THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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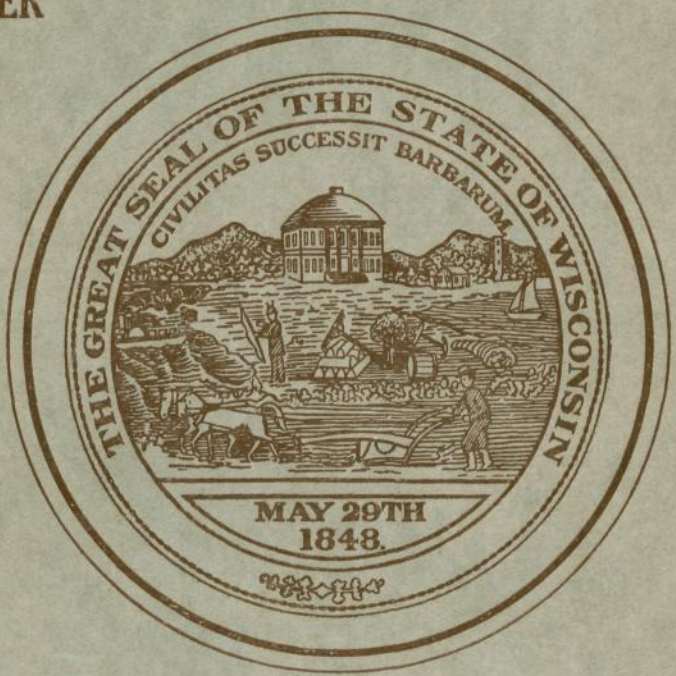

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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

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

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THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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

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CLARA LYON HAYES

I. THE FIRST PERIOD, 1822-1860

William Penn Lyon, the first son and third child of Isaac and Eunice Coffin Lyon, was born on October 28, 1822. He was descended from "Thomas Lyon of Rye," who was born in England about 1621, and died at Bryam Neck, 1690; Thomas Lyon's first wife was Martha Winthrop, granddaughter of Governor John Winthrop, of Salem, Massachusetts. His second wife, Mary Hoyt, was the mother of Thomas Lyon, Junior, who was born at Greenwich, Connecticut, as were also his son Jonathan, and grandson David. David Lyon, born in May, 1741, married Freelove Firman. He served in the Revolution with the rank of captain under Colonel McDougall in the First New York Regiment. He was taken prisoner by the British and confined in the famous prison in New York City known as the "Old Sugar House," where he died. His oldest son, Thomas—William Penn Lyon's grandfather—was born at North Castle, New York, May 31, 1766; and while the family was living at Ridgebury, Connecticut, though still a mere boy, he enlisted in Captain Hunt's Company of Rangers, Colonel Wessenfel's regiment, and served as a private for nine months.

Thomas Lyon married Benjamina Valentine, born August 1, 1768. Eleven children were born to them, of which number Isaac (born April 4, 1795, at Stanford, Dutchess County, New York) was the fifth child, though the first son. When Isaac was five years of age, his parents moved with their family to the town of Canaan (New Lebanon) in Columbia County, New York, and a few years later to the adjoining town of Chatham. Isaac Lyon served

in the army for a short time in 1814 as a private in Lieutenant Colonel VanRenssallaer's Light Infantry Battalion.

In her *Memories of Eighty Years,* Mary Coffin Brooke writes of Thomas and Benjamina Lyon:

"They were in very good circumstances for those days so that there were servants for the housework, and the five daughters spent their time in sewing and spinning fine linen, though they were married so young there was little time for anything; my grandmother was seventeen and one sister only fifteen. They all lived to be over eighty, and some of them saw great-great-grandchildren. Their mother, Benjamina Valentine, was of Holland descent, and was rather a remarkable woman. She lived in the days of John and Charles Wesley, and was a devout Methodist, wearing the plain dress of the early converts, and always using 'thee' and 'thou.' Her dress was usually dark homespun linen and over it she wore a white linen apron as long as the gown, and wore a white kerchief over the breast."

Thomas Lyon attained the ripe age of eighty-one, dying at Lyons, Wisconsin, in 1847.

On his mother's side William Penn Lyon was descended from Tristram and Dionis Coffin, emigrants from England to this country in 1642 and among the first settlers on the island of Nantucket. Tristram Coffin died in 1680 and is buried on that island. Certain distinguishing and well-marked traits of character have been transmitted from generation to generation in this family, of which William inherited his full share. It was said of Tristram Coffin that he possessed great energy and force of will and great independence of character; he was in the habit of thinking for himself and acting upon his own convictions; he had a natural dislike for undue restraint, but gave evidence of a due regard for government and for the existence and maintenance of law. He was opposed to an enforced religion, whether it was the National Church in England or the Calvinistic one in America. Having escaped from laws regulating the conscience and dictating the religious duty of man in the

mother country, he was not the man to refuse shelter to a Quaker, or to lend countenance in any way to the execution of men and women who were honestly engaged in promulgating their religious views and preaching the gospel of Christ as they understood it. There was an early recognition of the position of women; Mary Starbuck, a daughter of Tristram Coffin, was at an early period respected for her wisdom and judgment, and occupied a position of great usefulness. She became a minister of the Society of Friends. Many of the descendants of Tristram Coffin were among these early Friends; later many were foremost in the anti-slavery movement; many, with the characteristic energy of the race, have been leaders in all movements calculated to elevate and improve their fellowmen.

On the subject of the Coffin family, in whose virtues he, as one of its honored members, took a genuine satisfaction, Judge Lyon wrote: "The parents of my mother emigrated from Nantucket to the city of Hudson, New York, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and there my mother was born. When grandfather [Uriel Coffin] left the sea he removed to Chatham and settled upon a farm which he purchased in that town, and upon which he resided until his death many years later.[1] My father and mother were married April 2nd, 1817, on the sixteenth anniversary of my mother's birthday. They resided in Chatham until 1841."

Isaac Lyon and Eunice Coffin, his wife, had ten children.[2] Mary and Clarissa, William's older sisters, gentle and obedient, had been easy children for the young mother

[1] The farm spoken of was the home of Eunice Coffin at the time of her marriage to Isaac Lyon. Many years later, when their daughter Mary could buy the home that her heart longed for, she chose the old homestead that Grandfather Coffin had loved.

[2] Mary, Clarissa, William Penn, Isaac Pennington, Catherine, Maria, Elmina, Eliza, Sarah, and Julia. Isaac Pennington and Eliza died in youth, Clarissa a few years later. In 1906 seven members of the family were still living. Mary, William, and Catherine passed the ninety-year milestone, the last named failing to reach the century mark by only two years. It is characteristic of the family to retain their intellectual vigor to the end. Like most other large families, they have been scattered over the country from east to west, though the deep affection they have always borne one another has brought them together whenever possible, and their interest in one another's welfare has never waned.

to manage; but with the advent of this boy, in whose nature were the buds of character that later were to blossom into the well-known and highly individual qualities of the lawyer, legislator, soldier, and judge we are describing, she found a new field of responsibility.

As a young child William had a strong sense of personal respect and dignity. He showed in this direction a maturity beyond his years that was troublesome when it became necessary for him to submit to authority. He was inclined to resent and resist control from without. When his active brain had planned and proceeded to carry out a course of conduct, it was hard for him to have his projects frustrated by bothersome elders, and such interference would naturally cause confusion and inharmony in the mind of the child. He was fortunate indeed in having a wise and thoughtful mother; under her placid and self-controlled exterior were suppressed forces and energies that gave her understanding and sympathy with the boy's nature, and taught her how to deal with him. Methods of child training then in use—"Spare the rod and spoil the child," "Children should be seen and not heard," "Bending the twig," with a crooked tree as the result—all these were substantially modified in practice, by the young mother, with beneficial effect. This child was not "clay in the potter's hands," but a living soul full of possibilities to be unfolded by its own inner vigor and activity. His amiable, gentle father had no desire to interfere in the training of the boy when he came to know that William was not in the least benefited by his interference, however high the authority of the method of spoiling the child by sparing the rod. William loved and revered his mother and generally yielded to her authority without a struggle, but he learned in his early boyhood that if he made a struggle necessary, the storm was soon calmed and she was the victor. He has been heard to tell how he once took castor oil after having rebelled against taking the dose; his mother held him close in her arms, sister Mary held one kicking leg, Hannah, the "hired girl," the other, while his mother ad-

ministered the medicine. It did not take long for him to learn that mother's will was law and he must obey; but as she wisely made him feel her great love with the justice of her position, he recognized her authority, and the necessary lesson of obedience was learned. In a large family the child learns self-reliance and must often make his own decisions; fortunate indeed is the boy whose parents train him to decide aright.

That he manifested early in life his positive nature and his love of fair play, we see from the following incident: On one occasion, almost as far back as he could remember, a boy had misused him, and received a blow in requital. The indignant parents brought their boy to Isaac Lyon's home and complained of William's offense. William, angry through and through, said nothing. His father told him that he must apologize to the boy and tell him that he was sorry. But William was not sorry. He looked up defiantly and said, "I won't do it; I'll die first." And it is certain that he would never have asked the boy's pardon, no matter what they might have done to him. His parents argued and insisted, but he would not yield; and the people departed without the satisfaction of seeing the boy humbled. After they had left he told his mother the facts of the case, and the injustice of it from his viewpoint. While she understood his position perfectly, she improved the occasion to teach him a lesson in non-resistance and forgiveness of injuries.

William commenced attending district school when he was about five years old, and attended quite regularly until he was twelve. During the time they lived upon the farm his father, who had previously conducted a crossroads store, established another country store near his home. William, having displayed an aptitude for mathematics and bookkeeping, was taken out of school and placed behind the counter as clerk. He had made considerable progress in the study of mathematics, and was well advanced for his age in the branches ordinarily pursued in the school at that time —reading, writing, spelling, geography, and a little gram-

mar. At fifteen he resumed his study at a select school, spending there two or three months at a time upon some special work, but devoting to it less than a year altogether. This completed William's education so far as institutions of learning were concerned.

Concerning his effort to gain an education after leaving school, he says: "I did not neglect study during all that time I was deprived of school advantages. In fact I read everything that I could get that I thought would be of value to me, but there was not then a great deal of literature in my neighborhood. However, I exhausted the few books that the family possessed, the contents of a small circulating library that was established a few miles from home, and all the books I could borrow. Really, I was an insatiate reader and fortunately was possessed with a memory that enabled me to retain with considerable accuracy much that I read in this irregular way. I acquired in this way a limited knowledge of algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, and Latin. This was the mode and extent of my earlier education. Of course it would not do for this generation. Though my early education was defective in that I had not attended any college or academy, or gone to any other school after I was twelve or fourteen years of age, I did study such subjects as I had facilities for studying, using all the time I could get for that purpose all the years of my somewhat busy life. Of course this was education, but it was desultory and imperfect and wanted much of the value of regular training in schools. I have had college professors say to me that my example was quoted by students who were impatient at remaining in college until graduation, as showing that a complete college course was not essential to success in life. I wish to correct that: I regard it as essential to complete success, although a very good measure of success may be achieved without these aids. I have asked the professors to say as much for me to their students, to say to them that I had always been handicapped by defects in my education and that these were a constant source of embarrassment to

me, and no doubt, an impediment to me in my success in life; and, farther, that whatever may have been accomplished without full school advantages by my generation could not be accomplished by the same amount of education by their generation, for the demands of broader and more systematic culture were constantly increasing, and if I had succeeded very well it was no evidence that with the same labor and the same opportunities the same results could be achieved by them in the present generation or by those who are to come after them. I have always advised that the largest measure of culture that it was reasonable to obtain should be given by the schools to all citizens. It has been my practice, and I would advise others who are struggling against the consequences of a defective education, never to appear to know more than others, or to know it any better than they do. My professional and official associations have been with the scholars of high culture, and I found that the only way I could make my life endurable was to confess my ignorance when I was ignorant of something I ought to know, and to ask instruction of some one who knew better than I."

His prowess in mathematics is well illustrated by these anecdotes:

In school he would sit with elbows on his desk, chin in hand, looking off into space, apparently idly dreaming, but the class knew that he was solving some difficult problem. One of his teachers was in the habit of depending upon William to help him out in his mathematics. On a warm, drowsy day in early summer he attended First-day meeting with his family. In order to keep himself awake he decided to work out a problem in multiplication, multiplier and multiplicand each to be a number of six figures. He said that he was determined to get the correct answer and he did so, but he found the effort such a strain on his brain that he never attempted it again.

One day when he was about twelve years old he walked into his father's store, to find his father and three or four other men trying to figure out a complicated problem in in-

terest. The men laughed when he asked what the problem was, saying that he thought he could solve it. His father knew his talent for figures, but doubted his ability to solve as difficult a problem as this, so he said, "I'll give thee a sheep if thee can." William won the sheep, to the amazement of all and to the evident pride of his father. As in all country stores, there were but few customers in the evening, but after this it often seemed like a school, as so many neighbors came in for assistance in solving their problems in accounts.

In regard to his teaching school he says: "At fifteen years of age I taught a public district school, receiving fifteen dollars a month for my services. I 'boarded round' with the families of the children that attended the school, inflicting upon each family its due proportion of service in that direction. I was frightfully bashful and there were young women in some of the families. I disliked school teaching very greatly, and was a complete failure at the business, although during my earlier life I taught a few terms in other schools, but only from sheer necessity."

Isaac and Eunice Lyon were members of the Society of Friends. The community in which they lived was largely composed of members of that religious sect. About 1828 there occurred a division in the society on the question of doctrines, the contesting parties being known as "Orthodox" and "Hicksites." Such a controversy as this was not lightly to be considered, and consequently it was the engrossing thought of many an hour by these conscientious people. Such momentous results were hanging upon the right decision! Such suffering and eternal punishment would follow were the wrong path to salvation and heaven chosen, the wrong judgment pronounced!

Eunice studied conscientiously all the literature of the society that she could find; she weighed the evidence pro and con; she prayed and wept in the agony of uncertainty; finally she made her decision, and her husband agreed with her. They and a small minority remained Orthodox, while

most of their family and friends joined the newer and more liberal branch of the society, the Hicksites. The contest was bitter and was the source of great unhappiness in the family during William's boyhood, alienating his immediate family from near relatives—an unhappy episode in the lives of all concerned. William remembered it as his first trouble, his humiliation at being taunted as an "Orthodox boy" being intense; it seemed to him, and was intended to be, an epithet of dishonor. His loyalty to his mother was so constant, his confidence in her understanding and wisdom so perfect, that he accepted unreservedly her choice and doubted not the right of her decision; but he chafed at the insults of the Hicksite boys, and it was impossible for him to follow the gentle admonition "Forgive and forget," which the Quaker mother sought to impress upon him. Even in old age the thought of his early trial would bring a shadow across his face, revealing the bitterness of the youthful experience. But final satisfaction was to be his; these are his words: "Among the controversies which the separation caused was one in relation to property rights, the Society being the owner of meeting houses and other institutions. The matter was brought into the courts and was finally decided in favor of the Orthodox faction, it being declared that that was the original and true Society of Friends, the opposite faction being mere seceders. Before this question was decided I had become old enough to have some idea of the merits of the controversy, and I recollect reading with very great interest the published reports of the different trials consisting of the evidence and arguments of counsel and the judgments of the various courts which had to deal with the question. The Society had no written creed of doctrines, and it was necessary to prove what its doctrines were by oral testimony and the writings of the accredited mouthpieces of the Church or Society; hence the testimony was very voluminous, very large numbers of prominent members of the Society being examined as witnesses. I never tired reading this literature,

and I attribute to this experience the first development of my fondness for the profession which I afterward pursued."

Soon after his experience in school teaching the pecuniary circumstances of William's father became much straitened. William was allowed to go to the city of Albany to act as clerk in a retail grocery. During the time he was employed in Albany he spent most of his leisure hours in attendance upon the courts and the legislature, his tastes leading him strongly in those directions. He eagerly listened to arguments and speeches made by such men as Erastus Root, Samuel Young, Judge Peckham, Judge Harris, Ambrose L. Jordan, and numerous others whose names have since become famous. He changed his place of business once or twice. For his last employer he cherished a great affection, and both were grieved that William was called home by his mother, who informed him that he was needed there to assist in straightening out his father's business affairs. Reluctantly he turned his back upon Albany and his friends, Mr. Cook and his family, and entered upon the task his mother felt he was capable of doing. He found that his father was practically insolvent. William had become sufficiently well acquainted with business methods to know that some legal steps were necessary in order to save the little remaining property from being sacrificed to greedy creditors. So he was allowed to consult a lawyer in Kinderhook, a village a dozen miles distant, in regard to the situation. After stating fully to the lawyer the condition of affairs, William was advised that the best and only safe course to pursue was to make an assignment of the property still remaining in his hands to some discreet person to dispose of and apply to the payment of the debts. William returned home, and after a family council it was decided to take this course. They chose a very excellent neighbor and friend, a Mr. Cady, as the assignee. Upon hearing the case he consented to act. So at an early day Mr. Cady and Isaac Lyon went again to the lawyer's office, and had the papers

made and executed which transferred the property to the assignee.

The next morning the little country store did not open as usual, and it was soon reported that Isaac had failed in business. Failing in business in that day was a terrible calamity, and Isaac's failure was the sensation of the week. However, the assignee proceeded with great judgment and industry in closing out the business and in nearly paying the debts. He would have paid them entirely, but some creditors commenced legal proceedings, trying to invalidate the assignment, and thus expenses were incurred which left the estate insolvent to the extent of a few hundred dollars. A considerable part of it was owing to individuals for borrowed money, which William himself paid years later.

Isaac Lyon had two brothers living in Wisconsin, and his father had joined them there about the year 1840. Grandfather Lyon had some means, and he advanced the money necessary to take his son Isaac's family to Wisconsin. In the spring of 1841 they emigrated to that territory, settling in the town of Hudson, later known as Lyons, Walworth County.

Most of the people in the new country were poor, but there was no great hardship among them. Much of the country was prairie and the sod was tough, so a big plow, drawn by three or four yoke of oxen, was used to cut off the sod and turn it over with the roots up. The land was then allowed to lie untouched through the summer, and in the fall after the rains had softened the ground well, it could be sown with fall wheat; in a year or two the turf was rotted and made good soil. When the people first began to cultivate the soil, malaria prevailed, but in ten years hardly a trace of it remained. No Indians were in southern Wisconsin; the government had bought them out and removed them. It was a peaceable, favorable country and easy of settlement. Steamers and sailing vessels ran up and down the Great Lakes, bringing in supplies, and immigrants from the East.

Many years after this time William Penn Lyon delivered an address before the Old Settlers' Society of Walworth County, at Whitewater, Wisconsin, in which among other things he said: "I can never forget the impressions which the first sight of Wisconsin made upon my mind. Landing from a steamer at Southport (Kenosha) in 1841, a little earlier than now in the year, I marched across the country to this county. The days were beautiful, and the advanced spring had clothed prairie and openings in garbs of loveliness. At long intervals a log cabin, and sometimes a small enclosure, marked the chosen home of an early settler, but nearly the whole route was through a region untouched by the hand of man. It seemed to my young imagination that the whole land was glorified by the peace and quietude of heaven resting upon it, unbroken through all the centuries; and my heart was stirred with strange and delicious emotions. That journey, and the thoughts and aspirations inspired by the scenes about me, I have always felt exerted a powerful and lasting influence upon my future life.

