in several different ways. I saw a very old document written at that place which to my mind throws some light on this name and its origin.

ROBERT K. BOYD
Eau Claire

The statement made in our letter to Mrs. Hainer concerning the location of the Chippewa-Sioux treaty boundary was based on printed sources. In 1875 T. E. Randall of your city published a series of articles on the history of the Chippewa Valley in the *Free Press*. These were collected into a volume and his statements form the basis of later local histories, such as *History of Northern Wisconsin* (Chicago, 1881), "Eau Claire County," 295; *History of the Chippewa Valley* (Chicago, 1891-92), 38.

Your letter affords just the kind of reaction it is desirable to invoke. We at Madison cannot decide on points of local history and topography. We are desirous of having local interest aroused in these matters. Perhaps you can find some early settler of Eau Claire who can corroborate either your point of view or that of Mr. Randall. Kindly keep the Society informed if you are able to obtain more information on this matter. We shall also be pleased to have any information you can give us on the origin of the word "Eau Galle."

I think Mr. Randall is mistaken in fixing the dividing point between the lands of the Sioux Indians and the Chippewa "at or near the mouth of Mud Creek near Rumsey's Landing." The treaty describes it as being "half a day's march below the Falls of the Chippewa River." I came on the river in 1868 and to Eau Claire in 1871, and the traditions at that time were that the dividing place was the rocky bluff at the mouth of Little Niagara Creek which is, in fact, half a day's march, 12 to 13 miles, below Chippewa Falls. A day's march of ordinary travel, carrying packs of moderate weight and on a trail, was from 20 to 25 miles.

This view is supported by the language of the much-talked-of Carver's deed, which in giving one distance says, "going east five days' march counting 20 English miles a day." From Chippewa Falls to Rumsey's Landing is certainly a full day's march, as I know from experience, having walked the distance on several occasions. Chippewa Falls was often visited by Indians in the sixties and early seventies but none ever came to Eau Claire; it was often said that they did not consider it safe—that they were still a little afraid of the Sioux, who had a village at that time on the Mississippi near Wabashaw.

An incident under my own observation will illustrate this point. In 1870 while going down river on a raft of lumber we approached Little Niagara Bluff. In the crew were several of mixed blood; one of these, Simon Chevalier was nearly a full-blood Chippewa and an odd character. As we approached this bluff one of the half breeds called out in a mixture of English, French, and Chippewa, "Hello Simon, prenez gar ah Bwahnuk": "Look out for the Sioux" ("Bwahn," Sioux—"uk" plural).

I also remember reading in some old work, which I cannot now identify, that this dividing point was "one mile below the mouth of the Eau Claire River," and if this is true history, it would seem that our traditions must be correct.

Mr. Randall speaks of Carson and Rand and of Capt. George C. Wales who built a mill on the Eau Galle River. There have been many conjectures as to the origin and meaning of the name Eau Galle, which has been spelled in almost all possible ways.

Through the courtesy of Mr. C. W. Lockwood, whose wife is a daughter of the late William Carson, I have been furnished with a copy of a lumber contract, dated June 10, 1844, made by George C. Wales, Henry Eaton, and William Carson, who sold a season's cut of lumber to Benjamin W. Brunson. This contract, I think, gives a clue to the origin of the name, which is spelled "Augalett" and also "Augallett." If this was intended for Au Galet (pronounced *o galay*) the meaning of the word seems plain. The word "galet" is defined as meaning what is known in Scotland as shingle, a bed or ridge of course gravel or pebbles, usually on the seashore. Many of our rivers were named by the French voyageurs from Prairie du Chien, and so our Eau Claire River was called "La Riviere de l'Eau Claire." There is a heavy gravel bar at the mouth of the Eau Galle River, and it seems natural that they should name the stream "La Riviere au Galet," the River at the Gravel Bank. Mr. Lockwood has submitted this hypothesis to the present William Carson, and he believes it to be the correct view.

ROBERT K. BOYD
Eau Claire

WINNEBAGO VILLAGES ON ROCK RIVER

In Volume XX of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, p. 350, in an official report of Mr. Brevoort, Indian agent at Green Bay, he mentions the Winnebago village of Kuskawoinanqua and locates it one hundred miles south from Portage, with a population of 200 persons. He also locates a village of "Rock River Winnebago" sixty miles south from Portage, with a population of 150 persons. The latter may have been the village of White Crow on the west shore of Koshkonong Lake, which in fact is Rock River.

"Kuskawoinanqua" may have been the Turtle Village of the Winnebago, which was situated on the present site of Beloit Junction and occupied that site at the date of the Brevoort report. I have sought in vain for information concerning the village of "Kuskawoinanqua." No mention is made of it elsewhere in the *Collections*. I believe no Winnebago glossary has been published, although I understand Nicolas Boilvin a century ago prepared and forwarded to the Indian Department a collection of Winnebago terms and definitions. Have you any memoranda in the Historical Library throwing any light on the Turtle Village other than what has been published? Can you suggest the probable meaning of the noun "Kuskawoinanqua"? I would gladly visit the library to consult authorities that might enlighten me.

CORNELIUS BUCKLEY.
Beloit.

Miss Kellogg of the Society's research staff has prepared the following report upon the subject of your recent inquiry.

The Rock River Winnebago villages are to me an insolvable puzzle. I am inclined to think that Brevoort's information was at fault, and that by "Kuskawoinanque" he was giving a form of Koshkonong, but certainly the distances do not carry out this hypothesis. The vocabulary of Nicolas Boilvin has disappeared. We have had every search made for it in Washington with no success. We have in this library a manuscript Winnebago vocabulary compiled (or rather written down) by Dr. L. C. Draper from information obtained from Thomas J. George, an Indian trader, and from other sources. This vocabulary gives the Winnebago word for Beloit as Ki-chunk-ne-shun-muck-er-rah, Turtle Creek or River—not much like "Kuskawoinanque."

We have another manuscript document that only adds to the confusion, yet this latter must be considered authentic. It was written October 1, 1829 by John Harris Kinzie, Indian subagent at Fort Winnebago. He gives the Kosh-ko-o-nong [*sic*] village as

distant sixty miles from Fort Winnebago, with its chief as Little Priest. On Turtle River sixty-five miles is White Crow's village with 600 Indians—the largest village he mentions. The next village is at the mouth of Sugar Creek, sixty-five miles, then the Sycamore village, seventy-five miles, and Sugar Camp, one hundred and twenty. He mentions none at the distance of one hundred miles. Where, by the way, can the White Crow village have been? The distance is all right for Carcajou Point; if the trail led to the Koshkonong village in Albion Township of Dane County, Carcajou Point was five miles beyond, but why call it Turtle River village? Any village on Turtle Creek would have been more than sixty-five miles from Fort Winnebago. I can assume that Brevoort was mistaken; he lived at Green Bay, had no dealings with Rock River Winnebago, but Kinzie in 1829 was their own agent. I have never been able to come to any satisfactory conclusion on this subject. If you have any light thereon, we would be glad to receive it.