"Pioneer life had its cheerful, even humorous aspects. It was not all, nor chiefly, a wretched life. On the contrary, the pioneers were rather a lively, good-feeling, happy sort of people, than otherwise. True we did not wear a great deal of silk and broadcloth, but got along very well with calico and jeans. We worked hard, paid for what we got, and were content. Sometimes we were a little short of some kinds of provisions. There is a tradition that, in the very early days, pork, butter and lard were so scarce that it was a sort of badge of aristocracy to have them; and hence, that the ladies were so proud of a grease spot on their floors, as it was evidence that they were entitled to move in good society. Since those good old days we have established various tests of the right of folks to move in high social circles, such as wealth, assurance, education, self-conceit, fine clothes, position, and others, but looking the whole ground over carefully, with the eye of a philosopher, I declare to you upon

my honor that I think the grease-spot test is about the most sensible one of the lot. I have not time to give the reasoning which has impelled my mind to this conclusion. I can only give you the result, and assure you that the reasoning is exceptionally sound.

"When I came to this county, there was only one span of horses in the township in which I lived, and not a buggy or wagon with a spring seat. So we went to church and to social gatherings in lumber wagons, propelled by ox power. I have many times yoked the oxen, hitched them to a lumber wagon, and driven about the neighborhood gathering in the young people (mostly girls) and when the load was made up, we would drive miles to some log house to a party.

"I wish to assure these young ladies and gentlemen here, who live in palatial homes, and who gather there the culture and beauty of their vicinity in pleasant social intercourse, that in all the elements which go to make true manhood and true womanhood, the coarsely dressed, hard-working young people, who came by ox teams and assembled in these lowly log cabins, were the peers of the members of any society on earth. They were your fathers and mothers. They have breasted the storms of life bravely. They have given you advantages of culture which they never enjoyed. Their brows are radiant with the glory of duty faithfully performed. Let their children rise up and call them blessed!

"In those early days the habits of the people were plain and simple. We recognized the newcomer by his new boots. After we had been here a little time, ours became worn and leaky. The truth of history forces me to admit that after we had been here six months, we felt the dignity of being old settlers, and had a huge contempt for the newly arrived emigrant."

Soon after moving to Hudson, William taught district school for two or three terms, not, as stated before, from choice but from necessity; the balance of the time he worked at farming, breaking up the prairie, cutting timber, building a house to live in, splitting rails, building fences—in short,

doing all those things necessary to establish and make a home in a new country.

While all this physical labor had been imperative, and his love for his mother and sisters had urged him on to perform the distasteful tasks that they might have a home and the necessities of life, his soul was stirred with other hopes and ambitions, which for a time he must keep smothered. This intellectual, energetic boy could not view with any measure of content all of his aspirations and plans for winning fame swallowed up in the daily grind of duties that absorbed the minds of those about him. Years before in the old courthouse of Albany his legal wings had sprouted, his soul had soared up, up, into realms of whose existence and reality his father and uncles and their sons did not seem to be aware. Perhaps, he thought, it was a wild dream for a poor, uneducated boy to cherish; but nevertheless he must do something to quiet this restlessness that had taken possession of him. He had read glowing accounts of Oregon, the land of opportunity for ambitious, hardy young men, and it seemed to him that by going there, overcoming all difficulties in the way, seizing the chance for advancement that came to him, he might rise to the position in the world that he longed to reach. Just as he used to become obsessed with the longing to go to sea when his grandfather told of his adventures and spun marvelous yarns of sea life, relating them with so much spirit and fire that William's young body was hardly big enough to hold his enthusiasm, so now the charm of adventure in new fields enticed and beckoned him to the far western country.

He confided to his mother his eagerness for something more stirring than life on the farm; he told her of his desire to go to Oregon, where the opportunities for advancement and prosperity were so great, and he begged her to consent to his departure. Eunice listened calmly and quietly to his pleading, showing little of the commotion going on in the

bosom beneath the neatly folded kerchief. "Does thee feel sure that this is the wisest course for thee, William Penn?" she asked. "I want thee to win success and I know that thee has the mind and will and courage to overcome the obstacles in thy path, but thee must be sure that thee chooses the right path. Let us think it over prayerfully and I know that the Spirit will guide thee." Most skillfully she diverted his interest from pioneering to the study of law. She had often said, so her daughter Catherine tells us, that had she herself been a boy, the law would have been her profession.

William did not enjoy the work on the farm, and during the barley harvest he found the labor particularly disagreeable. One day he threw down his bundle with the air of one who has made a final decision, went to the house, cleaned up, and walked seven miles to Geneva, where, acting upon his mother's suggestion and to her great delight, he borrowed a few law books. Later he purchased some more. Blackstone's *Commentaries,* Cowen's *Treatise,* Chitty on *Pleading,* and one or two others he read and re-read several times, devoting to them literally every moment that he could take from his other duties; and in this way he became fairly familiar with the general scope of the law.

In the spring of 1844 he entered as a student the office of Judge George Gale, then a practicing lawyer at Elkhorn. He remained there a few months, returning home to work through harvest. Soon after this he suffered an acute attack of inflammation of the eyes, and was thereby incapacitated for reading or studying for nearly a year. During that time he worked on the mill at Lyons, then in process of erection, and in the races leading to and from the mill, at twelve dollars a month, until he had earned one hundred dollars. In the fall of 1845 he entered as student the law office of Judge Charles M. Baker at Geneva, and remained there until spring.

A letter from William to his sister Mary gives us a picture of his life at that time:

Geneva Jan. 20th, 1846 . . . You perceive from the date of my letter that I am living at Geneva. I am very pleasantly situated, having plenty of books, a pleasant office, good opportunities for studying, and a first rate boarding place. I board at Esquire Holley's. Mr. Baker with whom I am studying, is at Madison attending the legislature which is now in session, he being a member of the Council. I have strong hopes of being able to get admitted at the Spring term of the Court. I am studying hard for it though I do not know as I shall be able to prepare myself for the examination to which I shall be subjected previous to admission. I feel the more anxious about it as I happen to be engaged in a little bit of an affair which makes me rather impatient to get in a situation to settle down in life as soon as possible.

During the whole winter while Mr. Baker was absent from Geneva, William was in the office and had access to the library, which, though small, was well selected; in these books he reveled day and night, finding there the deep satisfaction that his active mind craved. At the spring term of the district court in Walworth County, held in May, 1846, he applied for admission to the bar to practice law. He was examined by a committee, pronounced competent, and admitted to practice. At the same time he was chosen one of the justices of the peace at Lyons, and in a small way, with his half-dozen law books and a copy of the *Revised Statutes of the Territory of Wisconsin,* he commenced his career as attorney and jurist.

The sterling character and literary tastes of Judge Baker had exerted an influence upon the future of the young lawyer that at the time he could not measure. Mr. Baker had been elected to the Territorial Council in 1842, and reelected in 1844, serving four years. In 1846 he was elected a member of the constitutional convention, from the counties of Walworth and Rock, and served in that body as chairman of the committee on the organization and functions of the judiciary. He took a prominent part in all proceedings. After the organization of the state, he was in 1849 appointed head of the commission for revising the statutes, and in 1856

was appointed circuit judge, but upon the expiration of the term declined to become a candidate for reëlection.[3]

Shortly before entering upon the weighty responsibility of legal practice, William had become engaged to Adelia Duncombe. She and her father, Dr. Elijah Duncombe, of St. Thomas, Ontario, Canada, were visiting her brother, Dr. Charles Duncombe, a young physician who had located in Lyons for the practice of his profession. It had not taken William long to recognize the grace and charm of this young Canadian girl; but being a modest young fellow, without a great opinion of his personal attractions, he felt that he, an awkward country lad, could not hope for success in winning this girl who was accustomed to life entirely different from his; so he discreetly, from his viewpoint, kept away from the young lady. His mother, with her usual divination, was far wiser than he, and in the course of time asked him, "Why doesn't thee call on Adelia?" That was all he needed to give him courage; if Mother thought that success in that direction was possible he would certainly try, with the result that when Adelia returned to Canada in the fall, she carried with her the honest, loyal heart of the finest young fellow that she had ever known, while he had her promise that when he

[3]On the occasion of the death of Judge Baker, William Penn Lyon pronounced a beautiful eulogy, from which the following extract is taken: "I knew Judge Baker well for thirty years. I was a student in his office nearly twenty-seven years ago, and from that time until his death, my relations with him were most pleasant. He was not only my preceptor but my trusted adviser and friend during that most trying period—the first years of my professional life. I was admitted to the bar of this county in the spring of 1846 on his motion and he was the chairman of the committee by whom I was examined preparatory to such admission. The encouragement, the kind assistance which he so often extended to me in my earlier attempts to practice my profession were invaluable, and for these I always have felt, and always shall feel, the most profound gratitude. I think the proudest moment of my life was when many years ago, at his request, I was retained by one of his clients as counsel with him in an important case. Of course, he did not need my poor help in the case, but he knew how valuable to me—how grateful to my feelings—that delicate proof of his interest in me would be. In life he knew that I appreciated all his kindness, and now that he is dead I love to stand here and acknowledge it to you, his old friends and neighbors who knew him and loved him in life, and who revere his memory."

In this connection see autobiography of Charles M. Baker, published in this magazine, viii, 445-453 (June, 1925).

was able to support a home she would return and become his wife.

The months of waiting that followed were made endurable by the love letters that they so faithfully wrote to each other—so full of hopes and longing; of plans for their future together; the narration of incidents in the life of each so dear to the other; the deepest, purest, truest expression of each loving heart. Into them he poured the riches of his inmost nature; for her whose right it was to know the depth of his inner soul, he revealed the beauties of a character that up to this time he had kept carefully hidden from the outer world. She treasured these letters all her life, and at the end she requested that they be destroyed unopened, unread; they were too sacred for other eyes, no matter how loving, to gaze upon. What precious material they must have contained! What a story of struggle, of overcoming, of sacrifice, of ambitions, of hopes! What graphic descriptions of pioneer life, what stories of vital interest not only to their children but to the legion of friends! As their daughter dropped the precious packages into the fiery heart of the furnace, as the flames leaped up furiously and eagerly to consume the long-treasured words, the gentle presence of a pure spirit filled the place, and a grateful blessing seemed to fall upon the head of her who had offered up this sacrifice. These sentences and impassioned words, still throbbing with the life and love of youthful hopes and trust and joyful anticipations, had passed out of their mortal expression into the immortal.

Finally, after time had dragged along at snail's pace for two weary years, William Penn Lyon felt assured that he was amply able to support a home, a wife, and a family should they be blessed with one; last year his income had been sixty dollars, and he could already see that this year his receipts would amount to more than double that sum! He informed Adelia of his increasing prosperity, and she returned to Lyons with Mrs. Charles Duncombe, who had been visiting her old home at St. Thomas; and a few weeks later, on

November 18, 1847, William and Adelia were joined in holy matrimony to live together in love and harmony "until death them should part."

Housekeeping was begun in a very simple way. Adelia spent twenty dollars on her personal wants the first year of her marriage, but as her wants were few the allowance was ample. They owned a few chickens and a pig, the latter becoming such a pet that she followed William to the post office whenever her pig cunning could take advantage of human good-nature. This pig, Sally by name, finally came to a tragic end at the hand of the village butcher, and no pork was eaten in the Lyon household until they were confident that Sally had been disposed of.

Joy in the advent of their first-born was soon followed by the tragedy of his death. The loss of the visible presence of this little life drew together more closely the two young souls. The new bond of parenthood, cemented by the loss of their babe, made their love for each other more tender, more unselfish, and opened their hearts with sympathy for their sorrowing brothers and sisters.

On October 3, 1848, but a few weeks after the death of their baby boy, their beloved mother, Eunice Lyon, was called to the higher life. "She was truly a friend in faith and practice, to humanity, to virtue, to God. She was a friend to the slave. Benevolent without ostentation, the call of the needy always found her ready with kind word and helping hand." Isaac Lyon went to live with his daughters, where he remained until 1855; from that time he lived in Racine with his son.

The discovery of gold in California in 1849 caused great excitement in southern Wisconsin, as it did all over the country. Several of William's relatives were among the many who left Lyons on the long, perilous journey, and some of them never came back. His only brother, Isaac Pennington, and Clarissa's husband, David Gardner, were of this number. Isaac died of fever in California, February 6, 1850. An uncle wrote, "It does seem as if the California

excitement would fill the whole land with desolation and anguish."

William had been considering for some time the advisability of moving to a larger town than Lyons, feeling that his business would be increased by so doing; but his hands were full, and he found it difficult to get away from the appreciative relatives and friends. In 1847 he was elected town clerk, and held that position in connection with the office of justice of the peace until in 1850 he removed from Walworth County to Burlington, Racine County. Up to that time his business had gradually increased until his income had reached four or five hundred dollars a year. Since he could keep records and accounts better than most young men, it was natural that he should be the choice of his neighbors and friends for the position of clerk of the town—as he says, "without my being guilty of the audacity of seeking so high a position at that early period of my life. I did not ask nomination to the office nor solicit votes at the election. The same was true of the office of justice of the peace; the duties of that office were within the line of my profession, and I was easily elected to it."

The first daughter of William and Adelia was born in Burlington, December 30, 1850; they called her Catherine Eunice, in honor of her two grandmothers. Having been invited to join C. P. Barnes, a lawyer of considerable prominence located in Burlington, Racine County, and doing a good legal business for that time, William had accepted the offer, and moved to Burlington in the spring of 1850. This partnership proved a very prosperous and satisfactory one, and continued until Mr. Barnes retired from business and William moved to Racine. The home in Burlington, though somewhat more pretentious than the little home in Lyons that William had built for his bride, was as full of love, good will, and hospitality as their first home had been. The circle of friends widened, William's popularity increased, and all agreed that his ability, energy, and determination to rise would "carry him to the top." His growing legal practice

took him more and more to Racine, and the young Burlington lawyer was becoming well known.

In his boyhood William became a Whig in politics although his father and most of his relatives were Democrats, and they were greatly shocked at his boyish apostasy from the Democratic faith. From the time he became a voter, in 1843, until 1848 he remained a Whig. He then became a a member of the Free-Soil party and remained such until the organization in 1854 of the Republican party, which was composed of a union of the Whig and Free-Soil parties. During all that time the Whigs and later the Free-Soilers were in the minority, but these minority parties always made nominations, and as there was no hope or prospect of an election, the nominations were mere compliments. Several times William was on the ticket as a candidate for county offices, and twice for member of the legislature, but the nominations meant nothing except to indicate his party affiliations. At the election of 1846 he was on the county ticket for the office of register of deeds. After his nomination the Democrats nominated his father as opposing candidate, the latter winning the election and holding the office for two years. After his son had attained to the dignity of the highest judicial position in the state, Grandfather Lyon was sometimes heard to boast of having run for office against William and of having won the race.

In 1854, after the formation of the Republican party, William received the nomination for the office of district attorney of Racine County. He did not ask for the office and had no expectation of receiving the nomination, for all of the other Republican lawyers resided in Racine, and he supposed that as a matter of course the office would go to one of them; his election naturally surprised him. In connection with his duties as district attorney William carried on a good private practice; he felt that he was fast becoming established in his profession and he resolved that no allurements of political office should tempt him away from his practice;

each year should find him a little more prosperous than the last.

Again Mr. and Mrs. Lyon were called upon to bear the loss of their only child. Little "Kitty" was two and a half years of age at her death. Their hospitable home was the center for the relatives; there were always younger brothers and sisters of school age, or those who were trying to make a start in life, whom they gladly welcomed. At their home Maria and Amos Phelps were married. Sometimes the modest house was overfull, and the small income had to be stretched tight to cover the cost of necessities for a comfortable existence; but that was not sufficient reason for turning one of the dear ones away. Each one had his share in the simple household duties; there was no maid. Mary Duncombe was fourteen years old when she came to them, and she remained two years at that time. Their love welcomed her as their own daughter. The parental obligation of care and protection for her, and for many others who came to them later, lasted to the end of their lives. The Racine home was large enough for them to extend their hospitality, and usually there were several there besides the immediate family. The extension dining table was a most appropriate and necessary article of furniture.

William Penn Lyon, Junior, the third child of William and Adelia Lyon, was born June 24, 1855, at Browns Lake near Burlington, Wisconsin, at the home of Amos and Maria Phelps. He died September 5, 1856, at Racine; Clara was born October 2, 1857.

Mr. and Mrs. Lyon had united with the Methodist Episcopal Church of Racine. Dr. Westwood Case, an old friend of those days, said that Mr. Lyon had spoken of himself as a paying Methodist, if he was not a praying one—a fact which the members of the church at that time gratefully acknowledged. The burden of debt that the church staggered under while following the fashion which prevailed at that time of building a costly edifice without funds to pay for it, was greatly lessened by his generosity.

He never possessed the pernicious characteristic that destroys the happiness of so many families—the love of money; he had no ambition to be rich; he was never extravagant and wasteful, but he used his money freely for the comfort and necessities of others as his sympathetic and generous heart dictated. Every worthy cause was sure to have his financial help, but he could say "No" if asked to help an unworthy one.

Having been born a Friend and reared under the influence of that sect, he always espoused the cause of equal suffrage and laws for women, and the equally just cause of the abolition of slavery. In a speech made during the progress of the Civil War he said: "There is one element in our government, anti-republican, which has resulted in the attempt to destroy it. That element is Slavery. The Emancipation Proclamation only proclaimed freedom to slaves, but it did not abolish slavery or the code by which slaves are held. To demand the abolishing of slavery is the duty of Congress before re-admitting any state in the Union. I regret that no political party as far as I have learned has firmly adopted this principle as a part of its creed. This course alone will prevent the fostering of the evil until another rebellion shall drench our soil with our own blood or that of our children." He trusted that none would be so sensitive as to shrink timidly from the right position, lest they should be "Abolitionists." He himself in the past had shrunk from the name, not the principle, but now he frankly and boldly acknowledged himself an Abolitionist.

I have called attention to Mr. Lyon's policy of keeping out of politics and holding steadfastly to his growing law practice. However, he was not permitted to carry out that laudable purpose to his own complete satisfaction; for in 1858 the Republicans elected him to a seat in the legislative assembly, and he spent the winters of 1859 and 1860 at Madison. In the legislature he was honored with the speakership of the house, and his service in that capacity was highly appreciated. As presiding officer his judicial temper and

punctilious fairness won golden opinions from colleagues in both parties. It is related that, on one occasion, he made a ruling on a parliamentary question on which a member took an appeal. The assembly sustained the speaker, but afterwards, having heard the dissatisfied member's reasons, he convinced himself that the ruling was erroneous. When, therefore, the same question came up again, he ruled contrary to his previous decision and, being challenged, remarked: "The chair was wrong then, but it is right now."

Mr. Lyon was everything a legislator should be—intelligent, earnest, patriotic, able, and industrious. Though serving only two terms, he was permitted to write his name and achievements indelibly upon the legislative history of the state. Yet, he was not fond of the life, being much more partial to those activities which were connected directly with the profession of the law. "I am so disgusted with public life," he wrote to his wife shortly before the close of his legislative career,[4] "that I don't think that I shall desire to go to Congress. The public is a terrible master to serve."

(To be continued)

[4] March 25, 1860.

ORIGIN OF WISCONSIN'S FREE SCHOOL SYSTEM

JOSEPH SCHAFER

Wisconsin's settlement came late enough in the history of the western advance to enable our state to escape many of the impediments to a free school policy which other commonwealths experienced. It was the fifteen-year period between 1835 and 1850 which saw the peopling of the prairies and forests of southern Wisconsin, the building of the lake-port towns, the beginnings of public improvements—roads, canals, and even railroads,—the ripening of the territory into statehood, and the establishment of a set of economic and social institutions under the new constitution. When the fifteen-year interval began there were about ten thousand white people within the area of the state; when it closed there were over three hundred thousand. Hence, practically the entire population had arrived, from other states and from other countries, in that brief span of years. And the dominant element, both in 1850 and for ten years prior to that date, was the Yankees who came from New York, the New England states, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

It is a well established principle in history that a migrating people will tend, in its new home, to create the institutions which in the old had become necessary, or customary, or ideal. A necessary and customary institution to the Yankees was the common school, wherein the children of every local neighborhood, irrespective of wealth or social standing, could acquire the rudiments of an education. The leading New England states had maintained such schools from early colonial times, and the regions of the interior which were earlier settled by New Englanders, like western New York, northern Pennsylvania, and northern Ohio, had proved in this respect dutiful preservers of the New England traditions.