COMMUNICATIONS

RECOLLECTIONS OF CHIEF MAY-ZHUC-KE-GE-SHIG

The brief account of Chief May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig in your December issue recalls the pleasant vacations that for some years I spent on the White Earth Reservation. I there met many Indians of the Chippewa tribe, for the most part of mixed blood, some of whom were well educated and accustomed to the conveniences and some of the luxuries of our twentieth century civilization. I remember with particular pleasure John W. Carl (a nephew of the old chief whose passing you record) and his charming wife. Mr. Carl was then residing in Mahnomen, Minnesota, where he held the office of county auditor. Educated for the bar, he never practiced so far as I know. He retained complete mastery of his native Chippewa, and it was through him that I met and talked with May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig. The Chief may have known a little English, but, Indian-like, he gave no evidence that he understood a word that I said. However, thanks to the skilful interpreting of Mr. Carl, the interviews were entirely satisfactory to me.

His nephew told me that the Chief had known personally every president of the United States from Lincoln to Roosevelt. He quite frequently went to Washington on behalf of his people, and more than one president called him into conference on matters relating to Indian affairs. His moderation, good judgment, and friendliness to the whites were recognized by the federal officials. On some of these trips to the Nation's capital he was accompanied by Mr. Carl, who acted as interpreter. The old Chief always made a deep impression wheresoever he went. On several occasions he attended the theater, attracting more attention than any of the political notabilities.

And small wonder, in such a setting; even in old age he was the finest specimen of his race that it has been my good fortune to encounter. Fully six feet in height, he was of large frame and as straight as an arrow. His noble head was a study worthy of a master's brush. When I first met him he wore a neat frock coat, flannel shirt, moccasins, and black felt hat. In much the same garb

he undoubtedly appeared in Washington in later life. President Roosevelt, especially, took a great fancy to him.

The Chief, so Mr. Carl told me, possessed in a degree remarkable even in an Indian the power of oratory; and this gift was exercised more than once to quiet the restlessness of the tribesmen. He was the white man's friend and his memory should be suitably honored.

I like the photograph of May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig which I presented to the Society some years ago better than the one you have reproduced in your December issue.

JOHN THOMAS LEE
Chicago

GENERAL PORTER AND GENERAL PARKER

In the article entitled "General Grant and Early Galena" in the September, 1919 issue of the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY occurs an error which should not go uncorrected. I refer to Mr. Evans' statement that among the friends of Grant at Galena prior to the Civil War was "Colonel Porter, a West Point man, then superintending the erection of a postoffice at Galena"; and, further on, the statement that Porter, "who was partly of Oneida Indian blood," served as an officer on General Grant's staff in the Civil War. It will certainly surprise the many friends of General Porter, and General Porter himself, to learn that he is of "Oneida Indian blood" or in any way of Indian descent.

The mistake has probably arisen by confusing the name of Porter with that of General Ely S. Parker, who served with Porter on Grant's staff. General Parker was Grant's military secretary during the later portion of the Civil War and in this capacity made the first engrossed copy of the terms of capitulation of General Lee at Appomattox. He was an Indian, a Seneca, the son of a chief, and himself the last grand sachem of the Iroquois Confederacy.[1] He received an excellent education in the schools of New York and having become a civil engineer was in the employ of the federal government for several years prior to the war. In 1857 he was sent to Galena to superintend the construction of a customs house and a marine hospi-

[1] A life of General Parker has recently been published as Vol. XXIII of the Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*.—ED.

tal; here he remained several years and here he made the acquaintance of Captain Grant, then employed in the family leather business at this place. The career of General Horace Porter is too well known to call for extended comment. He comes of a prominent Pennsylvania family (his father was twice governor of the state) of Irish origin. He graduated at West Point in 1860, like Parker served on Grant's staff, won distinction by his service, and like Parker served later as Grant's executive secretary. Unless Mr. Lacher made a mistake (a thing which the similarity of the names would readily account for) in reporting Mr. Evans' recollections, it seems evident that the latter in old age memory confused General Parker, whom he doubtless knew, with General Horace Porter.

J. S. Anderson
Manitowoc

THE PRESERVATION OF WISCONSIN'S FIRST CAPITOL

The state house at Old Belmont, which was moved from its original site across the public highway about thirty years ago and used for the main building of a barn, has been moved back to its former site and is now in process of restoration.

A bill was introduced in the Wisconsin legislature of 1917 asking for an appropriation to purchase two acres of land, including the site of the old capitol, move the building back to its former site, and restore it as nearly as possible to its original shape.

The bill asked for $12,000; had this sum been appropriated, the park would have been enclosed with an appropriate fence, planted with trees, a care-taker's lodge erected, and such other improvements begun as would have made it one of the most attractive and interesting places in the state. But so much interest was being centered on the impending war that for a while it seemed doubtful whether any appropriation would be made. As finally passed the bill carried an appropriation of only $3,000. This sum was so much less than had been asked for that the question of abandoning the project was seriously considered. But the Commission felt assured that if the work was begun and carried out as far as the money appropriated would allow, future legislatures would appropriate sufficient funds to carry out the plan originally intended.

There was much delay in procuring a clear title to the land. It was found that one David Wright, well known to the older citizens of this locality, kept a saloon near the old capitol building, some fifty years ago. The building in which the saloon was kept was burned down many years ago. It appeared that he had some claim on the lot on which his saloon stood, and when the farm was sold this lot was excepted. It was also found that a number of Wright's heirs were still living in different parts of the country, and it took over a year to procure quitclaim deeds from them.

Considering the hard usage the old capitol has undergone since it was built eighty-three years ago, it is still in a fairly good condition. With the exception that the lower floor and the battlement had been entirely removed and that a portion of one of the sills had to be renewed, the frame work was found to be as solid as on the day it was first put in. It is said that the lumber used in the building was brought from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, down the Ohio and up the Mississippi by steamboat to Galena and hauled by team to the site of the old capitol.

The Belmont Capitol Commission, appointed by Governor Philipp, composed of State Chief Engineer John G. D. Mack, Insurance Commissioner Platt Whitman of Madison, and M. P. Rindlaub of Platteville, held a meeting at the old capitol on October 17, 1919 and took the necessary steps for restoring the building as much as the small portion of the appropriation left will permit.

The building erected for the territorial supreme court is in the immediate vicinity and is still in a good state of preservation. It was remodeled somewhat and used for many years after the capital was changed to Madison as a residence by the late Charles Dunn, who was at that time chief justice of Wisconsin. It was in this building that the first governor of the state of Wisconsin, Nelson Dewey, was married to Miss Kate, daughter of Judge Dunn.

The present owner of the building has just completed a new residence, and unless steps are taken by the state to procure the old building and move it to the lot now occupied by the old capitol, it may soon be torn down. It is to be hoped than an appropriation may be made to procure title to this building before it is too late.

M. P. Rindlaub
Platteville

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

During the three months' period ending January 10, 1920 there were sixty-seven additions to the membership roll of the State Historical Society. Twelve of this number enrolled as life members, as follows: John A. Bardon, Superior; Rev. Theodore A. Boerner, Port Washington; John Charles, Denver, Colorado; Benjamin F. Faast, Eau Claire; Howard T. Greene, Genesee Depot; Dr. Albert J. Hodgson, Waukesha; Milton M. Jones, Racine; Major C. Mead, Plymouth; John L. Osborn, Lawrence, Kansas; Wilbur A. Sisson, Ripon; Morten M. Steensland, Madison; Monroe A. Wertheimer, Kaukauna.

The following fifty-five persons joined as annual members of the Society: Rev. Joseph Allard, Arkansaw; George C. Astle, Baraboo; Dr. A. E. Bachhuber, Mayville; Prof. W. G. Bleyer, Madison; Robert K. Boyd, Eau Claire; Harry L. Butler, Madison; Rev. Louis B. Colman, Neillsville; Harrison G. Davies, Watertown; Charles J. Dexter, Milwaukee; Stephen H. Dooley, Ladysmith; Roy Drew, Coloma; Eli E. Fischer, Watertown; Cameron W. Frazier, Menomonee Falls; Max H. Gaebler, Watertown; William J. Gaynor, Waukesha; Frank L. Gilbert, Madison; Joseph B. Goldbach, Milwaukee; George E. Haff, Red Granite; Robert W. Haight, Waukesha; Rev. Floyd R. Harding, Black River Falls; Rev. John W. Harris, Portage; John A. Hazelwood, Madison; Joseph H. Hill, Menasha; R. A. Hollister, Oshkosh; Rev. Ivor G. Hyndman, South Milwaukee; James R. Jensen, Janesville; Rev. Henry Johnson, Racine; Miss Edith R. Jones, Hancock; Rev. William P. Leek, Fond du Lac; Miss Katherine L. McLaughlin, Madison; Roujet D. Marshall, Madison; Julius F. Melaas, Stoughton; George F. Peffer, Waukesha; Dr. Francis J. Pope, Racine; Rev. Robert Pow, De Soto; Edward Premo, Coloma; James F. Prentiss, Watertown; Knut A. Rene, Madison; Prof. H. S. Richards, Madison; Mrs. R. J. Russell, La Crosse; Mrs. Harriet C. Schultz, Osseo; Rev. J. Graham Sibson, Augusta; Albert E. Smith, Madison; James W. Smith, Osseo; DeWitt Stanford, Elkhorn; Elbert W. Stridde, Niagara; Nicholas Thauer, Watertown; Henry M. Thomas, Racine; E. Arthur Travis, Waukesha; G. F. William Ungrodt, Medford; Ralph H. Volkman, Ojibwa; Miss Jessie E. Warnes, Milwaukee; Prof. Allen B. West, Milton Junction; Rev. Arthur D. Willett, Glenwood City; Oscar Wilson, Menomonie.

Figures presented at the annual meeting of the Society in October showed that forty life and one hundred sixty-five annual members had come into the Society during the year under review. This notable increase was chiefly due to the labors of the special membership committee directed by Curator J. H. A. Lacher of Waukesha. That committee could have accomplished little, however, but for the fine response to its appeals and coöperation in its work accorded by scores of members of the Society during the preceding year. The committee was continued by the board of curators, and in December, 1919 a renewed drive for new members was opened by it. The results to date are shown in the figures and names recorded above. Since the renewed membership drive began Mr. Lacher of Waukesha has been responsible for adding seven persons to the membership roll, and Dr. W. F. Whyte of Madison, five. Mr. W. K. Coffin of Eau Claire, R. B. Lang of Racine, J. H. McManus of Coloma, and F. M. Smith of Osseo have each turned in two new members. We propose to print in the "Survey" from time to time the names of those members of the Society who distinguish themselves by their zeal in procuring new members. We shall be delighted to hear from any who are desirous of displacing Mr. Lacher from his present position of leadership in this matter.

The death toll of the Society for the quarter just closed numbers six of its old-time members. Mr. R. G. Deming, one of our oldest members and long a resident of Madison, died at Twin Bluffs, December 2, 1919. For many years Mr. Deming conducted the Northwestern Business College at Madison, now known as the Capital City Commercial College.

James G. Flanders, for half a century a leading Milwaukee lawyer and for fifteen years a member of the Society, died January 1, 1920. Mr. Flanders was active in politics and a friend and supporter of many educational and other community activities. He was for many years a member, and for several years president, of the board of trustees of the Milwaukee Public Library.

John E. Morgan of Spring Green, former state assemblyman and University regent and for fifteen years a member of the Society, died at his home December 30, 1919. Mr. Morgan was a native of Ohio but had resided in Wisconsin since 1854.

Mr. A. E. Proudfit, president of the First National Bank of Madison, died from a stroke of apoplexy, December 22, 1919. During most of his life Mr. Proudfit had been a resident of Madison, where his father had likewise been a leading business man and citizen. The elder Proudfit was the builder of a large portion of the state capitol which preceded the present structure.

Frank J. Finucane of Antigo died at his home early in December. He had long been a leading lawyer of Langlade County and had served as city attorney, president of the local library board, and member of the board of education.

John Schuette of Manitowoc, leading business man and five times mayor of his home city, died in December after a brief illness. Mr. Schuette was a native of Germany; he came to America in childhood and achieved substantial success in the country of his adoption.

The *Proceedings* of the Society at its sixty-seventh annual meeting, held October 23, 1919, was sent to the printer at the beginning of the new year. The outstanding feature of the day was the annual address before the Society, delivered by Major General William G. Haan, commander of the Red Arrow Division in the World War. The address was given in the University armory to an audience which filled the large room and a special feature of which was a group of three hundred Red Arrow veterans who had served with General Haan overseas. At the business session of the Society held in the afternoon Judge E. Ray Stevens of Madison was elected president for the ensuing three-year term. The annual report made by the Superintendent of the Society for the year ending September 30, 1919 showed a greater accession of members and likewise a greater growth of the Library than in any previous year of the Society's history. On the suggestion of the Superintendent provision was made for an important expansion of the Society's research and publication activities through the creation of an editorial division, Mr. Quaife being elected to the newly-created office of editor of the Society. The president was directed to appoint a committee of five curators to nominate a superintendent to succeed the present incumbent.