However, it was one thing to provide a school where reading, writing, and other elementary subjects might be studied for three or four months in the year, and quite another thing to provide, by some sort of social guarantee, that such schools should be adequately equipped to perform the function of starting children on the highway of intellectual development; also, that they should be accessible to all children on a democratic basis; in a word, that they should be truly "common," or "community," schools.

In these latter respects the northeastern states still differed widely among themselves. New England's free, universal, public-controlled common school, supported by general taxes on all property,[1] and usually, in the villages and towns at least, fairly adequate to their purpose, shaded off in New York to a school perhaps equally universal but not so generally free. The "rate bill," a system under which deficiencies in funds for school support were borne pro rata by the parents who sent children to the school, was and remained for many years a feature of New York education, especially in the poorer districts and in the rural sections of the state. The same remark applies to Ohio and the other states of the Old Northwest, where the rate bill continued to supplement general taxes until in the 1850's it was abolished by state laws.

The situation in Pennsylvania was different. That state, by constitutional enactment in 1790, authorized the establishment of "pauper schools." This meant in practice that education generally was a private concern, parents sending their children to select schools and paying tuition to the full extent of the cost of instruction. The pauper schools which were set up in the city of Philadelphia were added as the only free schools, and under the circumstances they would also be "select" in that none but children of the pauper class would attend them. Moreover, multitudes of poor people would let their children remain unschooled, rather than make

[1] This represents the New England situation at its best.

the confession of poverty which the law required as a condition of receiving the supposed benefits of the free instruction furnished to paupers either in the separate schools, as in the city, or more commonly in private schools.

Nevertheless, it appears to have been by way of the pauper school that Pennsylvania came finally to the free public school policy. The agitation resulting in the change began as usual in the cities, and it was the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Public Schools which assumed the leadership of the movement.[2] Conditions were ripe for a change; the age was demanding, along with the purer Jacksonian type of democracy, an educational policy in harmony with democratic principles, and these the select school and the pauper school flatly contradicted.

It is significant of the new free school movement that so leading a part in it was taken by organized workingmen, who of course were congregated in the industrial cities. This is one chief reason for the primacy of the cities in school reform. As early as 1799 the associated workers of Providence, Rhode Island, secured legislation which gave that place a genuine free school system. The same class was active likewise in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and the other important industrial centers of the country. They also took up the subject for entire states. In 1830 the Workingmen's Committee of Philadelphia made a report on the school situation in Pennsylvania. It was a lengthy document, prepared after an extensive if not an exhaustive study of the problem, and it sets forth the workingmen's point of view in an excellent light. They say, of the existing public schools: "Their leading feature is pauperism! They are confined exclusively to the children of the poor, while there are, perhaps, thousands of children whose parents are unable to afford for them a good private education, yet whose standing, professions or connections in society effectually exclude them from taking the benefit of a poor law. There are great

[2] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *History of Education* (Boston, 1920), 681.

numbers, even of the poorest parents who hold a dependence on the public bounty to be incompatible with the rights and liberties of an American citizen, and whose deep and cherished consciousness of independence determines them rather to starve the intellect of their offspring than submit to become the objects of public charity." In a republic, they argue, "the means of equal knowledge (the only security for equal liberty) should be rendered by legal provision, the common property of all classes."[3]

The result of a seven-years' agitation in the state of Pennsylvania was the passage in 1834 of the local option free school law. Under its terms the state was divided into about one thousand districts—existing local government units like city wards, townships, and boroughs being taken as a basis—and the obligation was laid upon these to vote during the same year on the acceptance or rejection of the free school principle. If the majority favored it, then the given district might go forward and tax itself for the support of free schools. Those which rejected it would remain under the old pauper school law. The result of the general vote was that about fifty-two per cent of the districts adopted the free school plan. The sequel was a bitter fight to repeal the new law in the next legislature, but largely through the skillful generalship of Thaddeus Stevens the move was defeated. Thereafter, for the period of a full generation, Pennsylvania always had districts where the agitation of the free school question was going forward, so that not only the people of that state, but those who emigrated from Pennsylvania to the west, were alive to that phase of educational propaganda and were always ready to take it up, on one side or the other, at a moment's notice.

In New York, where unlike Pennsylvania education was generally provided for under public authority and public supervision, the agitation was perhaps equally vigorous and engrossing; but the object there was to abolish the last drag-

[3] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Readings in the History of Education* (Boston, 1920), 559-560.

ging fragment of the old undemocratic shell, the rate bill, and render the common school as free to all as was the air they breathed. Again, the cities moved first and most rapidly; and not only the large cities passed to the free school basis, but the agitation was soon ripe in a multitude of smaller towns, in villages, and often in rural places where property and population were strongly concentrated. For, in the absence of a large and alluring school fund on which districts might draw for a part of their school support, the entire weight of that support, under the free school plan, would fall upon property. If the value of the property affected were great relatively to the amount of money required, then the rate of taxation would be low and people could the more readily be induced to bear it. In cities, as a rule, a very small tax was sufficient and therefore it was easy to secure for the cities not merely free elementary schools, but in rapid succession also free high schools and a group of supplementary educational institutions, all equipped and managed after the most approved plans. But in New York State the propaganda became so general that men in every section of the commonwealth were affected by it. Consequently, the myriads who emigrated to the western states and territories were thoroughly indoctrinated with the ideal of the free school, even though their own home district might still be struggling to pull itself free from the hampering rate bill. In addition to the innumerable local campaigns, a state-wide agitation of the question came in 1849, when the legislature was instructed by a large referendum majority to provide by general taxation a school fund sufficient to maintain the system without resort to the rate bill. This started the reform. It was completed only seventeen years later when, by statute, the rate bill was abolished. That was more than a decade after its abolition in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; but in Michigan, Wisconsin's mother state, the rate bill lingered, doubtless in a very attenuated form, until 1869.

Having taken this general view of the free school ques-

tion as it affected the country as a whole, we are now prepared to study the manner in which that question was settled for Wisconsin.

The pioneers of our territory and state, like frontiersmen everywhere through the West, met the first insistent demand for educational facilities in the only practicable way, namely, by hiring some one to teach a school either in a church, a dwelling-house, or a log cabin erected as a community enterprise for the purpose. There being at first no school district organization and no school fund, nor any authority to levy local taxes for the support of the school, the only thing left to do for those who had children to educate was to band together to pay the teacher his cash pittance on a private basis, and to furnish board on the same principle. For example, if there were twenty pupils and the school ran for twenty weeks, the parents furnished one week's board for each child enrolled. Perhaps they might pay $2.50 for each child instructed.

The first territorial legislature, 1836, made no special provision for common schools, though it chartered a "Wisconsin University" to be located (on paper) at Belmont, possibly with some reference to improving the speculative value of the Belmont town site. But the laws of Michigan Territory were permitted to extend to Wisconsin, and under those laws school districts could be formed and supervising officers chosen.

It is believed that the first public school in Wisconsin was the one which Edward West conducted at Milwaukee in the winter of 1836-37. Milwaukee in 1836 became a flourishing Yankee village, and that fall a school district was organized, Byron Kilbourn being one of the officers. The teacher was a youth of eighteen years who had just graduated from Washington and Jefferson College, Pennsylvania. He was a success from the start and managed well even when the school grew to have as many as seventy pupils. Mr. West also taught writing to adults in evening classes. Although a promising young teacher, he did not continue in

the profession. In 1837 he entered on a career as surveyor and later became interested in the development of water powers at Appleton on the lower Fox River, where he made his home for many years.[4]

This Milwaukee school, however, was not a free school. It was based on the theory that parents should pay, pro rata, for the instruction of their children. The only way by which, during the territorial period, a free school could have been installed by any community would have been for the community district—town or village—to secure from the legislature a special act permitting its people to tax their property for school purposes. For building schoolhouses such permission was sought by a number of school districts, as the record of laws adopted reveals. But, so far as appears, there was only a single case of a legislative act which empowered a district to raise money by taxation for supporting a school in addition to erecting a schoolhouse. That was the often cited case of District Number One in Southport (Kenosha), to which we must give some attention.

The village of Southport was almost purely Yankee in its early population. A little later some foreigners came in, but a local census taken in the closing months of 1843[5] showed the presence of 1434 [1435] persons of American birth and 386 foreign born. Over half of the natives, 756 persons, were born in New York, 141 in Vermont, and 150 in Wisconsin. Connecticut contributed 77, Massachusetts 76, and Ohio 52; all other states, 183. Of the outlanders, Ireland stood first with 170, England second with 129, and Canada third with 46. There were 13 Scots and 2 Welshmen. Only 26 foreigners were non-English speaking. Under these social conditions it was but natural that the free school agitation which was so rife in New York State at the time should be reproduced in the ambitious village on Lake Michigan; and that, in substance, is what we find.

[4] *Wisconsin Journal of Education*, viii (N. S.), 191; ix (N. S.), 182; also autobiography of Amherst W. Kellogg, in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vii, 483 (June, 1924).

[5] "Bolivar MacCabe's Census," in Southport *American*, Nov. 18, 1843.

Traditionally, the credit for initiating the free school movement in Southport has been assigned to Colonel Michael Frank, a New Yorker, who came to the settlement in 1837 and quickly rose to a position of leadership. Mr. Frank was of German descent, but he was born, educated, and socially trained in a western New York community and seems to have been a Yankee of the Yankees, member of the Congregational church, a devoted adherent of the temperance movement, and a Free-Soiler, as well as a protagonist of the free school. In a word, like so many other second-generation Germans, he was sharer and bearer of the Yankee tradition.

As a member of the territorial legislative council, Colonel Frank in the early weeks of 1844 introduced a bill for the establishment of free schools.[9] The bill was defeated in committee, although it evoked "spirited discussion and debate," doubtless accomplishing something toward extending the free school propaganda. The opposition to it was led by no less a person than Edward V. Whiton, of Rock County, another distinguished Yankee, who was to become a power on the Wisconsin supreme bench. While nothing can be found to indicate the nature of the opposition argument, it is not unlikely that Frank's proposal was considered premature and for that reason radical. Very few communities in the territory at that time had much accumulated property to bear the burden of a general school tax, while on the other hand there was little or no actual distress to challenge society's duty to educate the children of the poor.

Colonel Frank, who was a member of the next council also, now changed his tactics on the school question. Instead of making a frontal attack on the forces of conservatism by trying vainly to secure the adoption of a general law for the

[9] This bill, No. 33C, was "Amendatory to the several acts relating to common schools." It was introduced Jan. 8, 1844, debated Jan. 13 and 16, and killed Jan. 22. *Council Journal*, 1844-45. See also Mr. Frank's diary, in Francis H. Lyman, *History of Kenosha County* (Chicago, 1916), i, 123ff. Mr. Whiton moved that if the bill were adopted, his county be exempted from its operation. His idea was at once taken up by Milwaukee, Jefferson, Calumet, and Washington counties.

whole territory, he brought in a bill empowering his village, Southport, to tax its own property for the purpose of erecting a school building and paying the expense of teachers and equipment—that is, for the support of a free school. In this manner he obtained a recognition of the free school principle without arousing serious opposition in the council. He also asked, in the bill, permission for his District Number One to take into its boundaries more territory, the vote of the people concerned being favorable. This represents his idea that the village ought to constitute, with adjacent outlying territory, a single school district for the support of a central school. The bill passed, after being amended so as to require a preliminary referundum vote by the people of the district on the question whether or not they wished to subject themselves to the operation of such a law. This amendment, too, doubtless reflected the memory our legislators carried as to New York and Pennsylvania practice in such cases.

Mr. Frank, on his return to Southport, addressed himself to the task of gaining for his law the favor of the local community. Some public discussion of the subject had already occurred, especially in the Southport *American,* one of the two local newspapers.[1] Yet when the matter was presented by Mr. Frank in the form of an invitation to the people of the district in their school meeting to accept the law just passed, strenuous opposition developed so that, as he tells us in his diary, "the meeting broke up in confusion." Nothing daunted, he procured the calling of other meetings for preliminary discussion, with the object of unifying sentiment before risking a formal vote. One of these seems to have possessed special significance, since he attended it in order "to consult with Catholics and Protestants about the proposed school system." It has already been shown that

[1] See Southport *American* (L. P. Harvey's paper) for Nov. 25 and Dec. 2, 1843. Harvey argued for an absolutely free school of three grades: primary, intermediate, and high school. He was in favor of building a schoolhouse on the subscription plan and raising by taxation the money required for the payment of teachers and for equipment.

the Irish constituted the largest foreign group in Southport, and these people were Catholics, who held, with traditional tenacity, to the theory of an education controlled by the church, as did also some of the Protestant sects. Fortunately, the Southport Catholics were shepherded at that time by a German priest, Father Martin Kundig, who showed a remarkably liberal and wise spirit in such matters and became a supporter of the free school plan. The Irish of his parish, and the few Germans then in Southport, were generally in economic situations which would make a free school decidedly advantageous to them. This fact probably counted heavily toward the success of the movement. It is inherently probable—and the external evidence while not explicit points in the same direction—that the laboring people and artisan class in Southport were as unanimously in favor of the free school as were those of the eastern cities. The MacCabe census of November, 1843, shows the presence in the village of about one hundred and twenty-five skilled workers. The vote on accepting the free school law, which was taken on the day following Colonel Frank's conference with the religious groups, resulted ninety in favor and seventy-nine against. It may well be that the majority was derived largely from the artisan class, for while their numbers had doubtless declined considerably in the year 1844, when building operations in the village were practically at a standstill, the recent enactment by Congress of a bill appropriating the tidy sum of fifteen thousand dollars for harbor improvements at Southport gave the prosperity of the place a stimulus which brought the workmen trooping back and also kindled new hopes in the hearts of property owners.[8]

One is tempted to speculate on the influence of the harbor appropriation. It was the only appropriation made at that time for any lake port. Southport, which had been in

[8] Colonel Frank's diary, printed in Lyman, *History of Kenosha County*, and the file of the Southport *Telegraph* are the best sources of information on these points.

a state of depression and was feeling its chance of survival gradually slipping—Racine's rivalry endangering its prestige—now mobilized its energies in a determined effort to gain the lead. The adoption of a free school law was good advertising for the village, at least, and would appeal strongly to emigrants from the northeastern states, particularly to those of the working classes. Possibly the opposition was relaxed on that account. The closeness of the vote emphasizes the strategic importance of Mr. Frank's personal influence; had it not been for the universal esteem in which he was held, and for his wise and conciliatory attitude toward all objectors, the result might have been different.

But the school was not yet. It has generally been taken for granted that the vote of April 30, 1845, had as its direct issue the establishment of a free school in Southport, and that the success of the school started there exerted a powerful influence upon the school ideas and projects of the state at large. In particular, the experiment is supposed to have been a beacon to constitutional conventions, and such a demonstration of the superiority of the free school policy as to preclude the adoption of any other policy for the state. A sufficient answer to such assumptions, which are to be found scattered through existing publications on Wisconsin's educational history, is the simple fact that the free school was opened in Kenosha (the former Southport) on July 30, 1849, more than four years after the adoption of the law of 1845 by District Number One, and a year after Wisconsin became a state under the constitution, declaring: "The legislature shall provide by law for the establishment of district schools, which shall be as nearly uniform as practicable; and such schools shall be free and without charge for tuition to all children between four and twenty years."

The fact is, the people of Kenosha were by no means as ready to vote a tax upon the property of the city as they were to accept the law authorizing them to do so. The "antis" were generally on hand in force at the school meetings, and they cheerfully voted down every proposition for

a tax. Meantime, school conditions continued bad and became worse. In 1847 there was no public school, though a district organization existed; but there were eleven "select schools," some of them held in basements, others in attics, and altogether giving instruction to two hundred and sixty-three pupils daily, on the average. An organization known as the Friends of a Free School caused a census to be taken which showed that there were over six hundred children who ought to be in school. These citizens entered upon a thorough campaign, featuring Sunday evening lectures on education by a group of prominent men, including Mr. Frank, several of the local ministers, and others. By these means, and a constant agitation in the press (particularly the *Telegraph,* edited by C. L. Sholes), sentiment was built up during the summer of that year. Then, at the school meeting on October 18, 1847, "the friends of a free school were successful in carrying their points, almost without opposition."[9] It was voted to raise $2,000 in the year 1847 in the expectation of raising another $2,000 in 1848 to build a central schoolhouse to cost about $4,000. Under the law of 1845 not more than $2,000 could be raised in any one year. "The general wants of the village in an educational point of view," commented Mr. Sholes, "are now receiving the attention in some degree which their importance demands, and these wants, so long neglected, will soon be well supplied. The 'street school,' according to present prospects, will shortly be deprived of the monopoly it has hitherto enjoyed." The project received several setbacks before the brick schoolhouse was completed, in 1849, at a cost of about $4,500. Nevertheless, when the school was opened it was doubtless the first free school in the state of Wisconsin, and Kenosha deserves much of the credit hitherto assigned for leadership in this department of social reform.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that interest in promoting popular education was confined to the south-

[9] *Telegraph,* Oct. 20, 1847.

eastern portion of the territory. The fact is that quite another section, and one which is not so naturally looked to as a leader in such a cause, took an exceedingly prominent part in the movement. On the sixteenth of October, 1845, was held the first "educational convention" for the Territory of Wisconsin, the leaders in organizing it being certain public-spirited men in Iowa and Grant counties. Among them one must name as the prime movers George F. Magoun, then principal of Platteville Academy, Mortimer M. Jackson, a young lawyer of Mineral Point, and the Reverend Lewis F. Loss, of Beloit. General Rufus King, editor of the Milwaukee *Sentinel,* attended that convention and was made a member of its most important committee, along with Mr. Jackson and I. B. Darnall of Iowa County, and Magoun of Grant County. The significance of the Mineral Point convention arises from the fact that it initiated organization for keeping the question of common schools before the people. Among the seven resolutions presented by Mr. Jackson and unanimously adopted was one providing that county conventions be held for the purpose of appointing delegates to a territorial convention to be held at Madison, January 15, 1846.