Bruce E. Mahan of the University of Iowa spent some days working in the Society's newspaper and manuscript collections during December. Mr. Mahan is engaged upon a history of Fort Crawford, which may eventually appear as one of the publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Willoughby M. Babcock, chief of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul, paid a somewhat extended visit to Madison in December for the purpose of studying methods and practices in vogue in the Wisconsin Historical Museum. Mr. Babcock is the successor of Ruth Roberts who went from the Society's museum to take charge of the Minnesota Historical Society's museum a year or more ago. More recently Miss Roberts resigned this position in order to take up the career of homemaker.

The Society had the pleasure of a visit in the month of December from Father Philip Gordon, missionary to the Chippewa Indians in northern Wisconsin. Father Gordon was born at the town of Gordon, named for his father's family. His mother is a Chippewa and he himself is a member of the Bad River band of that nation. His Indian name is Ti-bish-ko-ge-zick, which means "looking into the sky," an appropriate term for a sky pilot, although he received it when a child, before determining his profession. He was named in honor of an uncle on his mother's side of the family. His grandfather was born at the old La Pointe village on Madeline Island and was interpreter for Father, later Bishop, Baraga, the early nineteenth century apostle to the Wisconsin Indians. The name was originally Gaudin, of French origin, but it has become Anglicized into Gordon.

Father Gordon passed his boyhood in the woods of northern Wisconsin; at the age of thirteen he was sent to St. Paul to be educated. Later he studied in Europe at Rome, Innsbruck, and Bonn. Now in the prime of life he is devoting himself to the uplifting of his people and to helping them to a fuller and richer life. When asked if he was interested in the old Indian traditions he replied, "Yes, but they must be preserved in books, not in men." Father Gordon makes his headquarters at Reserve on Lake Court d'Oreilles; he officiates however at six chapels: one at Reserve; two on the Lac du Flambeau reservation; one at the mouth of Yellow River, for the St. Croix band; one on Mud Lake in Rusk County; and one at the Old Post, so-called, on the west branch of Chippewa River. This latter place is called by the Indians "Pakwaywang," meaning "a widening in the river"; it is about fourteen miles east of Reserve in section thirty-two of township forty, range six west.

Father Gordon ministers to the Court d'Oreilles band, the Lac du Flambeau band, and the St. Croix band of Chippewa, the latter of whom have no settled homes and many of whom are still pagans. He is an ardent advocate of Americanization and of creating in the Indians a desire for a better standard of life. Most of the Chippewa can read and write, over ninety per cent being literate. In the Court d'Oreilles band the oldest full blood is Anakwat (The Cloud), who lives at the post. Both he and Gaw-ge-ga-bi of Round Lake are much respected because of their age and wisdom. The orator of this band is Billy Boy, who lives at Reserve and speaks beautiful Chippewa. Father Gordon says there is as much difference between the common language of the reservation and that of the orator as there is between the slang of our street Arabs and the literary idiom of our best writers. He says Billy Boy is a master of Chippewa; his language is sonorous and beautiful, full of original terms and lofty similes.

Father Gordon thinks prohibition will save the Indian race; improvement in manners and morals has been noticeable since this

measure became effective. He is very proud of his boys who served in the European War, five of whom lost their lives on the battle fields of France. He is collecting their letters and reminiscences for the Wisconsin War History Commission and promises to write an article on "The Chippewa in the World War."

Recently Father Gordon made a visit to the Potawatomi Indians of eastern Wisconsin, who have been so long neglected both by the government and by missionary agencies. At Soperton in Forest County he met the representatives of this tribe, most of whom are still pagan, and discussed plans for a mission. There are about three hundred Potawatomi living in Forest and in northern Marinette counties, some of whom have recently joined this band from their Kansas home. Their only missionary to the present time has been the Reverend Erik O. Morstad of the Lutheran missions. The government recently acknowledged the claims of the Wisconsin Potawatomi to a share in the tribal funds, and it is hoped that they may be raised from the conditions of poverty and degradation into which they have fallen. Dr. Carlos Montezuma of Chicago accompanied Father Gordon on his visit to the Potawatomi. The former is a member of the Society of American Indians and, like the latter, an enthusiastic advocate of making the Indians citizens and responsible for their own development.

The diamond jubilee of the First Evangelical Church of Racine was celebrated with appropriate services November 19-23, 1919. The beginning of this church dates back to September, 1844, when an Evangelical preacher visited Racine and preached to a small group of Evangelicals gathered in a home on the site of the present high school building.

The *Catholic Citizen* of Milwaukee celebrated its fiftieth anniversary and the diamond jubilee of the establishment of the diocese and archdiocese of Milwaukee by publishing on December 13, 1919 a thirty-two page edition with many illustrations. A sixteen-page historical section presented numerous articles on the history and development of Catholicism in Wisconsin.

The movement initiated last summer jointly by the Wisconsin Archeological and Historical societies and the Milwaukee Museum looking to the public preservation of the site of ancient Aztalan gives present promise of tangible results in the near future. The Historical Landmarks Committee created by the State Historical Society at the October, 1919 meeting has undertaken to stir up public sentiment on the subject and during the early winter conducted a vigorous cam-

paign, with a view to inducing the local county authorities to take action for securing either part or all of the site for the public.

On October 24, 1919 a celebration and homecoming was held at Mount Vernon, Dane County, to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the towns of Primrose and Springdale. Both towns were first settled in 1844, and since the village of Mount Vernon lies on the boundary line between them, it was decided to hold the joint celebration there. Some years ago Honorable John S. Donald, a native of Springdale, secured for the place Washington and Lincoln elms. For the recent celebration he provided a General Pershing tree, which he had brought from France. The homecoming proved an interesting and enjoyable occasion to all who attended. Credit for arranging the event and carrying out the program is due Albert O. Barton and John S. Donald of Madison.

In erecting a statue to Brigadier General Erastus B. Wolcott Milwaukee does honor to one of Wisconsin's worthy pioneer citizens. Born in New York in 1804, General Wolcott studied medicine and in 1836 became a surgeon in the regular army. In 1839 he resigned and settled in Milwaukee where he continued to reside until his death in 1880. Appointed a surgeon in the territorial militia in 1842, he rose by successive steps to the rank of major general and during the Civil War and for many years thereafter held the important office of surgeon-general of the state. He held also, at different times, numerous other positions of public trust, among them regent of the state university and vice president of the State Historical Society. The statue to General Wolcott was placed in Lake Park in November, 1919. Formal unveiling exercises will be held in the spring of 1920.

Edwin O. Kimberley, a soldier of the Civil War and long a resident of Janesville, died at Madison, December 24, 1919. Mr. Kimberley was a good friend of the State Historical Society and twice in recent months bestowed important gifts of historical material upon it. His gift of the unique collection of the "blizzard" press of Dakota is described in the March, 1919 issue of this magazine, pp. 331-32. In the same issue (p. 370) is an account of the presentation of an important collection of Civil War letters, while a few months earlier Mr. Kimberley presented to the Society an interesting group of pictures of members of the famous military band of which he was the leader. If all citizens of Wisconsin were as mindful of the interests of their Historical Library as Mr. Kimberley was, its collections would soon increase to manyfold their present size and value.

On October 23, 1919 the one-hundredth birthday anniversary of Mrs. Philetta Bean was charmingly observed at the Wisconsin Veterans' Home at Waupaca. Letters of congratulation were read from Secretary Tumulty, General Pershing, ex-Governors Upham and Scofield, Governor Philipp, Senator Lenroot, Judge Winslow, General King, and others. A native of New York, Mrs. Bean came with her husband to Wisconsin in 1843. They located at Stevens Point when it was an obscure lumbering village, and most of Mrs. Bean's life has been passed in this immediate vicinity. Two of her sons were soldiers in the Fifth Wisconsin Infantry during the Civil War.

Carl Quickert, whose plan for bringing out a history of Washington County was noted in a former issue of the magazine, writes under date of December 17, 1919 that lack of space has prevented publishing the history in his paper, the West Bend *News*. Accordingly estimates are being awaited on the cost of printing the work as a separate volume, the manuscript being now ready for the printer. Mr. Quickert concludes: "I shall, of course, remember the Historical Society with a copy of the work as soon as it comes out."

What rôle Wisconsin's German-born or German-descended citizens would play in the World War upon which the United States embarked in the spring of 1917 was for some time a matter of anxious speculation on the part of many citizens and at least some officials of the United States. Now, less than three years later, the effective answer these same Wisconsin German-Americans made to the query finds graphic illustration in an attractive volume from the Press Publishing Company of Sheboygan entitled *Co. C, 127 Infantry, in the World War*. For the information of the world beyond Wisconsin's borders we note that Sheboygan is one of Wisconsin's lake-shore German counties and Company C was the national guard company of Sheboygan City; further, that its captain bore the Teutonic name of "Schmidt"; and that scattered over its muster roll are such names as Jerzewski, Bauer, Berndt, Bluemke, Bunge, Chieffo, Chudobba, Demopoulos, Engelhardt, Knauf, etc. What these sons of Wisconsin and their associates did to the followers of the German eagle on the battle fields of France is thrillingly recorded in the company history before us, the material, aside from official data, being furnished by Captain Schmidt. What the German soldiers did to Company C is in part tragically revealed by the long necrology roll near the close of the volume. The fine record of achievement which Sheboygan's favorite company made in the war is fittingly preserved in this volume.

The civilization of the Indian, for which leaders like Father Gordon and Carlos Montezuma are striving, goes on apace. An interesting bit of local evidence to this effect may be found in a tombstone inscription in the cemetery on the Oneida reservation near Green Bay. It is as follows:

> Nancy Skenandore. Born at Oneida, June 13, 1861.
> Graduated from the Hartford, Connecticut Training School for nurses in 1890. Practiced her profession in Connecticut and as superintendent of the Oneida Indian Mission Hospital until 1906.
> Died September 2, 1908.
> This memorial erected by the Connecticut Indian Association, 1914.

In the Oneida church entrance is a bronze tablet which states that she was the first Indian trained nurse in the United States.

THE BUISSON PAPERS

Captain Joe Buisson was a native son of the Northwest, an ardent lover of the Mississippi River, on whose upper waters he was born at Wabasha, Minnesota, in 1846. His father was a fur trader who came from Canada as an employee of Joseph Rolette of Prairie du Chien and married a daughter of Duncan Graham, the well-known Scotch trader of the upper Mississippi and the Minnesota rivers. The younger Buisson became a Mississippi pilot and steamboat master. In his later life he collected material for a sketch of rafting and steamboating on the upper river but died before he had made much progress in his project. His papers have recently come into possession of the Historical Society by purchase through the kind agency of Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul.

In point of age and of historical value the collection secured by Captain Buisson from Alexis Bailly of Wabasha is the most interesting portion of these papers. Bailly was born on the island of Mackinac, where his father was a prominent fur trader. He was well educated in eastern schools and upon his return to Mackinac was rated as a youth of great promise. He soon entered the employ of the American Fur Company and was sent to Prairie du Chien. There his first upper river voyage was made in 1821 in company with Duncan Graham, to carry supplies to the Red River settlement. Afterwards Bailly was for several years at the mouth of the Minnesota, then called St. Peters, River, where he traded with Indians for both the American and the Columbian Fur companies. While at this place he married Lucy Faribault, whose mother was, like Captain Buisson's, a daughter of Duncan Graham. Bailly in 1834 built a home at Prairie du Chien; about ten years later he removed to

Wabasha where he passed the remainder of his life, dying there June 3, 1861. His papers cover the period of his fur trading enterprises from 1821 to 1850. They consist of about one hundred and forty pieces, a typical fur trader's collection. The first paper is a bill of goods dated November 19, 1821 at Pembina, indicating about the time when Duncan Graham's caravan arrived in the Red River settlement. In 1825 Bailly's partnership with James H. Lockwood, the well-known Prairie du Chien pioneer, was dissolved, a notice of dissolution being herein contained. Letters follow from Joseph Rolette, one of especial interest on the famous Indian treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1825. In 1827 letters appear from Mackenzie of the Columbian Fur Company; in 1833 Bailly was in partnership with the noted Minnesota pioneer Joseph Brown. The letters of this second period, 1833-40, are of especial value. During that time a Winnebago treaty was negotiated at Washington, and commissioners were sent to the Prairie to investigate tribal conditions. The whole affair was a notorious swindle and as such was investigated and the commissioners' findings were disallowed by the government. Some letters in the Bailly papers give additional information concerning this affair and the connection therewith of Samuel C. Stambaugh, a former agent at Green Bay. Light is also thrown on fur trade methods of the period. One letter from Hercules L. Dousman in 1835 reports that a hatter was coming to the Prairie from Kentucky to buy skins, and it is conjectured that he would pay a better price for them than could be obtained in New York.

The later Bailly papers throw side lights on the steamboat traffic of the forties; bills of goods, consignments, etc., for the different outfits show how dependent the traders were on the steamboats. In 1848 Bailly was operating on Chippewa River where George Warren was his agent.

The remaining portion of the Buisson papers consists of the material gathered between 1891 and 1914 for the history of steamboating. It is of a miscellaneous character, containing among other things Buisson's recollections of the life of his grandfather Duncan Graham, some notes on the early life of Ramsey Crooks, and Indian biographies of prominent Sioux. Indian place names on the river, the early history of the St. Croix region, lists of steamboats, and names of pilots from 1823 to 1907 are included. Captain Buisson also made a list of early sawmills on the upper river. A typical sketch is that of Joe Perro (Perreault) from Kaskaskia, who became a rafting pilot from the St. Croix region. It is asserted that he sometimes cleared $6,000 in two trips from the St. Croix to St. Louis. There are also many letters from the descendants of early steamboat captains and pilots with details of their lives, interesting stories of

steamboating days, and the diary of a river trip in 1904. Included in the collection are photographs both of the steamboats and of their pilots, the whole illustrating the transition from fur trade days to those of the heyday of the lumber and freight traffic on the upper waters of the mighty Mississippi.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

M. M. Quaife ("An Experiment of the Fathers in State Socialism") is superintendent of the Society and editor of its publications.