Following the suggestions of the Mineral Point convention, an educational meeting was held in Milwaukee in December, and there Rufus King read a report on the condition and needs of the Milwaukee schools.[10] It is an illuminating document, similar in its findings to the report of the committee of Friends of a Free School in Kenosha referred to above. Doubtless not all counties held meetings, yet the Madison convention met as per schedule, in the assembly chamber of the capitol, on the evening of Thursday, January 15, 1846. Michael Frank of Kenosha was asked to preside, and speeches were made by Mr. Jackson, the Reverend Mr. Loss, and Levi Hubbell of Milwaukee. On Jackson's motion a committee of seven, to include the chairman, was ap-

[10] *Sentinel,* Dec. 17, 1845.

pointed to draw up resolutions, after which adjournment was taken till the following evening. At the Friday evening session Jackson reported for the committee of seven, not a complete system (which it was felt the legislature would not have time to consider before adjournment) but certain suggestions, chief of which were these: (1) That the legislature appoint an agent to inspect the schools of the territory, gather information and report to the next session; (2) that this same agent be instructed to make it one of his duties to organize educational associations in the several counties in order to promote a proper attitude on educational matters among the people; (3) that he also promote the organization of teachers' associations "similar to those established within the past few years in the states of New York and Massachusetts and which have contributed so materially to improve the character of elementary instruction in those states." A territorial association was formed at this time, Mr. Loss being made president. The creation of county associations was devolved upon the vice-presidents, of whom there was to be one from each county. The convention adjourned to meet again at the same place on the third Wednesday of January, 1847. Among the speakers at the second session were Moses M. Strong of Mineral Point, Mason C. Darling of Fond du Lac, and George E. Day of Milwaukee, in addition to Mr. Hubbell, Mr. Jackson, and Mr Loss.[11]

There is reason to believe that a complete organization of the state, such as the leaders projected, did not grow out of the resolutions of the Madison convention and that the imminency of statehood deterred the territorial legislature from adopting a vigorous policy. Still, enough was accomplished between the date of the Mineral Point meeting and the opening of the constitutional convention to render the

[11] The report of the Madison convention is taken from the *Wisconsin Democrat*, Jan. 24, 1846. The Mineral Point convention was reported in the Mineral Point *Democrat* of Oct. 22, 1845. The resolutions and also a short editorial appear in the *Sentinel* of Nov. 28, 1845.

people sensitive to the educational problem when they chose their delegates to the convention.

In view of the constitution makers' liberalism on the subject of common schools, the editor of the Mineral Point *Democrat* may be pardoned for his prideful remark apropos of the Mineral Point convention: "May it not be hereafter said, when Wisconsin shall be proudly rising in the scale of intellectual and moral greatness, that the first efficient step was taken by the counties of Iowa and Grant by their endeavors to protect and elevate those nurseries of virtue and happiness—the common schools."

In the discussions engendered by the movement just described the emphasis was upon the need of public support and public supervision of common schools. The chief evil of the select school, that it tended to condemn the public institution as a "pauper school," was kept in the foreground. The idea of making these schools perfectly free was doubtless in the minds of most men, though little or nothing was said on that point.

But we must also look elsewhere for an explanation of the state's action in declaring for free common schools in its constitution, and in carrying out that declaration by appropriate legislation. At the very time Wisconsin was choosing its convention to draft a constitution, the distinguished educational reformer Horace Mann wrote, after setting forth the argument for free schools: "Notwithstanding these views have been presented a thousand times with irrefutable logic . . . there is not at the present time, with the exception of the states of New England and a few small communities elsewhere, a country or a state in Christendom which maintains a system of free schools for the education of its children."[12] That generalization was doubtless literally true. It was also true that not only Mr. Mann but a score of other noted reformers, among them Henry Barnard, Calvin Stowe of Ohio, and John D. Pierce of Michigan, were in-

[12] Cubberley, *Readings*, quoting the *Tenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Education.*

sisting in season and out of season on the necessity of the free school reform; and the leaven was working everywhere, especially in the cities and towns of the East and in the newer states of the West.

As affecting Wisconsin, the agitation of the subject in Illinois had special significance. In Chicago a group of educational reformers arranged occasional educational conventions to which delegates were attracted from a rather extended area by the presence of powerful and influential men from both the West and the East. Such a convention, followed by a teachers' institute said to have been the first held in the West, was assembled in Chicago during the first half of October, 1846. The convention was widely advertised, newspapers generally copying the announcements which appeared officially in the *Prairie Farmer,* whose editor, John S. Wright, was secretary of the convention. It was Mr. Wright's idea that communities in Illinois, Wisconsin, and other near-by regions should elect teachers as delegates and pay their traveling expenses; Chicago people themselves looked after their entertainment while in the city. The gathering was not as large as had been anticipated; nevertheless the convention and institute combined marked an epoch in educational development in the Northwest, teachers many years afterwards recalling joyfully the inspiration derived from it."[13]

The most conspicuous national leader in attendance upon the Chicago convention was Henry Barnard, who at that time was superintendent of education in Rhode Island. Barnard delivered a lecture at Chicago and then accepted an invitation extended by the delegations from Wisconsin to visit both Milwaukee and Madison. In Madison the first constitutional convention was in session. A group of its members, Michael Frank among them, invited him to speak in the assembly chamber, where the convention was sitting,

[13] See the Pickard narrative, in *Wis. Mag. of Hist.,* vii, 127-128 (Dec., 1923). Strangely enough, Pickard fails to mention the name of Barnard as one of the speakers.

and he delivered before that body two evening lectures on the subject of education. Of those lectures we have no report in the Madison press. But fortunately the Milwaukee lecture, delivered on the same trip, was carefully reported by the editor of the *Sentinel,* General Rufus King, so that it is easy to ascertain the burden of Barnard's message to the convention and the people in Wisconsin.

Barnard's Milwaukee speech evidently made a deep impression on General King, who describes himself as among "a favored few" who heard it. The address seemed to him instructive and eloquent, capable of pleasing and benefiting every man in Milwaukee. Coming to the substance of the lecture, he says Barnard laid down the principle that public schools, "in order to answer the objects of their establishment, must be both *good and cheap;* good enough to attract the children of the wealthy and educated, and cheap enough to be within the reach of the poorest and humblest. He urged the importance of having good schoolhouses, properly located, neatly and substantially built; so arranged as to admit of different grades of school being held in the same building and of sufficient dimensions to accommodate all who should seek admission. He dwelt with great earnestness upon the qualifications requisite in a good teacher; upon the peculiar fitness of female teachers for the primary schools; upon the excellent effects produced by the frequent visits of parents and guardians at the schools which their children attend and upon the necessity for a punctual and regular attendance on the part of the pupils.

"He particularly insisted upon making the schools free; and while he advocated this principle as right everywhere, he derived additional arguments in support of its application here, from the mixed character, varying creeds, conflicting sentiments and different habits of the several classes of our population. For the support of these schools he expressed the belief that the public lands, if thrown into one common school fund, properly managed and inviolably applied to school purposes, would furnish a large proportion of the

necessary funds. What additional sums were needed should be levied by general tax. 'Property,' Mr. Barnard said, 'has its duties, as well as its rights; and as it is to derive protection from the institutions of the country, it should be made to contribute liberally to their support.' In conclusion Mr. Barnard spoke in terms of high praise of the school system now established in Milwaukee and avowed the belief that in ten years Wisconsin if so disposed, might have the best organized and most efficient school system in the Union. . . . Mr. Barnard, we rejoice to learn, goes hence to Madison, where he will deliver two lectures before the Constitutional Convention. May they heed his wise and valuable counsels."

This quotation, in addition to revealing the argument Barnard was making in favor of a free system of common schools, which argument was doubtless more fully elaborated at Madison in the two addresses before the convention, reveals also the hearty sympathy of General King with the Barnard propaganda. King is said to have been for some years a member of the school board in Albany, New York. His paper was the leading Whig organ in the territory. He was thoroughly committed to the free school idea, advocating it with as much conviction and enthusiasm as was shown, let us say, by C. L. Sholes in his Democratic Southport *Telegraph*. The arrangement for Barnard's lectures at Madison was initiated by John M. Tweedy, a leading convention Whig, who heard the Milwaukee address. But Michael Frank, a Democratic delegate from Racine County, was chairman of the committee in the convention which sponsored them. Thus it appears that, among the Yankees of Wisconsin, political differences did not extend to the question of free schools; for on that subject the leading men of both parties were united.

Fortunately, the foreign elements, as represented in the convention, were no less favorable. The chief of these elements was the German, and there were in the convention three German-born delegates, one of whom, Dr. Franz

Huebschmann, represented a large German constituency in Milwaukee. Dr. Huebschmann was personally an earnest free school advocate, and the people he represented, while differing among themselves in their religious affinities, appear to have been fairly unanimous on that point. In view of the stout resistance offered to the free school law in the German counties of Pennsylvania,[14] it might have been expected that the Wisconsin Germans would oppose the policy. But there were several important differences between the two cases: First, the Pennsylvania Germans were mainly farmers and were fairly well-to-do, having considerable property on which they would be obliged to pay a tax for the support of schools. Like propertied people generally, they were reluctant to pay such a tax. Secondly, the Pennsylvania law provided that the subjects should be taught in English, which violated what they deemed to be their right to instruct their children in the mother tongue. In the third place, most of them belonged to religious congregations that already maintained parochial schools, in which secular instruction was furnished, together with religious instruction—all in the German language. In Wisconsin the bulk of the Germans—or at least the bulk of those who were politically active—lived in Milwaukee. They were getting forward, by dint of thrift and energy, but their arrival in the country had been recent, most of them had begun as artificers or small tradesmen, and there was not as yet a large accumulation of property among them. Parochial schools existed to a considerable extent. But the community was growing rapidly, more schools were called for year by year; and if free schools, supported by the property of the city and by the state school fund, could be made to do service in place of parochial schools, the German community would be greatly benefited economically.

The question of the language in which free school instruction was to be given was not settled by the convention,

[14] Cubberley, *History of Education*, 682.

and it seems not improbable that it was left open for tactical reasons. When the legislature adopted a state law on the subject, it permitted the people to determine in their district school meetings whether they would have the school taught in English or in some other language. That feature of the Wisconsin law remained until the anti-foreign agitation of the 1850's, when a slight modification of the phraseology of the law required that all teaching should be "in the English language." Had that been insisted upon by the constitutional convention, it is possible the Germans might have objected; though the remark of Dr. Huebschmann, "Political equality and good schools will make the people of Wisconsin an enlightened and happy people. They will make them one people," suggests that this vigorous and enlightened German leader recognized the importance to our democracy of community of language.

In any event, the Wisconsin convention, on the subject of free schools, seems to have been virtually unanimous. The records of that body show no evidence that the principle of making the common schools free to all, and free from sectarian instruction, was ever seriously challenged. Nor was it challenged in those discussions before the public which resulted in the defeat of the first constitution, or in the second convention, where the earlier provision on the subject of free schools was repeated. Wisconsin, coming in the fulness of time, entered the Union with a pledge to afford to every child the opportunity of a common school education on terms of absolute equality with every other child. Democracy in education was the watchword of the new commonwealth.

THE OLD MILITARY ROAD

H. E. Cole

After Jolliet and Marquette made their remarkable journey from Green Bay to the Mississippi by way of the Fox-Wisconsin rivers, for more than a century and a half that route remained the only one from Lake Michigan to the western border of Wisconsin. So far as history records, no white man had plunged into the unbroken forest along the inland sea to emerge on the shore of the Father of Waters, until the month of May, 1829, when James Duane Doty, afterwards territorial governor of Wisconsin, Henry S. Baird, a young Irishman who is said to have been the first to practice law west of Michigan, Morgan L. Martin, prominent as an attorney in the courts as well as in politics of the state, and an Indian guide made a journey on horseback from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien. This is the first recorded land pilgrimage by white men between the two extremes of the journey. These same gentlemen, however, had made the trip in 1825, 1826, and 1828 by way of the Fox-Wisconsin River route. When they made the journey by land there were no roads, no habitations, no familiar landmarks, no bridges over the streams. They plunged into an expanse inhabited only by Indians, and thus opened a way for travel afterwards to become known as the Military Road.

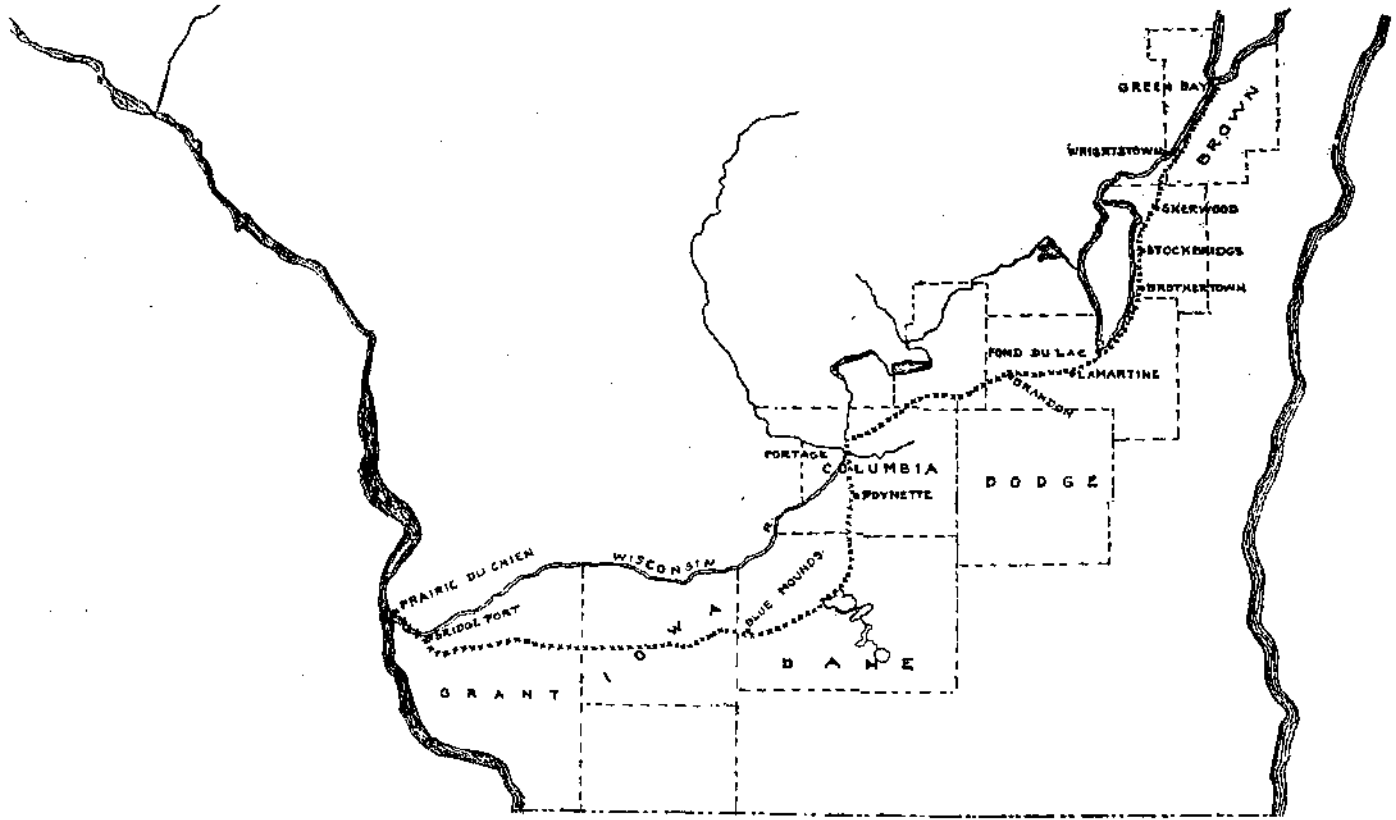
Previous to 1829, however, mail had been carried over much of the same route by Joseph Crelie, a half-breed, who delivered the first mail at Dodgeville in 1828. Often he was obliged to go on snowshoes, braving the prairie winds and cold at the peril of losing his life. In 1832, during the Black Hawk War, James Halpin, a soldier, carried dispatches for General Zachary Taylor between Prairie du Chien and Green Bay over this route. He traversed the distance alone, crossing the larger streams by swimming his horse.

In October, 1829, at a public meeting at Green Bay, Congress was petitioned for a road to Chicago, and this was followed by petitions for other roads within the territory. With the establishment of Fort Howard at Green Bay, Fort Winnebago at Portage, and Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, a need was felt for a highway connecting the three military posts, since during the winter season it was impossible to transport supplies by water from one fort to another.

In 1830 Congress made an appropriation for the survey and location of a military road from Green Bay to Chicago, and another from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien. Judge Doty and Lieutenant Alexander J. Center, the latter of the United States army, were appointed commissioners, and during 1831 and 1832 surveyed and located these roads. The road connecting the forts, projected in a diagonal direction across Wisconsin, extended from Green Bay, along the south and east side of the Fox River to about a mile above Wrightstown, thence across the southeastern portion of Outagamie County, in a serpentine course to Sherwood, along the east side of Lake Winnebago through Stockbridge and Brothertown to Fond du Lac, through the villages of Lamartine and Brandon, across the southwestern corner of Green Lake County to Fort Winnebago at Portage, to Poynette, to the northeastern shore of Lake Mendota, to Blue Mounds, along the ridge dividing the waters flowing toward the north into the Wisconsin River from those flowing south into other streams, across the Wisconsin River at Bridgeport, and into Prairie du Chien from the southeast. The route was along well-trodden Indian trails much of the way, and was traced on the government plats when the first surveys were made.[1]

When Judge Doty and Lieutenant Center decided upon the location of the road, there were but few habitations along the way. After leaving Prairie du Chien, there was first a

[1] These maps are in the state land office at Madison, and were examined by the writer to determine the location of the highway.



MAP OF THE OLD MILITARY ROAD
Drawn by Mary S. Foster

log cabin at Wingville, now Montfort, in Grant County; Ebenezer Brigham resided at Blue Mounds; Wallace Rowan was on the north shore of Lake Mendota; there was not a white resident between the lake and Fort Winnebago, and none between that fort and the lower Fox River. Wisconsin at that time was at the journey's end of the western flow of emigration.

After the road was surveyed in 1831 and 1832, nothing more was done until April 1, 1835, when Lewis Cass, then secretary of war, issued an order for the construction of the road connecting the forts. The soldiers at Fort Crawford were ordered to build the road to Fort Winnebago, those at the latter fort to construct the road to Fond du Lac, and the troops at Green Bay to complete the task. The soldiers at the three forts composed the Fifth Regiment of the standing army, and were under the command of Brigadier General George Mercer Brooke.

The road from the Mississippi to Lake Winnebago was completed in the fall of 1835, but the task of building the northern portion, through a dense forest of hardwood timber, was much more difficult, and the thoroughfare was not open until about 1838. The Fond du Lac River was bridged and used by the natives and wild beasts for a number of months before the first white settlers arrived. The road as constructed by the soldiers was necessarily a crude affair. The work was done by cutting through the timber land, clearing a track about two rods wide, and on the prairies setting mile stakes. Sometimes mounds of earth and stones were thrown up. On the marshes and other low places, corduroy roads were made by placing small logs on the soft earth and sometimes covering them with brush or dirt. Rude bridges were thrown across the streams.

From Green Bay to Fond du Lac, each detachment of soldiers worked a week in turn. Twelve miles of this road was made by Captain Martin Scott and his men, "as straight as an arrow, and at the time considered quite a feat."

It was a poor excuse for a road, according to present-day standards, and could be used only in the winter when the ground was frozen or when the weather was dry in the summer. Downpours submerged great sections of it and made other portions, as one writer expressed it, "as slippery as noodles on a spoon."

In the early days the main street of Fond du Lac—this being a portion of the Military Road—"looked like a vat of blacking." The mud held like an octopus, and when a wheel or foot ventured into the mass something seemed to grasp it with tenacious power, never to let go. In 1850 James Ewen, proprietor of the Lewis House at Fond du Lac, waded out into the street early in the morning, before the guests had arisen, and placed a pair of boots and a hat in the sticky mass in such a way that at a glance one would think an individual was disappearing in the earthy mucilage. Those passing thought a man had drowned on land.

When a Vermonter came to Fond du Lac early in the history of the city, he sent a rhyme to his friends in the New England state in order to discourage emigration. His opening lines were:

> Great Western waste of bottom land,
> Flat as pancake, rich as grease,
> Where gnats are full as big as toads,
> And skeeters are as big as geese.