Dr. William Browning ("The Early History of Jonathan Carver") of Brooklyn, New York, is professor of neurology in the Long Island Medical College. He is one of the country's eminent specialists in his chosen field of work and has served as president of the American Association of Medical Librarians. His special interest in Carver grew out of a general study of physicians, who had distinguished themselves as explorers, published recently in the New York *Medical Record.*

John C. Reeve ("A Physician in Pioneer Wisconsin") is a physician of Dayton, Ohio, now in his ninety-fourth year. A self-made man, Dr. Reeve has risen to eminence in his profession. He has served as president of the Ohio State Medical Society and has been honored by Western Reserve University with the degree of LL.D. "for literary contributions to medicine."

Louise P. Kellogg ("The Story of Wisconsin, 1634-1848") is senior research associate on the staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

W. A. Titus ("Historic Spots in Wisconsin: II. The Fond du Lac Trading Post and Early Settlement") presents in this issue of the magazine the second in his series of articles under the general title noted. Mr. Titus is a resident of Fond du Lac who makes a hobby of archeology and local history.

THE WIDER FIELD

On December 10 and 11, 1919 an Indiana History Conference was held at the state capitol. Three principal programs were held, the dominant themes being: the importance of state history and how to interest people in it; the study and teaching of state history; and local history. The details of these programs evidence a most praise-

worthy method of bringing about a general coöperation both of official agencies and of individuals to the end of cultivating the history of Indiana and making it of real service to the commonwealth and its citizens. Our readers will be interested to note that Dr. John W. Oliver, formerly a member of the research staff of this Society, is director of the Indiana Historical Commission and delivered a talk at the recent conference on "Coöperation among Historical Agencies."

Frank R. Grover, an enthusiastic student of local history, died at his home in Evanston, Illinois, December 10, 1919. Mr. Grover was vice president of the Evanston Historical Society from its founding in 1898 until January, 1917; from the latter date until his death he served as president of the society. Mr. Grover found time in the midst of his law practice to write a number of historical articles. These include a history of Les Chenaux Islands, "Our Indian Predecessors, the First Evanstonians," "Father Pinet and his Mission of the Guardian Angel," "Antoine Ouilmette," and "Some Indian Landmarks of the North Shore." So diligent a worker in the local historical field can ill be spared by the Evanston Historical Society.

THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF ILLINOIS

Illinois was admitted to the sisterhood of states in 1818 and in less than a century had become third among the commonwealths of the Union from the viewpoints of wealth and population and perhaps the equal of any from that of general culture and of development in the arts of civilization. Fitting was it, therefore, for the state legislature to authorize the preparation, under public auspices and at public cost, for the gratification of residents of the state and the enlightenment of the world in general, of a centennial history of the commonwealth. To all who are interested in the progress of historical knowledge it is cause for genuine congratulation that Illinois, among other progressive activities, maintains a state historical survey, manned by competent scholars, chosen with particular reference to their qualifications for the work in hand. To this group of trained workers, therefore, under the general direction of the Illinois Centennial Commission, the preparation of the history was entrusted. By them a six-volume work was planned, one volume to afford an introductory survey of Illinois at the time of admission to statehood, and the other five to comprise a comprehensive history of the state from the beginning of white knowledge of the region to the present time. Such a thorough-going history of a single American commonwealth, produced under such auspices and by such professionally competent direction, has never elsewhere to our knowledge been planned or carried out. To its production a large amount of money and the

labor of several years have been devoted. The significance of the enterprise, particularly from the viewpoint of its influence upon the further public support and conduct of historical work in the states of the Middle West, cannot fail to be great. This magazine has hitherto refrained from comment upon the enterprise because of a desire to have the completed work at hand before venturing upon a discussion of its several parts. But from a number of causes—the prolonged absence, through ill health, of the general editor, Professor Alvord, the removal of certain of the workers to other fields of activity, the exigencies of the Great War (one of the authors laid down his manuscript, uncompleted, to lend a helping hand in the battles of America fought on the soil of France), most of all, perhaps, to the magnitude and laboriousness of the work undertaken—the centennial year has come and gone and at the close of 1919 three of the six volumes have still to come from the printer. We have concluded, therefore, to present at this time some estimate of the three volumes which are already before the public. The reviews which follow are all by members of the research staff of the State Historical Library. They have been written, however, at different times, over a period of a year or more, and with a view to publication in different historical periodicals. This circumstance will sufficiently explain any lack of collaboration as between the several reviewers which may be in evidence. For permission to reprint the first and second reviews acknowledgments are due to the courtesy respectively of the editors of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and the *American Historical Review.*

Illinois in 1818. By Solon Justus Buck. [Centennial History of Illinois, introductory volume] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1917. 362 p.)

With praiseworthy foresight on the part of those concerned active preparations for the suitable celebration in 1918 of the centennial of statehood for Illinois were begun several years ago. An important and commendable part of the preparation for the projected observance of the centennial was the preparation, under the editorial supervision of Clarence W. Alvord, of a comprehensive history of Illinois from the earliest times to the present. The history thus projected is to extend to five volumes, each devoted to the exposition of a suitable section of the entire period covered. Preliminary to this enterprise, yet logically a part of it, is the issuance of the volume under review, the specific function of which is to make clear to the reader of 1918 what were the several component elements entering into the Illinois of 1818. Although the volume appears under the auspices of the Illinois Centennial Commission the same

group of men who control the publications of the Illinois historical library are responsible for the present enterprise, and to them is due criticism of it, whether laudatory or the reverse in character.

For the conception of this thoroughgoing historical undertaking in the interests of the state of Illinois, only a commensurate degree of admiration can be entertained. Except for the preliminary volume, the manner of its execution still remains to be revealed. My present task is to evaluate, as correctly as may be, *Illinois in 1818*. That unqualified commendation cannot be accorded the work is cause for genuine regret; that a useful and dignified volume has been added to the lengthening list of mid-western local histories it is a pleasure to record.

Physically considered, the book is well bound and presents an attractive exterior appearance. Within the covers, however, the characteristic workmanship of the public printer is sufficiently evident. Thus, the pagination is carried on the title-page of the volume as well as elsewhere, a matter of trivial importance in itself but indicative of an attitude on the part of printers of public documents with which the reviewer, unfortunately, is all too familiar. The numerous illustrations in the book are for the most part clearly executed; but if any principle governed their selection and arrangement, a careful perusal of the volume has failed to disclose it. At page 138 occur views of a log tavern and of the ruins of Fort de Chartres; the chapter is entitled "The Economic Situation." Facing page 80 are pictures of Gurdon S. Hubbard and Alexander Wolcott. Wolcott was Indian agent at Chicago for a dozen years beginning in 1818, but his name nowhere occurs in the history, and there is no discoverable reason for presenting his picture. Hubbard is several times mentioned in the first chapter, but almost fifty pages intervene between its close and the presenting of his portrait. Other similar examples might be cited. Accompanying the chapter on "The Public Lands" are views of a trapper, a flatboat, a keel boat, etc., while a full page view of "a land grant" occurs in the chapter on "The Convention Campaign," separated by over half the volume from the chapter to which it seems logically to pertain. The view of Chicago in 1820 should be credited to Mrs. Kinzie's well-known volume, *Wau Bun*, from which it is in fact taken.

It is proper to add in this connection that the author is not responsible for the illustrations or for much else that pertains to the volume. Because of Mr. Buck's removal to Minnesota, nearly three years ago, the completion of this work begun by him while at the University of Illinois was subject to numerous difficulties. The effect of these was heightened, doubtless, by the long illness of Mr. Alvord, the editor-in-chief of the centennial history. These facts taken to-

gether fairly account, perhaps, for the one general criticism which the reviewer has to submit; while a thoroughly creditable volume, it does not realize the advance expectations which the work alike of the editor of the series and of the author of the volume fairly justify the historically-minded public in entertaining. That this judgment will be acquiesced in by the author may be inferred from his statements in the preface; it is stated here merely for the benefit of those who have not seen or examined the volume.

The three hundred sixty-two pages of the book comprise eleven chapters, besides an appendix, index, and bibliography. The first six chapters are primarily descriptive; the remaining ones are narrative in character. Chapter I, "The Indians and the Fur Trade," contains a useful account of these subjects which played so important a rôle in the Illinois of 1818. Here, as usually throughout the volume, the dominant note is economic, in marked contrast to the line of interest displayed by such writers as the late Dr. Thwaites. As compared with the latter's characteristic work the present narrative may be equally useful but it is certainly far less inspiring to the reader.

Chapter II deals with "The Public Lands"; chapter III with "Extent of Settlement" in 1818. Useful maps compiled by the author occur in connection with each. Chapters on the pioneers and on economic, social, and political conditions follow in due order. The latter chapter furnishes the transition from the descriptive to the narrative portion of the book. The latter chiefly recounts the political conditions and developments centering around the transformation of the territory of Illinois into a sovereign state of the Union.

No effort has been made to check or correct the author in matters of opinion; a few errors of precise detail have been noted, but since a second edition of the book is improbable, no attempt has been made to list them. The bibliography presented is uncritical and it does not assume to be exhaustive. The style of footnote reference accords well with the general conception of the volume as intended to be scholarly in character yet designed primarily for popular reading. The index seems to be well constructed and reasonably exhaustive.

M. M. QUAIFE

The Frontier State, 1818-1848. By Theodore Calvin Pease. [Centennial History of Illinois, Vol. II.] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1918. 457 p.)

The second volume of the Centennial History of Illinois series is in more than one respect a notable book. Appearing out of order before the first volume has been published, it reveals the scope and

plan of a coöperative enterprise so well conceived and thus far so well executed as to indicate that the study of western history has passed well beyond the backwoodsman stage. Following the pioneer who first blazed a trail through the trackless maze of unassorted source-material for the history of the West, there are now groups of trained historians sharing a common viewpoint, conforming to the same high standards of scholarly technique, working together in close personal touch with each other in a spirit of cordial and sympathetic coöperation. Such is the group of historians who have undertaken the task of relating the events of a century in the state of Illinois.

The plan of the series is distinctly coöperative, an individual author being in the main responsible for each of the five volumes. The preface to the second volume, written "somewhere in France," reveals the extent of the author's indebtedness to the general editor, to members of the Centennial Commission, and to an assistant competent to supply two entire chapters without marring the unity of the whole. The result is a book which might very properly be entitled *A Full-Length Portrait of a Frontier State.*

In the drawing of the outlines the perspective remains admirable throughout. Although some tediousness of detail in recounting factional controversies of local politics or the bizarre experiments of frontier finance could not always be avoided, the author nowhere loses his perception of the vital relation between state politics and the larger aspects of national affairs. Not only for an appreciation of frontier problems and conditions but for a sympathetic understanding of the Jacksonian period as well, it may be doubted whether the history of any state, unless perhaps that of its western neighbor, Missouri, would prove so instructive as the history of Illinois. Situated at the crossroads between the East and the West, between the North and the South, and having within its own boundaries both a north and a south, the state was of necessity deeply affected by national policies of finance and tariff, the counter-currents of the slavery issue, and of those social, racial, and religious forces that have at times exerted so decisive an influence upon local and national development. Each of these topics is discussed in order, the arrangement of the chapters being logical and consistent without arbitrarily separating movements which could only be adequately presented in relation to each other. Thus portrayed, the history of an individual state, while still retaining its distinctive local character, sheds new light upon many phases of national progress which have not as yet been fully apprehended.

Throughout the book and especially in the admirable first chapter the author manifests that true appreciation of frontier complexi-

ties which can be attained only through the laborious process of absorbing and digesting enormous masses of intricate and minute detail. The one serious defect in the make-up of the book is the lack of a satisfactory map showing roads, trails, rivers, and towns upon which the reader might trace schemes of internal improvements in which the state was interested. An unfortunate misprint on the population map of 1840 reverses the legend, making the map read as if the most densely settled area were that having the lowest percentage of population. A welcome addition in forthcoming volumes would be an appendix showing the representation of the state in Congress and the term of office of its governors.

MARTHA L. EDWARDS

The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870. By Arthur Charles Cole. [Centennial History of Illinois, Vol. III.] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1919. 499 p.)

Although the author announces in the preface to this volume that his theme is the transition of Illinois from a frontier community to a modern commonwealth, none the less his method of treatment throws into high relief the four years of the Civil War and makes that event the pivot of his period. Both politically and industrially he discusses Illinois before and after the war, in separate chapters placed at some distance apart. For example, the agricultural conditions before the war are considered in chapter three, "Prairie Farming and Banking"; while chapter seventeen discusses "Agriculture and the War." The railroad problems of the fifties are divorced from those of the sixties. "Church and School 1850-1860" occupies chapter ten; "Religion, Morality, and Education, 1860-1870," chapter twenty, near the end of the volume. By this method of treatment continuity is lost and the process of the transition from a frontier to a modern state somewhat obscured. This choice of method is in some measure justified by the immense importance of the Civil War in the history of the Prairie State. The war did actually bisect the epoch Mr. Cole describes; it did condition not only political but economic progress to such a degree as to merit the "before" and "after" method of treatment. More, perhaps, than that of the neighboring states was the history of Illinois involved in the course of the Civil War. It was the election of "the man from Illinois" that precipitated the war; it was the generalship of the military leader from Illinois that ended its fighting. The fortunes of the state were irretrievably bound up in its prosecution.