Commenting on the construction of the road, Dr. James D. Butler[2] says that "the road raising army brought more civilization into Wisconsin by plowshares than by swords." In the day of small things, its highways were as invaluable as any railway has been since. The track of the Northwestern Railway westward from Mount Horeb station, for twenty miles or more, is now laid on the line of the Doty Military Road.

Traversing rough regions on military causeways, I have

[2] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, 80.

often said, as the Irishman did concerning the officer who made the Scotch highlands carriageable:

> If you had seen these roads before they were made,
> You would lift up your hands and bless General Wade.

The soldiers built huts at various places to protect themselves from the weather. When Henry Merrell was returning alone from Green Bay to Portage one season, he found a shanty erected by the soldiers seven miles southwest of Fond du Lac. The hut was made by setting posts in the ground, placing poles across the roof, and covering with a little brush and straw. After sleeping in the hut during a rainy night, Merrell awoke to find his clothes soaking wet, even to his saddle skirts. The road was difficult to follow. In the timber the trees were blazed, but when a traveler crossed a prairie he had to judge as accurately as he could the course, and when he reached the timber, hunt up the blazes and proceed.

As to improving this highway, Captain C. J. Cram, on September 1, 1839, made a report to Congress in which he stated that the portion of the road from Fort Crawford to the portage, a distance of about one hundred and fifteen miles, would need the sum of $5,700 to be expended, chiefly in repairs, construction of small bridges, and the opening of ditches. The building of a safe and permanent road across the portage, about four miles, would require the sum of $5,955. He speaks in his report of the overflowing of the land at the portage, making it necessary for travelers to take a circuitous route of about fifteen miles, crossing a lake on the way, in order to reach or depart from the fort. Captain Cram estimated it would require the sum of $6,320 to construct the road from Fort Winnebago to Fond du Lac—a distance of about sixty miles—and the sum of $17,292 to complete the task between Fond du Lac and Green Bay—about fifty-six miles.

In conclusion, he says the whole sum required to complete the construction of the Military Road from Fort

Crawford, by way of Fort Winnebago, to Fort Howard, an extent of about two hundred and thirty-five miles, would be $35,267. In contrast with road making today, it may be stated that a mile of an average concrete road costs nearly as much as the total estimated cost of the highway across Wisconsin in the thirties. Moses M. Strong says the money was never appropriated by Congress.

No king trod this highway, but a prince traversed it; no president of the republic ever rode in state over the route, but future presidents are associated with it; no high military commander ever led his troops from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien, but generals, colonels, and captains in numbers are linked with its history. Many names are dull and faded now, but here and there are human episodes of interest.

When Wisconsin was being settled, it frequently happened that two or three men coveted the same piece of land. The lucky individual was the one who first reached the land office with his money to purchase the primitive acres from the government. Along the Military Road to the northeast these contests of speed were known as "Green Bay races," the land office being at Green Bay. In 1844, at Oak Grove in Dodge County, three or four individuals desired a certain tract of timber. Two of the men, each believing that no one but himself knew his errand, started for Green Bay to enter the land. About dusk of the same day, it having become known that two men were on their way to the land office, both after the same piece of land, Richard F. Rising said to James Riley that he (Rising) would furnish the money and pay liberally besides to any one who could reach Green Bay ahead of those already gone several hours, and enter the land. Mr. Riley replied, "Give me the money to pay for the land, and if I fail, it shan't cost you a cent." The money was provided; Mr. Riley secured a supply of crackers and cheese, and was on his way fifteen minutes after the words were spoken. Taking a kind of "dog trot," he plunged into the darkness of the night, and before the day

dawned passed both the mounted men. The man on foot never halted except to drink from a spring or brook, traveled the ninety miles, entered the land, and the next day while on the way home met the two horsemen traveling toward a disappointing goal.

In February, 1848, as Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Warren and daughter were eating breakfast in their home at Mayville, Charles H. Taylor leaped into the room. In a breath he explained that Garwood Green, Rufus Allen, and George Varnum had gone to Green Bay to jump his claim—eighty acres of choice land on which he claimed a preëmption for a year or more. Each of the men wanted the land for himself, and fondly believed that no one knew the secret save himself. Their errand had become known early in the day, and as soon as the information reached Taylor he hurried to Warren to prevail upon him to purchase the property for an iron company, believing he could obtain more in the way of justice from the organization than from any of the men who had departed for the land office at Green Bay. A few minutes after Taylor had informed Warren of the situation, the latter was on his way to secure the land. With only a light lunch to be eaten at noon, he set out on the trail and reached the Badger House in Fond du Lac, having seen no one on the way. At the hotel he found all three of the conspirators, and slept not only in a room with them, but in the same bed with one of them without exciting the least suspicion. Warren hurried along the Military Road, entered the land, and was several miles on his way home before he met Garwood Green and the others. Elisha Morrow was the receiver at the land office at the time. The iron company paid for the land and removed the timber, which was converted into charcoal for the furnaces.

On another occasion E. J. Smith and Jacob Swarthout desired the same tract of land in the town of Fountain Prairie, Columbia County. Early one morning Smith left for Green Bay over the Military Road, thinking no one possessed the secret of his going. During the day Mr.

Swarthout was informed of the fact, and just before nightfall mounted an Indian pony and hurried toward the land office. When about halfway he made a temporary exchange with an Indian for another pony and hastened on his mission without stopping to rest. He reached the land office ahead of Smith and thus secured the land.

These journeys were not always of a rival nature, however. In the early forties Captain Benjamin Sage and John Brown, of Fountain Prairie, Columbia County, traveled to Green Bay together on foot. With but a single exception their claims were the first to be made in the town, and when they made the journey the country was inhabited largely by Indians. The friendship formed between Captain Sage and his companion during that pioneer journey over the Military Road was as lasting as life itself. Either could have adopted the words of David when he lamented to Jonathan: "Very pleasant hast thou been unto me; thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women."

Along this road from Green Bay to Madison, in 1837, traveled Franklin Hathaway, one of the first surveyors at the site of the future capital. His baggage consisted of a change of underwear, a compass, a few blankets, and food. The first part of the journey was on horseback and alone, but from Brothertown to Fort Winnebago, a distance of eighty miles, he traveled on foot, two Indian boys accompanying him to carry a portion of his baggage. This journey required a week and he found but few houses on the way; Wrightstown contained one dwelling, and Fond du Lac one. As the way led at the time, he reached the site of Madison by going along the northeast shore of Lake Mendota, then eastward several miles to what is now the Capitol Square. In the same year a number of cattle were driven from Illinois to Madison, then along the Military Road to Green Bay, presumably to supply rations for the soldiers.

The story of the journey of Ebenezer Childs in 1837 over a portion of this road from Madison to Green Bay is interesting. The army surgeon from Fort Winnebago had

gone to Madison to give medical aid to the mother of A. A. Bird, and on a bitter morning Childs, the surgeon, and others left on the trip to Fort Winnebago at Portage. Wallace Rowan and family occupied the only house between the head of Lake Mendota and Portage at that time. When the travelers had gone about halfway, it was found that the surgeon was so cold, although buried beneath buffalo robes, that it was necessary to stop in the timber, clear away the snow, and build a fire. The surgeon was so chilled he could not speak, was carried to the fire, rubbed a long time, given a little brandy, and then was able to resume the journey. When the fort was reached the thermometer registered thirty-two degrees below zero. On the way from Fort Winnebago to Fond du Lac, Childs did not see a house, and he saw but one between Fond du Lac and Green Bay. Before reaching Lake Winnebago he overtook two Stockbridge Indians, whom he carried in his jumper, the snow being deep, until the timber was reached, where a large fire was made for them. They probably would have perished on the prairie had they not been given aid, Childs records.

In 1844 Captain Sumner and his command came over portions of the road from Iowa to Portage, and returned with a number of Winnebago Indians who had escaped from Turkey River in the Hawkeye State.

In 1842, in describing a journey over that portion of the road east of Lake Winnebago, Mrs. Elizabeth Thérèse Baird says that one of the landmarks along the "straight cut road" was the "eagle's nest," in view long before reaching it and long after passing. Snow had fallen, and one was never sure of missing the stumps. Continuing her narrative, Mrs. Baird says: "We were now in the Stockbridge settlement, where the log houses were rather near together for farms. There were many stumps in the very streets of Stockbridge, and as they were covered with snow it was an easy thing to hit one. One of them upset us at Fowler's very gate. We were all well cared for at Fowler's. The next morning we again took an early start—so early that

the stumps in the road were no more visible than the night previous. I was thrown against a stump and one arm was hurt, though no bones were broken. The pain from the injury, however, was severe. I was carried into a little hut where the people were just rising, and placed on a bed which some very untidy-appearing folk had just vacated. I would have preferred the floor." The journey was continued to Portage, where a physician was called to attend Mrs. Baird's arm.

During the Black Hawk War, on June 6, 1832, James Aubrey, an inmate of the Brigham Tavern at Blue Mounds, was killed by Sacs while procuring water from a spring located near the highway. Others were killed near the fort.

In the same year, Captain Gideon Low and a small number of privates traversed this route from Fort Winnebago to Madison, in quest of a number of deserters who had imbibed freely of whisky procured from a French trader, Oliver Armel. One of the escaped soldiers was charged with burning a hut at Hastings Creek and with clandestinely selling liquor to the Indians. As a result of the alleged crimes, he had been flogged and drummed out of the fort. Soon after Captain Low reached Madison, the soldier left for Galena on what is now the Military Road. "The poor fellow, probably finding that he would not be able to stand the severe cold, strapped himself to a tree with the fastenings of his soldier's knapsack. He was later discovered, frozen stiff, by an expedition on its way from Galena to Fort Winnebago. His effects, including five hundred dollars in gold, were forwarded to the War Department where they might be claimed by friends." He was buried by the side of the road beneath the tree where he perished.

One of the most pathetic and arduous journeys ever made over a western portion of this road was that of Thomas P. Burnett on October 25 and 26, 1846. He had been elected a delegate from Grant County to the first convention to form a constitution for a state government, but on account of illness was prevented from being present at the

opening on October 5. His physical condition was such that he should not have left home, but feeling the high responsibilities resting upon him, he made the journey from his double log cabin by the side of the Military Road at Wingville, now Montfort, to Madison. Mrs. Burnett attended the funeral of her mother on October 19. About a week later her husband departed for the capital, and on the day following she was taken ill with typhoid, then prevalent in the region. In a few days her condition was such that a messenger, with Mr. Burnett's own team, hurried to Madison for him. On the night of October 25, after the weariness of a day in the convention, he left in the wagon for home, arriving there the following night. The distance was eighty-five miles, and the fatigue and exposure caused a relapse of his disease. When he reached home he found not only his wife ill, but also his mother, who a few months before had come to make her home with him. On November 1 the mother died, and on the fifth Mr. Burnett breathed his last, his wife dying three hours afterward. They were buried in the family cemetery but a few rods from the frontier home and primitive road.

The Reverend Cutting Marsh, a Congregational missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, kept at one time a house of entertainment between Green Bay and Fond du Lac. Colonel Childs, Judge Morgan L. Martin, H. S. Baird, and others journeying southward were once entertained over night at the home of the missionary. It was the custom of this propagator of religion to distribute *Testaments* to members of the family and guests before sitting down to the morning meal, and to read from the Scriptures. Alternate verses were read, each in turn, by those present. On the morning when his distinguished guests were there, the good missionary selected a chapter in *Timothy,* read his verse, the members of the family each his own, Judge Martin his, and the time when Childs must read was becoming imminent. He could not find the place, and the succession actually reached him before he reached *Timothy* in the *Testament.*

However, he continued to struggle among the saints and the apostles, confused and mortified, and in his despair forgot the character of his host and the solemnity of the occasion. Finally he was heard to utter, "Where in h— is *Timothy?*"

The first building in Fond du Lac was a double log structure known as the Fond du Lac House, erected in 1836, and after standing empty for some time was for many years used as a tavern. Brothertown Indians raised the structure, and Colwert Pier was the first landlord. When the boat which brought Mrs. Pier sailed away she sat down and wept because of the remoteness and lonesomeness of the place. The first guest was a squaw, who made Mrs. Pier understand by signs that she desired to exchange feathers for flour. The Indian evidently had the better of the bargain, for the tavern was soon filled with squaws who desired to exchange feathers for either flour or pork. Save for the Indians there were no guests for about a year; then many travelers came along the Military Road to be entertained at the famous hostelry.

Among the other interesting taverns along the highway were those operated by Gardner near Lake Winnebago, Wallace Rowan at Poynette, St. Cyr at Lake Mendota, Ebenezer Brigham at Blue Mounds, Hickcox at Ridgeway, and the Rough and Ready House at Dodgeville.

Perhaps no travelers on the Military Road attracted more attention than Prince de Joinville, a member of the royal family of France, and his retinue, who journeyed from Galena to Green Bay in 1840. Commenting on the visit of the prince, the newspapers of the time state that the landlords of Galena decided the royal visitor was legitimate prey, and charged him enormously for the entertainment received. One of the items was five dollars for the use of a piano during the evening—something rarely encountered in hotel charges. It is said the Wisconsin territorial tavern keepers were more considerate of the prince's purse. The mission of this member of the royal family was to search for the lost Dauphin of France. About the only result of

the visit was an interview with Eleazar Williams, which so impressed the missionary that he became obsessed with the idea that he was the Dauphin; and this in turn has resulted in much writing about him.

As one contemplates this military highway, memory reanimates from almost a century of years many characters deeply engraved on the pages of the state's history; while other spirits refuse to be summoned from the brume of time. There is a long list of those associated with the route or road, and aside from those previously mentioned the list should include John W. Quinney, noted Stockbridge Indian; Chief White Crow, buried not far from the Military Road at Cross Plains; Chief Whirling Thunder, a figure in the Black Hawk War; Chief Four Legs, buried in sight of the road at Portage; William Fowler, a Brothertown Indian who served in the fourth territorial legislature; Jefferson Davis, to become president of the Southern Confederacy; Robert L. Ream, father of Vinnie Ream, the sculptress; Pierre Pauquette, interpreter and trader, who had a farm on the road; Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie, author of *Wau-Bun;* Black Hawk, leader of the tribesmen in the Black Hawk War; Moses M. Strong, surveyor and politician; Colonel Hercules L. Dousman, fur trader; the eccentric David Ward, who is reputed to have been the first physician in Wisconsin and who accompanied the Fort Howard soldiers when at work on the highway; the Reverend Alfred Brunson, a Methodist circuit rider who rode a horse all the way from Pennsylvania to Prairie du Chien, a portion of the way on this historic road; Moses Stanton, a half-breed Narragansett Indian whose squaw was a descendant of King Philip; and many others.

Naturally the most traveled portions of the road were from Green Bay to Fond du Lac and from Madison westward toward the Mississippi River. At Fond du Lac the road was joined by one from Milwaukee, and west of Madison by one from Milwaukee to Galena and Prairie du Chien. When the full tide of immigration was flowing and when

settlers were entering land, such places as the Fond du Lac House at Fond du Lac and Brigham's Tavern at Blue Mounds presented a lively appearance.

A journey on this primitive road from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien in the early days was almost like going from London to Bombay, and was sufficiently hazardous to remind one that it would be well to prepare his last will and testament before penetrating the wilds before him. All the traveler could do was to move slowly along, guided by the trail of rude construction, often with Altair and Vega looking down from the azure spaces of the night. There were but few footprints and few echoes of humanity along the pioneer road, which now pierces several cities and is flanked by a world checkered with fertile fields.

In that day when travel was limited there was no treading on one another's heels; there was an inexpressible charm about the deep solitudes along the way—the prairies fragrant and fascinating with a burst of brilliant bloom, the radiant view gained after ascending a prominent elevation, the idyllic glory of the frontier region in autumn, and the delectable charm of the lakes shimmering in the sunlight. Wild fowl filled the air in migratory flight, deer in herds disappeared over many a hill, bears gave excitement from day to day, and at night the wolves uttered their nocturnal cry. Every day was rich in new experiences for the traveler.

With the abandonment of the three frontier forts and with roads being established on sectional and intersectional lines, in places the Military Road lost its identity. A territorial road from Fond du Lac, through Fox Lake to Portage, was much traveled; also a more direct route was established from Poynette to Blue Mounds. The section from Green Bay to Fond du Lac has retained much of its location. From Blue Mounds to Fennimore the railroad first brought changes, and with the coming of the automobile new locations have been made in order to eliminate dangerous crossings. In other places trees again grow where there was once pioneer-passing, and frequently all trace is lost in

fields long cultivated. In these places the highway to the newer generations is but a tale of faded days.

Should a resurrection trumpeter blow his bugle along this road, what an assemblage would answer his call! In review would come venturesome explorers in quest of lands heretofore unseen; daring hunters whose ambitions were to be realized in an abundance of bear, bison, beaver, and other game; determined pioneers with mighty axes to hew out homes in the solitary woodlands; officers and soldiers standing guard over the Indian as he looks with suspicious eye upon the encroaching whites; anxious traders with beads and baubles to barter with unsophisticated tribesmen; travelers from many lands seeking adventure on the advancing rim of civilization—Indians, explorers, hunters, pioneers, troopers, traders, and taverners tramped over this rough road by day and camped beneath the stars by night.

THE LIFE STORY OF A MILWAUKEE MERCHANT

HENRY STERN

Henry Stern was born at Markt-Breit, a small city in the district Unterfranken Aschaffenburg, in Bavaria, in the year 1825. His father was a merchant, dealing in yarns. He had a strong desire to give this one of his sons a liberal education and supported him for several years at the *Gymnasium* in Schweinfurt, and later at the *Gymnasium* in Würzburg, where the boy made notable progress in his studies. Then, after spending a year in a commercial school, he became an apprentice in a mercantile house in Carlsruhe. There he remained till May 1, 1848, when the disturbed political conditions suggested the desirability of carrying out forthwith a plan long entertained of going to America. At this point we allow Mr. Stern to tell his own story.—EDITOR.

My departure was deferred till the first of May, so that I might find time to take stock and close up the books completely. This was accomplished; and on May 1, 1848, I set out, with the most cordial wishes of my employers and fellow-workmen, and with many presents from all sides, for Markt-Breit, which I had left eight years before. A few weeks passed quickly there, and my three little sisters added much toward making my life cheerful. In the meantime I made a contract with a boat to sail as a steerage passenger for one hundred florins from Mayence by way of Rotterdam and Havre to New York.

After a touching good-bye I left Markt-Breit at the beginning of June and arrived safely in Havre, after I had suffered greatly for eighteen hours from seasickness—so much so, that I paid a sailor five francs for the rent of his cabin. In Havre I became acquainted with [Julius] Goll, my later partner, and with Hertlein and Gerlach, who became my berth companions. We went together to the

market place and bought provisions—among which were sixty eggs, which were packed in a pot of salt, six brick cheeses, a small keg of herring, and a few dozen bottles of wine. These were sufficient when combined with the usual rations furnished me—consisting of a sack of flour, one hundred pounds of hardtack, ham, a bag of salt, and a bag of potatoes—and the supplies that I had brought along from home, so that during the first three weeks we lived rather high. My three berth companions and I kept a common household. Our ship, the *Elizabeth Hamilton,* had about three hundred steerage passengers, all of whom were placed in one room—with three in one berth covered with straw, and two berths together, one over the other. We all had our own bedding with us, and suffered only from the terrible odor; especially since we had beneath us a peasant family consisting of husband, wife, and three children, who were unclean to the extreme. Therefore, Hertling sprayed our bed every morning with cologne, of which we had sufficient. All of this did not destroy our good humor. We were young and shy, and even the unusual work in the kitchen added a great deal to our cheerfulness.

Leaving Havre on June 20 we reached New York on August 16, having had nothing to live on for the last two weeks except hardtack and rotten water—for even our potatoes fermented and had to be thrown overboard. In New York our party separated; only Goll and I stayed together, and we secured, for nine dollars a week, board and room with an American family. Later on we rented a single room at a tailor's house and carried on a bachelor's household.

I had several letters of recommendation, among others one to the importing firm of Ballin and Sander, who procured for me at once a position with a merchant in Boston by the name of Ehrlich. I was to receive four hundred dollars per year, with free board and room, and was to take care of the books and help in the store; but I found it such a filthy establishment—especially in regard to food and beds—that it sickened me and I left the place after two days, al-

though Ehrlich offered me five hundred dollars to stay. Returning to New York, I was bitterly reproached by Ballin and Sander, who would not accept my reasons. However, I paid no attention to them, but I told them that I had made up my mind to become independent as soon as possible. To this end I intended to begin by peddling dry-goods, which would quickly familiarize me with the country, the people, the language, and the business. Ballin was rather surprised and answered, "If you persevere, I predict success in the course of time."

Through my friends, the Rosenheim brothers, I bought ten dollars' worth of dry-goods and carried on my trade at farmhouses in New York and New Jersey. I earned so much that I could live comfortably, but of course this was not the sort of business I cared about. When after a few months I again returned to New York, I learned that there was a vacant position with Bendit Brothers, importers of mirrors and German and French dry-goods. I asked for the position and obtained it. My salary was only three hundred dollars per year, scarcely enough to pay expenses, and a great deal less than I might have had in Boston; but nevertheless this position suited me better because it was calculated to prepare me to establish an importing business with my father, later on. That nothing came of this plan was due to the extreme caution of my father. The Bendits were uneducated and ignorant, and although they had considerable business, they were not able to write a letter correctly. For that reason I took charge of the correspondence and the counting of the weekly remission. I was supposed to perform the work of a janitor besides, and draw up by pulley thirty to forty heavy boxes weekly to the third story—muscular duties which I often feared were too much for me. My employers had the reputation of being hard to get along with, but not only did our relationship prove congenial, but they helped me very much when later I was establishing my own business.

The end of March, 1849, I suddenly fainted at my business place. Bendit sent for some soup from a restaurant, but since I did not feel any better, he had me taken home. A friend of mine, Doctor Hirsh, with whom I often played chess, was called. After examining my head he declared that I had smallpox and that I must have been exposed. I had seen no sick people and had visited no one, but I remembered that a few days before I had taken my coat to a tailor to have it mended. The doctor investigated and learned that the wife of the tailor was sick with the disease. He advised me, on account of the danger of contagion, to let no one in and hired an Irish woman for me, who was to bring milk and fresh water daily, and also to tend to my bed. Besides her and the doctor, I did not see any one for two weeks. I had a raging fever and the breaking-out appeared not only on my face, but also on my body. After five or six days a scab formed and I was frightened by my reflection in the mirror. I lay in a very cold room next to an open window, it being so cold that water froze in my glass; but my fever raged so that I did not feel the cold. After two weeks I could get up, but how terrible I looked! I was covered from head to foot with red spots which turned blue in the cold. I did not dare to risk being seen by people; least of all could I expect my employers to permit me to return to work; they, however, sent word to me that they would keep the position open for me until the end of June. After three weeks I was able to take a short walk, and soon the lack of work made me restless. I used my involuntary vacation in peddling cigars, and although my dotted face hindered me in this business, I earned as much as I needed. My father learned of my sickness—I do not know through whom—and was terribly frightened. In order to console him, I had my picture taken as a proof that I had recuperated.

In June I entered business again and gained the confidence of my employers to such a degree that they proposed to send me to California to establish a business there at their expense, they to furnish capital and goods according to my

direction. I was to run no risk but was to divide for ten years all my net earnings. This offer was so favorable that I accepted after careful consideration. Tickets were secured and all preparations made for me to leave within two and one-half or three months. Naturally, I reported all this at once to Markt-Breit, but received an immediate answer that I was not to accept. This happened to be the beginning of the period when hundreds of thousands were seized with the gold fever and were hastening to California. The adventurous, as well as dregs of humanity, made up a large proportion of these emigrants. My father asked whether I had sunk so low that I had to accept anything, even at the risk of health and life. It was generally known that chaotic and lawless conditions existed at that time in California, and he would not have a single moment's peace until he heard that I had given up my California trip. This letter, which arrived shortly before my intended departure, caused me the greatest embarrassment. I did not care to act contrary to the expressed wishes and counsel of my father, and on the other hand I had to deal justly with the Bendits. In this predicament I handed the letter of my father to my employers, and by a happy circumstance it chanced that a young man, Wertheimer by name, whom they knew very well, could be proposed as my substitute. This man accepted the offer and is said to have made a great deal of money in California, but as far as I know, the Bendits never received a cent from him.

The Bendit brothers had a branch office in New Orleans under the direction of Mr. Karewski. The first of January, 1850, he wrote that he intended to go to California and begged them to release him at once from his business. The Bendits were very much excited about this, since none of them cared to go to New Orleans because of the fear of yellow fever. They therefore proposed to me that I was to go there as their representative, and either take over the business at my own risk, or dissolve it; in the former case they would lend me the necessary capital for a definite time. I en-

joyed the prospects of this trip, for it would give me an opportunity to become acquainted with a part of the South without cost. I left the middle of February by steamer *Ohio* for Havana, where I remained for three days. I had samples of some new rubber toys from Nürnberg, for which Havana was supposed to be a splendid market. When I arrived my samples were melted by the heat and the box contained only a sticky mass which I was obliged to throw overboard. After three days I boarded the steamer *Falcon* for New Orleans, where I arrived about the first of February, after a stormy trip.

Before I left New York I had agreed with Goll to meet somewhere in the fall of the year and establish a business according to our means. He went west, and we agreed to communicate to each other our impressions. The business in New Orleans did not conform, in many respects, to my wishes. It was entirely too risky for me. Many large mirrors were sold to people on credit to be smuggled into Mexico. If they were caught in the deed, the money was lost. I collected the debts outstanding, sold the goods with the exception of very little, which I stored, and started July 4 on my return trip to New York. I traveled up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers through the locks to Cincinnati. From there I took the railroad to Toledo, and went by boat to Buffalo. I stopped for a day at Niagara Falls, the grandeur of which I admired for the first time. In New York I met Goll, who spoke of the West with greatest enthusiasm, especially of Chicago and Milwaukee, both cities of about eighteen thousand inhabitants. I settled my account with the Bendits to their entire satisfaction, and told them of my intention to become independent.

After careful consideration Goll and I chose Milwaukee as a location, principally because the German immigration was directed there at that time. Each of us had eight hundred dollars in cash—I a little more. I had saved in Carlsruhe about twenty-five hundred florins (a thousand dollars), of which I had used two hundred dollars in New

York during my unemployment. My money had not decreased since that time, but with my small salary I had been able to increase it but little. To add to this capital (sixteen hundred dollars) my father placed at my disposal three thousand florins at twelve per cent interest, the usual rate at that time. We used this loan later on. We purchased dry-goods, mirrors, clocks, etc., to the amount of five thousand dollars, upon which we made a payment of twelve hundred dollars, as some money had to be allowed for freight, furnishings, and traveling expenses. Besides these articles, we obtained from a Mr. Kerler, who had just emigrated to America, three thousand dollars' worth of gold and silver watches to be sold on commission.

Stocked in this manner we migrated to Milwaukee, where we arrived on the sixth of August, 1850, and landed at the south pier, for no railroad existed at that time. We rented the first story of the building at 379 East Water Street, consisting of a room twenty-four by eighteen feet, and a smaller side room without windows, which we used as a bedroom. Beneath us and above us was Edward D. Baker's storeroom for whisky and liquors. We boarded at the house of Mrs. Ransom on Huron Street, and paid $1.75 per week. Our main work consisted in finding customers, and naturally we sought these at first in the city, but soon found that the field offered here was not great enough. We therefore decided to purchase a wagon and two horses, in order to sell to different merchants in the country, and thus gain their patronage. The wagon was arranged in such a way that we could take about five hundred dollars' worth of wares with us; and in turn each traveled about two or three weeks at a time through the surrounding country. My route lay through Waukesha, Oconomowoc, Watertown, Jefferson, Beaver Dam, Fond du Lac, Oshkosh—as far as Neenah. Goll's route went directly to the west. Although I was fairly successful in my business, these trips, on account of the primitive byways and my inexperience in taking care of horses, were always attended with a great deal of danger. There

was scarcely a day when my life was not endangered, but fate kindly protected me from serious misfortune. Any one who knows what it means to travel for miles on corduroy roads over new ways leading through primeval forests, will understand why I declared to my partner in the month of December that I would make no further tours of this nature. We therefore sold our horses and wagon.

I was surprised to learn that Goll, during my absence, had ordered three to four thousand dollars' worth of stock, of which we still had sufficient on hand. He gave as his reason for it, that we could not obtain any new stock before the end of April and if we could not sell all that we had in stock at the present time, as well as the new purchases, we could not count on existing at all. The result of this was that we suffered losses in April, 1850, in having too much stock left and not being able to meet our obligations. We reported this to our creditors and ordered only that which was absolutely necessary; and while we circulated the report that I would go to New York to buy new stock, I went with a large quantity of goods into the country in order to dispose of it and collect enough to pay our debts. I was so successful that by the middle of June we were able to pay everything that was due, and besides had five hundred dollars at our disposal for the purchase of new stock. Then I traveled to New York and bought for the first time staple dry-goods; these we sold to Nathaniel Pereles immediately after my return.

Two circumstances had been very favorable to us in the last six months. We became acquainted with two brothers, named Hantsch, who came here from Saxony. They had brought along a very large quantity of shelf hardware which they gave to us to sell on a commission basis. This proved to be a good business deal. In February, 1851, fire was set to an adjacent building where a grocery business was carried on by Americans. The two buildings had a common stairway and the smoke came into our store. Some of the firemen entered our store and from there directed their hose to the

fire. We were forced to move out the next morning, and the clothes dealer, Adler, accommodated us temporarily in the first story of his building, until the damage was settled by the insurance company. The assessors, Caleb Wall and Jac. Mohler, fixed the damage at about twelve hundred dollars, which sum was paid to us at once. This caused us a great deal of trouble and work, but I believe that our real damage did not amount to much over three hundred dollars. We rented a store at the market place of Doctor Jung, and moved into it that very same week. We were very busy because the report that we would sell our damaged stock below cost price procured many customers for us.

Goll and I had promised each other at the beginning of our negotiations not to marry until we had gained the assurance that the business would permit decent living for two families. Until August, 1850, neither of us took more than twenty-five dollars a month out of the business. One evening Goll did not return home and I could not understand where he had stayed over night. The next morning he appeared and informed me to my great astonishment that he had married on the previous evening. His bride was Mrs. Stevens, a widow with whom we had been acquainted. He added that in view of our agreement he had not dared to inform me of his decision; that he, however, did not intend to use more money than I. The young couple lived a very quiet and economical life, and Goll spent little more than before. I often took my supper with them, and we never had anything but tea and bread and butter; still the couple was a very happy one.

I, myself, felt more lonely than ever and longed for family life, which I had been without since my youth. I sometimes visited the families of Dyke and Mohler, but did not find that which I craved, even though the hours there were very pleasant. Even the company of young people did not satisfy me, as their chief pleasure was sought in drinking, for which I had neither desire nor money. All this persuaded me to seek a life companion, especially since I

saw that our income was increasing and I knew that, in the course of time, I should be able to satisfy moderate expectations of a wife. At first this was not the case unless one lived as the Golls did. In the fall of that year I often heard a great many praiseworthy remarks about Miss Popper, with whom I became acquainted; and my good angel whispered to me that such a modest, simple, unpretentious girl, who was so devoted to her mother, would be the wife after my own heart. I used the occasion of Thanksgiving Day for the purpose of calling on her, without expecting to propose to her. Her manner was so congenial, that I felt at once she and no other would be my wife, to share with me care and joy, and create heaven upon earth. I told her of my home, my family, my prospects, of my loneliness, and added the question whether she could make up her mind to share my fate. Great was my joy that she gave me her immediate promise. I informed her at once, as an honest man should, what I could offer her for the future, and indeed it was not much. I told her that in the beginning we should not be able to take more than four hundred, or at the most not more than five hundred, dollars out of the business, and if she thought that that would not be sufficient, then we would wait a little longer until circumstances were more favorable—even though this was not in accordance with my wish. She, however, said cheerfully she would make that sum do, and so proved that she was all right. "With much one can keep house, but with little one can get along," was our proverb.[1]

My fiancée was born in Prague, November 1, 1832, was therefore just nineteen years old when we were married. Her family consisted of her mother and three sisters: Marie, married to F. Morawetz; Alice, who had been ill since her twelfth year; and Jenny, who was at that time ten years old. Mrs. Popper had had a great deal of misfortune in the year 1847. She lost within that year her husband and her only son, then twenty years of age. She was forced, on this ac-

[1] They were married January 11, 1852.

count, to sell her business, and came from Neustadt to Milwaukee (upon the advice of her brother), because the revolution of 1848 made existence in Prague very trying. Mrs. Popper, although she had been taught in the school of experience, had a cheerful, satisfied manner, was modest and honest in her actions. I recall with great satisfaction that I was able to make her last years of life carefree and cheerful. She experienced the pleasure of knowing her grandchildren Carl, Frank, and Matilda. Carl was her constant companion on her walks. She went regularly to the theatre, whatever the weather might be, and could laugh heartily when in the evening merry and witty stories were read.

Great changes soon occurred in our business. My father had on different occasions expressed the desire that Bernhard should become a partner, but our business was too small for a third man. Mr. Frank, who had recently come from Germany and was engaged to be married to a daughter of Mr. Kerler, was very anxious to be associated with us and would place a larger capital at our disposal, but we had refused it. Then again in June, 1852, a letter came from my father in which he expressed his wish more urgently than before. This time not Bernhard, but Hermann, was to join me, and he could leave at once. This was father's desire in order that Hermann would not have to pass through the same hard experiences to which I had been subjected. When Mr. Frank again expressed his wish to join us, I told him that our business was still too small to support three families, but that I would sell to him my share if Goll was satisfied. I stated that my share, based upon the inventory of the first of July, was worth $2,671, which amount he would have to pay me in cash. He at once accepted my proposal, and so everything was settled in less than a quarter of an hour. I at once wrote my father that I had taken this step only to be able to go into business with Hermann, and that it was necessary that he leave at once. In reply a message was sent to me reporting that Hermann, for different reasons, could not leave until the following spring. In conse-

quence, I was in a very deplorable condition, but I had to bear it. I rented at two hundred dollars a year the southern twenty feet of the Kirby House, arranged it as a store, and went to New York about August 1 to buy stock. I worked hard and my work was crowned with success. Again I went to New York in the fall, and during my absence my dear Julia took my place, with the assistance of a skillful young clerk by the name of Hulland. This man died the following winter of a cold contracted while boat riding. My business flourished and when Hermann arrived in June, 1853, an inventory showed that my capital had risen to $4,009. This included the twelve hundred dollars which I had borrowed from my father in June, 1850, which sum he had given me as a wedding present. Our business gave us reasons to be well satisfied, as the following record during a number of years will show clearly:

Date	Capital
August 1, 1852	$ 2,671.26
June 30, 1853 (Hermann became my partner)	4,009.00
June 30, 1854	6,663.46
June 30, 1855	12,287.46
June 30, 1856	16,487.46
June 30, 1857	20,587.46
Dec. 31, 1857[2]	17,187.46
Dec. 31, 1858	19,768.91
Dec. 31, 1859	24,768.91
Dec. 31, 1860	31,168.91
Dec. 31, 1861	46,000.00
Dec. 31, 1862	70,000.00

I shall return to the year 1860, in which the presidential election was causing great excitement. As is well known, the question was the supremacy of the free states as opposed to that of the slave states. It is not my desire to discuss this question at length, but I can very well say that I supported wholeheartedly the cause of the northern states in electing

[2] The setback of $3,000 in 1857 was caused not by the panic of that year, but by the dishonesty of the consignee to whom Stern sent goods from Germany on the occasion of his visit home in the same year. His account of that misfortune is omitted.—Editor.

President Lincoln. The ferment of the South turned into open rebellion when Fort Sumter near Charleston was bombarded in the spring of 1861. Of the horrors of the four-year war which followed I saw nothing, for the battle fields were far away. I shared the excitement and grief of those about me and I remember with pain the regiments which marched away, the many soldiers who sacrificed their health and lives. All that those of us remaining behind could do was to try to relieve the sad fate of the women and children by supplying them with money, and there was laudable zeal in this respect. I was called three times to serve in the army; was freed twice as being unfit for service, but the third time was pronounced fit for hospital duty. I procured a substitute whom an agent located for me for six hundred dollars. I never saw him and do not even know his name.

It was strange that the first year of the war had no noteworthy influence on the price of agricultural stocks, or on real estate; but this was destined to change. The end of May, 1862, we received a notice from a Boston business friend saying, "One of you start on receipt of this. Do not ask any questions." We knew at once that a change in the market was coming, and I decided to go to New York and Boston on that very day. Since we needed no stock at that time, and had no money to buy, we raised a mortgage of ten thousand dollars on our stock, besides securing the assurance of the president of the state bank that he would protect us in any negotiation arranged in New York. I arrived in New York and found to my astonishment that prices had been lowered, but whenever I wanted to buy I was repeatedly told, "We have no stock and will not take any orders." Now I knew what to expect. I went to Boston to call on my friend Philips, one of the main salesmen of James McBeebe and Company. These speculators in cotton goods had an immense stock of all kinds of so-called domestic goods, and I bought on speculation a great quantity of these articles, which with the goods I purchased later on in New York amounted to over thirty thousand dollars. We made an im-

mense sum of money on this supply, for in a very short time they rose in value more than one hundred per cent, as the rising tendency of prices had an advantageous influence on business throughout the world. Still no one could say what he really was worth.

To explain this it is necessary to describe our means of coin circulation, even if it is superficially done. Beginning with the year 1862, every state of the Union had its own banking laws, giving in each case under certain conditions the right to found a bank and to use paper money which had to be redeemed by the banks in question with gold, and had to be safeguarded by the deposit of state or railroad bonds. These securities consisted largely of bonds of southern states, of doubtful value. In this manner there came into existence in every state numerous banks whose circulating notes were viewed with mistrust. Wisconsin notes lost two and a half per cent in New York; even the notes of the state of New York were discounted three-fourths per cent right in New York. In 1857 the bonds of the southern states lost much in value, and in consequence the western paper money was mistrusted. A number of banks failed and their notes were usually worth about one-half. Our Wisconsin notes were no better, and only by the banks and merchants voluntarily giving money contributions as security, did confidence in Wisconsin notes return. For this purpose we gave five hundred dollars. In the course of the war when money was the main necessity for success, the notes of individual banks were withdrawn from circulation and we had a unified means of exchange for all states, by having banks deposit United States bonds and promise to issue notes to within ninety per cent of the deposited bonds. The banking law was a rule of business and war; even though its justice was often disputed, it is a fact that this new rule has proved beneficial to the present day.

In the course of the war the United States notes were given a forced figure; that is, they had to be accepted as payment, for gold had disappeared entirely from circulation.

Whoever wanted gold had to pay an extra sum—at first five per cent; later on, when the value reached its highest point in 1865, one hundred dollars' worth of gold could be obtained for two hundred dollars' worth of paper money. If the war had lasted one year longer the value would have risen to five hundred dollars, since gold was the one measure, or standard, of the world. No one could tell the real value of his property, as I have already said. At the close of the war, trust and confidence quickly returned, and it not infrequently happened that gold was refused by common people because it was an unknown coin.

In the year 1853 we bought of Miles in the first ward the middle lot of the quarter-block sixty-three, which was sixty feet long, with the building which was still new. We moved there, and in this house all our children were born, with the exception of Clara and Carl. In 1856 we bought of Wright the south sixty feet adjacent to our lot, with a little frame house, in which Hermann lived with his family. June, 1857, I bought (while Hermann was in Europe) a store on East Water Street, on very acceptable terms. I gave Hermann an opportunity to share this bargain, which he gladly did. We moved into this store and remained there until it was too small to accommodate us, and in the seventies we sold it again for $14,000. In the year 1868 we bought from James B. Martin the land on which our present store is built. We paid $20,000 for it and the building; the furnishings cost $40,000. Hermann's house was too small, so we built in the year 1862 a new dwelling house at a cost of about $6,000. Our home was also small for our growing family, but we preferred to move into the house at the corner of Lake and New streets, instead of building a new one, until circumstances forced us again to change our dwelling place. In 1876 I bought for $6,500 the land upon which our present house is built. The building and the furnishings cost about $13,500. Hermann took half-shares in the real estate on Cass and Ogden streets, belonging to me, at a price of $7,500. This transaction completed my building activi-

ties—much of which I would not repeat, after the experience I have had.

In 1867 we were granted the great joy of having our family increased by the arrival from Germany of our dear sister Louise. She became a year later the happy bride of my friend Morris Davidson, and I take a great deal of satisfaction in the thought of having contributed to her happiness. The two, with their five daughters, are respected and beloved by the whole family.

Our children grew up to be our great joy. Carl and Frank were fine students, and the question arose whether either had a special talent or inclination for any type of business. This was not the case. Still, we decided to send Carl, who in spite of his youth was very mature, to Carlsruhe to gain a higher education. He arrived there in 1868 and was entered in the seventh class of the *Realgymnasium* and transferred in the year 1870 to the Polytechnical School. We visited him in 1869 and convinced ourselves that he was in good care in the house of Professor Meyer, and that he was pursuing his studies zealously.

Frank decided to devote his life to a commercial career. He was in the A. Meinecke Company's establishment for about a year, then changed to our business in the year 1872. In the long run the position in our firm did not please him for some reason. He tried in vain to get other employment, and I believe the reason was this: the merchants feared to educate a competitor. Later on he became associated with Ferdinand in the manufacture of mill stones, but he was not successful in this business and lost a great deal of money. One day Frank read in the newspaper that the North Star Iron Works in Minneapolis were for sale. He considered this a good opportunity. We were just on the point of taking a pleasure trip to Montreal. I therefore advised him to go to Minneapolis with Mr. Rice, a skillful mechanic, in order to look over the factory and make a report to me. The comments which I received from him described the circumstances in such glorious colors that I promised him I would

investigate for myself after my return from Montreal. Since my brother Hermann was seeking a position for his future son-in-law, Louis Schlesinger, we went to Minneapolis together, and Frank as well as Mr. Rice accompanied us. We were convinced that the business was a successful one; that the owner, Johnson, had made a good deal of money and now had to give up on account of his health. When we investigated the books and the earnings for many years we considered the chance a very unusual one for the future success of our children, and bought the factory, together with the land upon which it was built, for $70,000. We formed a stock company in which the following persons were associated: Hermann and I, each with $15,000; Mr. Rice, with $12,000; Frank, Louis, and Mr. Baker, each with $10,000; total capital stock, $72,000. I should like to remark that Mr. Baker joined us without an invitation, even though I had told him that it was an experiment on our part, the success of which could not be guaranteed. The business went very well for the first two years, but then came years that showed such large deficits that we were almost forced to give up the venture. When our need was greatest the Manitoba Railway bought the real estate for such a high price ($132,000) that we not only could pay our debts, but could also pay back the capital to bondholders. After a short attempt to carry on the business in a simple way while Hermann was in Chicago, we sold out and Frank went into the Chicago firm of C. H. Gumey and Company in October, 1888. This firm has the sole agency for the West of six or eight factories manufacturing steel tools. Besides, it carries on a jobbing trade in nuts, bolts, etc. Frank now works with enthusiasm, with the prospect of getting ahead, and does not have to struggle with such difficulties and cares as he had to in the factory.

The rest of the narrative is of purely family interest, and we therefore omit it. Mrs. Stern died December 2, 1898; Mr. Stern, in 1903.—Editor.

A LITTLE GIRL OF OLD MILWAUKEE

MARTHA E. FITCH[1]

In the year 1839, Father, Mother, and three little girls left Buffalo, New York, by boat for Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The father in 1836 had taken the long trip and bought a quarter-section of government land in this far-away territory. An old friend, John Jacob Astor, was with our father on this trip and their friendship continued for long years. They met in later years at the Astor House in New York and renewed their acquaintance. My sister Anna writes:

"When I went to New Haven to attend Miss Edwards' School, we stayed in New York at the Astor House and Father brought Mr. Astor into the parlor and introduced him to me. He was a fine-looking man and he told me many things about those days, especially about the Indians; that Father treated them so kindly that they would do anything for him."

The little family were all safely on board the boat with the horses and carriage, and all the fine old mahogany furniture, and for two whole weeks they must be content slowly to navigate the inland lakes. When they arrived in Milwaukee, small boats came to meet them—too small for either horses or carriage, so these were sent on to Chicago and were driven up from there over the almost impassable roads. The little hotel called the Fountain House received the family and there they remained until the log cabin on the farm could be built.

My first recollection is of the big trees that were at the very door, and the great fireplace which was so big it covered nearly the whole side of the room, although I do remember a big door where two men with a chain would drag in a big log just cut from the tree —more than a foot in diameter—and this was the "back log." I used to watch them getting the log in place; they had such a hard time! Over the fire was the crane where the big iron tea-kettle swung, and the kettles hung for cooking the food, except when any-

[1] Mrs. William Grant Fitch's maiden name was Martha Eliza Curtis; her father was Martin Curtis, who removed to Milwaukee from Oswego, New York, where she was born August 26, 1836. This article was written for her great-grandson, Eliot Fitch Bartlett.

thing was to be roasted, and that was done in a tin oven before the fire, called a "Dutch oven." The top swung back for the basting; it was awfully hot. We did not dare go near it (I mean the bake oven).

When we played out in the snow and got our shoes all wet, we would come in and sit on little footstools in the corner of the fireplace and put our feet almost into the fire. We got our feet warm, but oh! the shoes, they were burned to a crisp—but we liked that, for then we were taken into town to the one big shoe store—Bradley and Metcalf's—and they were always so nice to us little girls. They would seat me on the counter and play with me, and while trying on shoes would send for some candy, and often a doll or a pretty toy. Mr. Bradley had no children and seemed to be very fond of us. Mr. Metcalf some years later had a beautiful daughter. Years ago when I was quite grown-up and had little boys of my own, Mr. Metcalf told me how well he remembered me as a baby girl, and said many nice things about my father and his little girls.

How plainly I can see, after all these years, the beautiful young mother and the fine-looking father coming through the big trees on their horses, just as the sun was going down, each with a gun across the front of the saddle and each with a deer strapped at the back of the saddle with its legs hanging down and its horns standing out—for the little mother was a fine shot and could bring down her own game on earth or in the air as well as any man could. The deer were so numerous we could see them calmly strolling through the woods any day. Wild duck, partridge, and pigeon flew over the cabin free and fearless and made their nests regardless of our presence. In winter time the whole north side of the cabin was covered with haunches of venison, and all kinds of game, frozen and just waiting to be eaten. Wild turkeys, too, were plentiful, and the singing birds came in the springtime, so merry and happy to be home again, but the winter was too cold for them and they all flew away to a warmer clime.

Gradually the trees were not so close to the house and we had big bonfires often lasting into the night, when the sky was a blaze of glory and the trees seemed all aflame. Sometimes the Indians would come to the house, or rather log cabin, and sit on the ground and were given something to eat. They were of the Menominee tribe, and not warlike or dangerous, but we children never were allowed to go out to speak to them. I always wanted to, especially

if there was a squaw with a papoose on her back, but the doors were bolted and the children and dogs must not go out; but we children would peep out of the windows at them and laugh at the funny feathers around the heads of some of them. After they had all they wanted to eat they would rise slowly and with gruff gurgling noises, which I suppose meant "Thank you," they would quietly depart.

Our cabin was larger than that of any of the neighbors. There was the big room where the big fireplace was, which was kitchen and dining-room, with a small bedroom off, and here in a trundle-bed I usually slept. A trundle-bed is a box on wheels so low that in the daytime it can be trundled under a higher bed and be out of the way, and at night be pulled out again. A baby might fall out of it and not be injured. Then we had a parlor with a fine Brussels carpet, and I well remember the beautiful colors like our prized Bokhara rugs—deep red with a little white—and the mahogany sofa with little round pillows all of black horsehair, which was the fashion in those days. There was a fireplace in this room also, with andirons and bellows to blow the fire if it would not burn quickly; but we had only candles to give us light. Some were moulded in a tin mould and others were dipped in a big wash-boiler full of grease. The candles were always made at home. Mother sat beside the boiler and raised and lowered the wicks, which were tied to a stick resting across the length of the boiler. The grease was just hot enough to form a coating as down they went into it. When they were the right size they were put away to cool, and these were the "tallow dips." We had no matches. The coals were carefully covered to keep the precious fire. Tapers of paper were used to light the candles. One morning one of the neighbors came with a pan and a shovel for coals of fire, saying that their fire had burned out in the night, so he must walk a mile or more to get a starter for the fire, and his breakfast could not be cooked until his return.

We also had rooms and closets up a little pair of stairs, and how well I remember waking up in the morning and finding snow on my bedspread, and also seeing the moon shining through the spaces in the roof when I did not go to sleep at once.

I shall never forget the day when we had a barn raising.[2] There were great piles of logs and some lumber, and a long table built for

[2] This barn, now over ninety years old, is still in use on Lisbon Avenue of northwest Milwaukee.

dinner that was to be served to the neighbors, who would come to the raising from far and near.

How we loved to play in the great big barn! I should say granary, but we called it just plain "barn." One side was for the hay, the other for the wheat and oats, and we three little girls would climb up a ladder and jump down into the haymow. It was such fun! There was quite a space in the middle of the barn, where the horses were driven in to unload the hay and grain, and way up in the roof was a narrow board on which one could pass from one side of the barn to the other. One day while playing and jumping in the barn, I went up the ladder, and when the sisters were not looking I ran to the narrow open passage and started across to the other side. How the sisters screamed! They were so frightened. A stumble and fall meant death from this height, and where would my great-grandson have been then; but fearless of danger I reached the other side and jumped down into the wheat. It was not so nice as the sweet smelling hay; it was rough and scratchy, but I lived to tell the story.

We always had a helper in the house, usually an eastern relative or a neighbor who came, just to oblige, and was one of the family, or a kind of guest who took care of the house. They were always kind and nice, and a sort of second mother to us. One evening Father and Mother had gone to a small dancing party and we three little girls sat around the table with the young lady who was staying with us. Anna said, "I want my dolly."

"Where is it?" said Miss ——.

"Upstairs, I think." With that Anna took a new candle which was lying on the table, for we did not have candlesticks for all, and started upstairs. In a few moments she came back, her dolly in her arms, but without the candle.

"Where is your candle?" said Miss ——.

"Oh, I had to go into the closet to get my dolly, and I had to reach up on the shelf for her so I put the candle in a keg of black sand while I was getting her, and I left the candle there."

I did not then understand the sudden pallor that crept over the faces of my sister Emily and Miss ——. They both sprang to their feet, and life or death they must get the candle from the keg of gunpowder. They almost flew up the stairs, and fortunately the candle had not burned to the powder, but a slight tip or a breath of wind would have settled the fate of the family and the cabin.

Such nice neighbors as we had! They lived a mile or more away, but that was nothing in those days. The little log schoolhouse was nearer, and then came the Monroes and the Wheelers on one side of the road, and the Brookings and the Fowlers on the other side, all quite near together. A son, Daniel Fowler, is still living. I have no recollection of the little schoolhouse; whether or not I ever went there I am not sure, but I do remember that when I was five years old I could say the multiplication tables up to the "fives" and I had knitted a pair of stockings for myself.

In the summer time we had a big stone oven in the yard, and on baking day a big fire was built in it, then allowed to cool to the proper temperature for baking the bread, and pies, and cakes. One day the bread was put on a bench by the side of the oven to "raise," nicely covered up from any dust. Well, we had chickens and they were of an inquiring turn of mind. They found the bread and in their eagerness to taste it, jumped into the pans after pulling off the covering, and I am sure they were frightened for they sank and sank into the dough, until they were all "doughed" over, and could not get away. They squawked and squalled and the whole family came, and so did all the chickens; and when they were rescued and allowed to run, it was run, indeed, and for their very lives, too! Every hen and every rooster wanted some of the dough with which they were covered. They could not fly; they were too stuck up, and so they were chased around and around until they fell exhausted on the ground, and they were picked clean, feathers and all. We rescued them from the mob and their lives were spared, and although we all laughed, we were sorry for the poor little robbers.

I want to tell you the fun we had when the springtime came and the sunshine was warmer and brighter and the snow began to melt, not enough to spoil the sledding for the men brought a load of big buckets from the barn, putting them on a flat sled, together with a great iron pot—I think about a yard across—and drove down through the woods toward the Menomonee River which ran along the edge of our farm land. Whenever they came to a maple tree they stopped and chopped a small piece of wood from it, pressed a shingle into the cavity to carry the sweet maple sap that was ready to flow into the bucket that they had left under each tree. They found a nice open space for the great kettle and put it on a chain, supported by rods, and later built from the fallen trees a great fire under it. In a day or two they commenced gathering the

sugar sap, as it was called. The men drove to all the trees and emptied the buckets into a barrel, and then drove to the fire, emptying the barrels into the big kettle. We could drive around with them or sit on a log and watch the boiling kettle, just as we pleased. There was a long table with tin cups and plates, and a long dipper to stir the syrup, and the nice men would give us a cupful of the syrup, which we cooled on the snow and it was just like candy. When the syrup was boiled down sufficiently we had a "sugaring off." The neighbors were invited. It was in the evening and the moon was bright as day, and the big bonfire blazed and glowed, and made us all warm and "comfy." The neighbors came, some in sleighs and some on horseback, and boys and girls, too. They could have all the sugar they wanted to eat. I well remember how they all looked, how they chatted and laughed, and how the father and the mother greeted them, but that is all. I think with all the sugar I had eaten and the excitement of an out-door party, that the Sandman easily caught me and kept me until morning, when I awakened in my little trundle-bed, safe and happy. And that is the way we made our maple sugar.

One lovely spring morning when the leaves had burst forth on the trees and the flowers were coming into bloom, and the fields had been plowed for the grain, and the sunshine was warm and bright, I was wandering around the little log cabin and spied the horses at the big log water-tank with the pump at its head. I was very fond of the horses and was often put on their bare backs by the hired men, so that I could have a nice ride—no saddle, no bridle, but I could stick and hold on to the horse's mane. I just loved it. Well, there were the horses quietly drinking and my very best little grey one was there. I did not see any man to put me on the horse, but I just knew that I could get on all by myself. Don—I don't know why we called him that, but that was his name—knew me well, and when I climbed up the side of the drinking trough he was glad to see me, and it was easy to get astride his back and get a good hold of his mane. When he had all the water he wanted he started slowly toward the fields and I, proud as Punch, held on tight and giggled all to myself to think how grand it all was, for, baby as I was, I even then loved the springtime. Well, Don went into the plowed field, and although he went slowly—for, of course, he knew he must be careful as he had me on his back—he stumbled at a very deep place and in an instant I was on the ground, and the dear beast had

put his hoof on my little ankle and made the blood come, but did not break the bone. We were not very far away and dear Don stood and looked down at me with a tender loving look I can never forget, and whinnied loudly for help. I had been missed, and a man came running as fast as he could and carried me gently home with the dear Don following. The hurt was really nothing, and I loved Don more than ever. Now, if you don't believe this story I will show you the scar which I still carry and which reminds me of that lovely spring morning and the sudden ending of my ride.

When I was about six years old we moved to Milwaukee, to a house on the corner of Jefferson and Michigan streets. There we lived until our home on the east side of Jefferson just north of Wisconsin was finished. (Dr. Horace M. Brown afterwards lived in this house, which stood on the lot adjoining the Milwaukee Club on the north.) Just around the corner in the same block, the northwest corner of Wisconsin and Jackson streets, lived the rector of the Episcopal Church, the Reverend David Hull. (The building of the Northwestern National Insurance Company now stands on this site.) His charming daughter, Eleanor Hull, had a very select school for little girls on the first floor of the very grand house, as it was then considered. I was one of the little girls fortunate enough to be accepted as a pupil. Miss Hull was very kind and gentle. I don't remember about the studying, but I well remember about the playing and the nice cookies she so often gave us. The kitchen was just back of the schoolroom, and the dumb-waiter that you pushed with your hand carried the food to the dining-room upstairs. One day it was my turn to hide in our play of hide-and-seek, and I spied the dumb waiter, so I crept in on one of the shelves and drew the door shut. As I did so the waiter started upward and about halfway up stopped. I was delighted, for I was sure my little friends would never find me. I could hear them calling and running about, but after a little while all was quiet, so I knew they must have gone home, for this was after school, when dear Miss Hull would let us stay and play together as long as we wished. So I thought I would go home, too, but I could not move the dumb-waiter or open the door; so I began to kick and to scream and my pounding on the door soon brought the maid from the kitchen, who pulled me out safely and with a little shake told me never to do that again; this was quite unnecessary, for I had had visions of never, never getting out of this stuffy little place.

We always had fine horses that were raised on the farm. One day when I was about thirteen years old a beautiful bay pony with black mane and tail so long and heavy that it reached to the ground —I mean his tail, not his mane—was brought in from the farm. I went at once and put my arms around his neck and gave him some lumps of sugar, and claimed him for my very own. He understood and accepted me for his very own. He had never been broken, as the term is, but I was not afraid of him. He was always gentle with me and would follow me around the yard and try to find the pocket with the sugar in it. I had my saddle put on him, for I could ride, as all the girls could in those days. He seemed very proud to have me on his back, but I was not allowed to go without a man leading him, but after a little while he behaved so well I could take Billie by myself and go with the other girls. Anna Wells (now Mrs. Robert Smith) was my special chum. Now, Billie was no flirt. He had one love and one only, and often my friends would say, "Let me ride Billie." Of course, I was willing and he was led up to the horse-block, a big round block made from a tree about three feet across with steps cut in the side of it. Well, Anna would mount the steps and I would hold Billie, but just as she was ready to sit on the saddle, Master Billie, in spite of me, would step aside. He would go back again when I coaxed him, but nobody could be quick enough to really get seated, and if they were not careful would take a seat on the ground. One after another of the girls and boys would try, but none was quick enough for Master Billie. Imagine my pride when after they had all tried and tried to get on his back, I'd just give him a little pat, tell him to keep still, and seat myself at my leisure, for the dear creature was as firm as a rock for me and never moved until I told him he could. We always rode a side saddle, and the skirt of my riding habit was long and flowing, which took time to arrange, but Billie never moved until I was ready and told him that he might, and then he would almost fly. Billie was good for quite a long time and minded the bit quite well, but after a while he would take the bit in his teeth and run like mad—and, worse than running, he would go just where he pleased. I was not afraid of him and could stick, no matter how fast he ran, for he never kicked or tried to throw me as he did the man who fed him and kept his beautiful coat so shiny. This man succeeded in mounting him once, but he was over the horse's head so quickly that he did not know what had happened to him and he never tried it again.

Dreadful stories of Billie's antics reached my family and all unknown to me it was decided to sell him. A railroad official who had admired the beauty of my precious pet came one day and bought him. I was told he tried to mount him but could not, so led him to the station, and tied him securely to a hitching-post. The trains came and the trains went, making more noise than they do nowadays, and the busy railroad official bethought him of my dear Billie. He found him lying on the ground twisted in his halter, strangled to death. His attempts to get away had been in vain and so he died. He was my faithful friend and I mourned for him as if he had been human. He was all the world to me and it was such a cruel blow to a little girl, thus to lose her pet.

About this time it was decided that it would be well for me to go East to school. A lady friend who was going East offered to take charge of me and place me in school. For two weeks again we were on the boat before we reached Buffalo. Then by rail to Utica, New York, and the nice school was, I think, four miles by stage—at York Mills, the place where the famous York Mills cotton cloth was made. At this time postage stamps were first used. The post office was a little general store. I remember best the nice candy they had. When we mailed a letter we could pay for it, or we could buy a stamp, just as we pleased, or we could send it and let the person receiving it pay, and I think the price was five cents.

I spent the summer in this little town, and when Miss Kelly's school in Utica opened I went there. There were three maiden sisters. Anna, the eldest, was the head of the school. The next one was a teacher and the youngest one was the housekeeper. It was a fine school and the teachers were especially strict about our table manners. Why, if a girl rested her arms on the table higher than her wrist, she was sent to her room hungry; no coming back for that meal! We all thought it was terrible to be so severely punished, but now I think it was all right. Later I went to the Packer Institute in Brooklyn, and have one of the old catalogues in which my name appears in the list of those who were students in the collegiate department during the year ending July 6, 1855.

Can any one living in this age of wonders of invention realize those days without any of the necessaries of life—at least, as we now consider them? The telephone that we have had not so very long, how would the work of the world go on without it? The auto-

mobile, and soon the flying machine, and all the household conveniences too numerous to mention! All the electrical devices! Of the sewing machine, I remember the salesrooms were first opened in Milwaukee in 1858, and our seamstress said that if machines *did* do all the sewing she *never* would work for less than one dollar a day, which soon became one dollar and fifty cents, and now what are the prices? And when we have only to press the button for heat and light, give a thought to the days of log fires and tallow dips, and to our earlier age when the light of the blazing fire was all the light to be had.

DOCUMENTS

A WINTER'S JOURNEY FROM MILWAUKEE TO GREEN BAY, 1843

INCREASE ALLEN LAPHAM[1]

On Monday, Feb. 20, A. D. 1843, very early in the morning I took leave of my wife and family, being duly supplied by her with overcoats, cloaks and furs sufficient for a winter exposure at the North Pole, and left Milwaukee for a jaunt to the north in my cutter drawn by my favorite horse "Adelaide." As I passed through the streets but few signs of life were to be seen, at least human life; for at this early hour only the most industrious and enterprising (like myself) had shaken off old Morpheus and commenced their daily occupations.

Soon after passing the corporation line the moisture in the atmosphere began to congeal and fall in the form of hard round drops of snow or hail, which upon striking against me left a kind of sting which can be compared only to the bite of a mosquito. These drops gradually became larger and less compact until we had a regular built snow storm and I found my umbrella a very useful article. I went a little out of my road to call on my friend Gen. Crawford,[2] whose accomplished daughter intended to accompany me as far as Tacheeda (Home-on-the-Lake). . . .

On reaching the house I found that my expected companion had decided *not* to go, and I proceeded on my way through the falling snow and through the woods solitary and alone!

To a person of contemplative mind this is by far the most agreeable way of traveling. The mind then has free scope to wander at random or to pursue certain courses of thought, or even to remain without any thoughts at all as may best suit one's own inclination. We can then direct our thoughts to such objects as most particularly interest us without being disturbed and distracted by the observations and thoughts of others. I therefore

[1] For an appreciation of Increase A. Lapham, see *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, i, 3-15 (September, 1917).

[2] General John Crawford lived in what is now Wauwatosa; for a sketch of this pioneer, who was later a member of the first constitutional convention, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xxvii, 767.

endeavored to persuade myself that I was precisely one of that sort of persons and look upon it as fortunate that I was alone. Was this not philosophy?

By following some partially beaten tracks through the woods and by small clearings I soon gained the main road and set Adelaide going in earnest for Fond du Lac, the first town of much importance to be met with on this road. The quantity of saw logs, fire wood and other products of the forest and the farms brought down this road is such that a very smooth and hard track is made over which we glided swiftly and easily having only to be careful to avoid striking the stumps and logs that are very close to the road. I crossed the east branch of the Menomonee and passed a sleigh load of men, at the same time, all covered with snow which was falling.[3]

At fifteen miles from Milwaukee I passed in sight of the saw mill at Menomonee Falls, an interesting little water fall, which I did not see and consequently will not describe. Abundance of excellent lime stone may be quarried here, some good as building material.

Made the next halt at Vaughn's, seventeen miles from town where there is a very copious spring of pure water. Such springs are common here. From this place the settlements began to be more scarce and the distance between houses to increase rapidly. All exhibit indubitable evidence of recent construction, indeed one year ago scarcely any improvement could have been found beyond this point.

At two dined at Case's Half Way House, being just thirty-two miles from Milwaukee and the same distance from Fond du Lac, agreeably to the road survey made last summer. About eight miles back I passed that belt of hilly and very broken country that passes from "Death's Door," at the outlet of Green Bay across the territory and into Illinois. All roads from Lake Michigan west necessarily pass this belt of uneven country.

Mr. Case only got here last October, he emigrated from Sauk Washington in the eastern part of Washington county,[4] his present location is in Dodge county. It is surprising to see how much im-

[3] The winter of 1842-43 was one of heavy snows; the sleighing was continuous from November to April.

[4] Sauk Washington of Washington County was so called to distinguish it from Sauk City and Sauk Prairie in Sauk County. Sauk Washington was the village on Sauk Creek now known as Saukville.

provement has been made in this short space of time. His Entry is in section 2, Town 10, Range 17.

Fourteen miles further brought us to Rock river (where I arrived before the sun had made his exit for the day) at the point entered by Mr. Juneau S. W. ¼ Sec. 10, Town 12, Range 16.[5] With one or two slight exceptions the country passed over today is covered with forest trees of the same kind that constitute the woods at Milwaukee. A very small prairie is crossed at Case's, but hardly large enough to be worthy of notice.

Several places showed where deer had trampled down the snow and dug holes in it to procure acorns in a manner similar to swine, indeed had it been a more thickly settled part of the country the hogs would have had the entire credit of making these holes.

As we approached the river, the signs of Indians became more and more frequent and finally I met two squaws. Several abandoned wigwams had been seen during the day consisting of poles bent over and united at the top so as to form, when covered, a hemisphere and towards evening several sugar houses in a state of neglect and decay were seen. These are made of split logs and are of much larger dimensions and have more the appearance of a house than the wigwam. Several scaffolds were seen, made of crotched sticks supporting poles laid horizontally against one or more trees. These are said to be for various purposes, but especially for a hiding place when an Indian lies in wait for the approach of deer that are thus unconsciously brought within reach of his un-erring aim. Dead bodies of their distinguished men are sometimes placed in similar situations.

There is a very common practice here of marking trees, the guide boards consist of marks with red chalk on the smoothed surface of a tree and if a person makes a claim on a tract of land his name usually appears at some conspicuous place on a tree. This afternoon I passed a place where there was an index or hand pointing down towards a deep hollow and was marked "To H—l"! Probably put there by some person who met with some difficulty in the place and took this method of expressing his ill humor. I felt a satisfaction in knowing that "the straight and narrow road" which I was pursuing did not lead in that direction! This trivial

[5] Probably this should be range 17, where later Juneau's village named Theresa was platted. Solomon Juneau had a trading post there in the decade of the thirties. He removed thither from Milwaukee in 1852.

circumstance is well calculated to lead to important reflections. How few of the ways that lead in real life to that place are so well pointed out to the unwary traveler! Many have been led astray and have traveled down this broad road for want of a simple "guide board" to show him which road to travel, and fortunate is he whose own judgment will always enable him to decide which is the narrow and which the broad road.

About one hundred Indians constituting one of the twelve bands of the tribe called "Menomonees" or "Wild Rice Eaters" are now living near this place, subsisting upon venison and fish and preparing to make maple sugar in the spring. During the evening several of these Indians came to Mr. Darling's house where I was stopping in the famous village of Fond du Lac, which consists of two houses, one a blacksmith shop![6] Among these Indians was the chief of the band whose name is Saugun or "He who scares every body," a tall good looking man except when he smiles and shows his fine row of pure white teeth in a most ludicrous manner.

During our last war with Great Britain this man took an active part against the United States at Mackinac and Chicago. At the latter place he assisted in the horrible massacre of the garrison. He relates, as I am informed by Mr. Narcisse Juneau, that the *whites* would not have been arrested in their march but for the interference of a "Half Breed." Historians inform us that the fort was surrendered with all the public property on condition that the whites should be allowed to go home unmolested, that the powder was, contrary to this agreement, thrown into the well and the whisky thrown away by the soldiers before they left, fearing to trust these things in the hands of the savages, and that as soon as the Indians discovered this want of faith they followed the retiring garrison and killed every one of them! But Mr. Juneau says the Commandant at the Fort had, before leaving, given each Indian a shirt as a present and that the half-breed above mentioned, told them that the smallpox was in every shirt and that they were given to the Indians for their destruction. Immediately the war cry was raised and the pursuit commenced. The Commandant was the last to share the fate of his companions. Mounted on a horse with his *daughter* behind him, he ran from the horrible scene and for some unknown reason, he directed his course back towards the fort. His

[6] Mason C. Darling was one of the founders of Fond du Lac, settling there in 1838. See sketch in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, 52-54.

motive for this was immediately supposed, by the Indians to be to kill all the squaws, who were left unprotected at the fort, before the men could return, and thus revenge the loss of his own life and that of his companions. His daughter was first shot and fell from behind him, next his horse and finally *he* was shot by some secret foe. Such was the revengeful feeling entertained towards him in consequence of the false statements of the half-breed, that his heart was taken out and eaten by these savage demons of the forest! This half-breed still lives to brood over his crimes. Many interesting facts might probably be gathered from this aged man relative to the war and the state of the country at this time.[7] . . .

At Juneau's the Indians were under the effect of a barrel of liquor dealt out gratis by a man from Green Lake last Sunday,—the effect could be seen and heard. Mr. Juneau showed me the horns of two bucks so interlocked that the strongest men have been unable to separate them. They were purchased of an Indian who saw them while yet alive and fastened together in this manner. He shot the smaller of the two, the other immediately threw him over his head and could not extricate himself, and was also killed by the Indian. I was shown also a war club with a wolf carved upon it by an Indian. It was more the shape of a lizard than a wolf. Querie,—are not many of the lizard mounds intended for wolves rather than lizards?[8]

Upon asking Mr. Juneau the name of a certain Indian, he declined giving it in his presence as it is not considered polite and decorous to do so, indeed it is usually taken as an insult! This man had a pouch made of the skin of a skunk. Beaver were found in this part of the country until about fifteen years ago. Badger skins are used, and the flesh eaten.

Mr. Juneau resides near the spot where Burnet was murdered in 1836 [1835] by an Indian, while in company with Capt. James Clyman, he was searching for a "water power." Just as he was blowing up the fire to cook their evening meal the fatal aim was

[7] The Indian narrative of the Chicago massacre of 1812 is interesting as throwing light on the aggressors' recollections. The one called the "commandant" was not Captain Nathan Heald, who commanded the fort, but Major William Wells, who came to escort the garrison to Fort Wayne. The wife of Captain Heald was his niece—"daughter," in Indian parlance. The half-breed mentioned was probably Perishe Le Claire, known to have been in the attacking party.

[8] This is a reference to the effigy mounds, which Lapham was among the first to note and describe. The so-called lizard mounds are now thought to have represented a mythical being called the water spirit.

taken. Clyman was shot in the arm but succeeded by great exertion in making his escape and arrived at Milwaukee. The murder was committed to revenge the death of a brother-in-law of the Indian, who was shot by a soldier at Fort Winnebago. The body of Burnet was placed in a marsh and covered with sod, a long pole stuck into the ground indicated the spot.[9]

After leaving Darling's I rode three and a half miles across the prairie where I saw Indian mounds. Found a ridge running parallel to Lake Winnebago to Tacheeda, where there is a store and five or six neatly painted frame houses.[10] Lake Winnebago is covered with ice, I could not see the north coast. I came very near perishing last fall on this lake about one mile from shore in a shallow place.

Beyond Tacheeda I met teams hauling limestone from the "Ledge" giving evidence of enterprise and improvement. Overtook two Brothertown Indians, one with a wooden leg, took them into my cutter, they were very polite, intelligent and thankful for the short ride.[11]

Limestone similar to that of Milwaukee, destitute of organic remains. The road goes along a ledge above the tops of the trees in the bottom near Lake W[innebago]. Crossed a deep valley and brook on both sides of which are high mounds. Ten miles from Tacheeda I passed Pipe Village, where there are three houses and a blacksmith shop, which don't go.[12] Half a mile further passed a new frame house, immense cornice, no trees or other appearance of taste. Stopped at Fowler's seventeen miles from Fond du Lac, forty-two from Green Bay and sixty-four from Milwaukee.[13] Brothertowns first settled here nine years ago, they have lost their

[9] For a brief account of this incident, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, 477. Doctor Draper collected considerable material on this Indian difficulty, especially on the career of James Clyman, who later emigrated to California. A life of Clyman is being prepared by Professor Charles L. Camp of the University of California.

[10] For a sketch of Taycheedah, see *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, iv., 428-433 (June, 1920).

[11] The Brothertown Indians were tribesmen who removed to Wisconsin in the early nineteenth century. See an account of them in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, 291-298. Many of their descendants live in Calumet County.

[12] Pipe, or Calumet, village is sketched in *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, vii, 445-458.

[13] William Fowler was a Brothertown Indian who kept a noted tavern, and was at one time a member of the territorial legislature. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xv, 253.

language and speak English. Passed Doty's road from Sauk Harbor yesterday.[14]

A religious meeting was held in the house where I staid attended by Brothertowns. The language used by the leader was very correct and appropriate, he associated each quotation from Scripture with the number of chapter and verse, all appeared to be pious, many spoke, one old man appeared especially anxious to save sinners. He had been for forty-three years a sinner, could not bear to have his wife (now in Heaven) read her Bible. The meeting lasted until nearly eleven, afterwards the hostess gave orders for tea and a warm supper for "Daniel" who had just returned home with a load of lumber.

I left Fowlers on the 22nd at 8 o'clock. The weather clear and cold, I needed all my furs. First eight miles all Basswood, sixteen miles began to see Pine with other trees, it soon became common and continued to Green Bay. Struck the Neenah [Fox] river fifteen miles above the Bay, it is a broad stream, banks high and bold and continued so to the Bay.

Depere a pretty town,—some aircastles. Dam partially repaired, saw mill in operation. Thence to Green Bay, appearance of an old country, many houses decaying. Put up at the 'Astor House' kept by Mr. Green, on the 22nd. The three following days attended to business. Visited Mr. Ellis, member of Legislature who resides near here.[15] Rode to Depere twice.

Sunday the 26th. Last night a severe gale with snow commenced which continued through this day and night, the severest storm of this winter. The Astor House was made in the day of speculators, does not stand plumb, rooms cracked, large snow drifts forced through cracks in every window and door, well furnished and as well kept as can be at Green Bay. Town very dull, very little business. Too far ahead of the country, which is none of the best and consequently will be filled up but slowly. When that is done the town will again improve. The citizens live in the hope of the improvement of the Neenah and Wisconsin rivers from which they expect much. Went to Church, which (in some measure owing to

[14] Sauk Harbor was a proposed village at the mouth of Sauk Creek, on the site of the present Port Washington.

[15] Albert G. Ellis was speaker of the territorial house of representatives. It would seem that Lapham's concern on this journey was to interest prominent members of the legislature in his plan to secure a land grant from Congress to care for the dependent classes, such as the dumb, blind, and insane. He prepared a petition to that effect, which passed the legislature in April, 1843.

the storm) was but poorly attended. Church highly ornamented, a poor place to learn humility.[16] Good sermon, the clergyman disapproved of children making opposition to their parents, churches to their clergy and people to their governors!

Mr. Horner, formerly Governor of Michigan, now of the Land Office at Green Bay, stops at the Astor House. Mr. Martin, another member, arrived from Milwaukee.[17] A Lyceum formed here, also a Temperance Society.

Started for home at 3 o'clock Feb. 27th, rode twenty-four miles to a tavern. Here the storm which commenced at Green Bay in the night, did not commence until about noon—singular for it blew in this direction. S. W.

On the 28th I rode to Juneau on the Rock river fifty-five miles, reaching home, forty-six miles on the 1st of March.

[16] Probably this was Christ Episcopal Church, the corner stone of which was laid by Bishop Kemper in 1838, and the edifice completed in 1840. It burned in 1898. Lapham may have attended the Presbyterian Church, built in 1838, burned in 1881.

[17] For Governor John Scott Horner, see Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1920, 64-65. Morgan L. Martin's life is sketched in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, 380-384.

COMMUNICATIONS

"FORGOT TO ORDER"

In early days, and to some extent in some countries even in these times, in shipping lines, it was thought necessary to furnish the crew with "a gill of rum" as part of their rations, to have it handy for steamboatmen, miners, and many other workmen, including lumbermen. The crews could not be induced to leave the towns where whisky was to be had freely unless they were assured they could get some where they were going. This was the condition in northern Wisconsin when John H. Knapp and William Wilson bought the Upper Mill on the Red Cedar River, June 1, 1846. They found they had bought a small stock of goods including a barrel of whisky. They were both positive temperance men, prohibitionists, and did not at all like the idea of dispensing liquor. They talked it over with the men, but the crew thought they must have it or quit; so it was by suffrance that the traffic was continued for a while.

Captain Wilson looked after the sawing of the lumber and the selling of the little stock of goods, making a memorandum of supplies needed, etc.; while Mr. Knapp took the rafted lumber down the Red Cedar, Chippewa, and Mississippi rivers to the various little towns, where as opportunity offered he sold the lumber, usually having to give considerable time to the purchaser; bought the supplies called for by the memorandum—usually at Galena and St. Louis,—and then returned to the mill, bringing the supplies with him by steamboat to the foot of Lake Pepin, and by canoe, batteau, or keelboat up the swift current to the mill.

Discussing the whisky question one day, Captain Wilson said, "Well, Mr. Knapp, you buy the whisky and bring it up, so I have it to sell."

"Yes, Captain, that is true, but you make out the list of what you want, and I buy just what your list calls for. If you did not list whisky I would not buy it."

It was the custom when the keelboat came to "Rapid Across" nearly a mile below the mill, for the mill to be shut down, the crew going down to the boat, manning the tow rope, and pulling the keel-

boat over the swift water; then each one was given a drink of whisky. The next trip after the conversation above mentioned, when the keelboat was at last tied to the bank near the mill, the men came for their usual drink, but did not find any. They turned to Captain Wilson, saying, "There is no whisky." The captain knew the reason, but to ease matters he said, "Mr. Knapp, the men say there is no whisky."

"No, Captain, there was no whisky on the list and so I did not buy any."

The captain said, "I must have forgotten it when making out the list."

It was agreed that he should always "forget" to order it; he did, and this closed the incident to their great satisfaction