Illinois was also during the period treated in this volume in its divided opinions and sectional antagonisms an epitome of the nation. Southern Illinois was practically a border state, and the "democracy

of Egypt" so abhorred the "black republicanism" of the northern counties that secession of the lower section was everywhere discussed. Some of the most brilliant pages of this book describe how the southern counties swung into line for the Union when the acid test of recruiting for the Northern army occurred. They even exceeded in their chivalric zeal the quota assigned to them and furnished more than their share of fighting men. In that prewar sectional strife the central counties of Illinois held the balance; from their midst came Lincoln, the man of the hour. Neither in the extreme north nor in the extreme south of his state was he thoroughly understood or unwaveringly supported. Indeed, in the darkest hours before his second nominaion it was military victory rather than political enthusiasm that even in his home state turned the tide in the President's favor. It is significant also that the convention which nominated McClellan for the presidency in 1864 was held at Chicago, the scene of Lincoln's triumph four years before. All the political activity that led up to the declaration of the war, that carried it to a victory for the North, and that followed as an aftermath of war conditions Mr. Cole has portrayed with no unskillful hand. He has moreover produced not merely a history of a single state or that of a divided community in a death grapple with tremendous forces within itself; he has given us a portion of the nation's history so intertwined with that of the state that the telling of one involves that of the other. The appearance of this volume, with that of the others in the Centennial series, marks a new departure in state histories. We have in them not only the history of a state apart from other states, but of a state within the nation, working out its own peculiar destiny, while contributing at the same time to the progress of the federal republic.

In accordance with modern canons Mr. Cole relies very largely upon contemporary newspaper sources. These he supplements by letters from private collections, some of them now first brought to light to aid in the writing of this book. His pages are a mosaic of citations from the local press, skillfully matched, although at times it is difficult to know where the author begins or the editors stop. The author's own style is clear and simple; frequently the impetus of the narrative carries him along with it; his wealth of material compels him. Statistics are so woven into the body of the narrative that they illuminate the subject rather than appall the reader. Upon the whole the narrative is readable and brings back the flavor of public opinion of sixty and seventy years ago.

In his handling of political forces and cross currents the author's touch is more sure than in his treatment of economic and cultural movements. The studies of these latter subjects do not compare for thoroughness with those in the kindred work of Frederick Merk in his

Economic History of Wisconsin during the Civil War Decade. We are inclined to think that Mr. Cole has not grasped the full importance of Illinois' railway history. There is no more significant feature of his volume than the map opposite page 34 showing the increase of railroads in the decade between 1850 and 1860. Had the war begun in 1850, as the contest over the compromise of that year threatened, the commercial allegiance of the Northwestern states would have been with the Southwest. The Illinois cross-line railroads changed all this and made possible in 1861 the solidarity of the North. These facts Mr. Cole nowhere connects with the political situation. His discussion of the movements of population is excellent and gives some especially pertinent material, such for example as the westward emigration from Illinois during the fifties and the filling in of the farms in the central and southern parts of the state by the New England element. Another interesting phase of this subject is the movement during the war years into Illinois from the South. "Cairo," our author says, "was the Ellis Island for this immigration," made up of Unionists and refugee whites from the secession portions of the border states, also of free blacks and later of freedmen which helped to give Illinois her large colored population. Meanwhile the earlier Illinoisians had generously welcomed the refugee whites, who quickly assimilated to the mass of the population and in a measure replaced the Southern element drained away in the decade of the fifties.

The most severe test which Mr. Cole had to meet was his presentation of the well-worn problems of the political power of Douglas, the rise and election of Lincoln, and the origins of the Republican party. With regard to the first of these we get some new light upon Douglas' responsibility for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise from the attitude of the senator's newspaper organ at Springfield. Mr. Cole believes that the Illinois senator was actuated by "a spirit of opportunism" and brands him as deliberately conscious of the effect of his action on the Missouri Compromise, which he had described in 1849 "as a sacred thing, which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb."

In describing the rise of the Republican party Mr. Cole gives credit to the early movements in Wisconsin and Michigan that influenced the first "republican" mass meetings in Illinois. He shows that Lincoln was at first lukewarm toward the new party, fearing it was too strongly abolitionist; that he clung to "obsolete Whig traditions"; and that it was not until 1855 that he formally allied himself with the Republicans.

Concerning the Lincoln-Douglas debates Mr. Cole has little new to offer. Perhaps he stresses a point when he says that Douglas

"reluctantly" accepted the challenge of his competitor. Nor was it quite true that Lincoln had "no opportunity" to reply to the Freeport doctrine at the time of its promulgation, since he closed the debate with a thirty-minute talk. It is probably a printer's error on page 180 that makes the vote for Lincoln in the Illinois senate forty-one in place of the actual forty-six.

On the nomination and election of Lincoln to the presidency in 1860 Mr. Cole's careful study of newspaper sources sheds some interesting light. After detailing the well-known events of the Chicago convention, Mr. Cole declares that "the gay holiday atmosphere of the canvass makes it stand out as one of the most picturesque of presidential elections"—a startling statement to those who consider it in the light of its tragic dénouement.

Over the actual military operations of Illinois troops during the war Mr. Cole passes briefly; he expresses state pride in the size of the quotas and in the fact that they were large enough to avoid, in great measure, the draft in the President's home state. The extent of the disaffection and of copperheadism in Illinois is fearlessly revealed. The plot of election day, 1864, to free the Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglas and to begin an uprising is described, but not that planned and thwarted the preceding August during the Democratic convention at Chicago. Wisconsin may have a just pride in the action of one of her sons, Colonel Benjamin J. Sweet, who as federal officer in charge of Camp Douglas thwarted both plots by prompt vigilance.

In portraying personalities Mr. Cole is less able than in estimating forces and tendencies. The great figures on his canvas—those of Lincoln and Douglas—he wisely leaves to the reader's previous knowledge. The men of lesser import, however, who throng the picture, he might well have made more real by brief sketches of their careers. As it is their outlines are vague and shadowy; even United States senators and governors seem incidental and transitory.

The book includes a comprehensive bibliography, an adequate index, and good maps illustrating the several political campaigns, the foreign-born population, and the density of the population on the eve of the war. It seems to the reviewer that the volume fulfills the promise made to the people of Illinois by the Centennial Commission and justifies the production of state histories by trained historical scholars, fostered by state action.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG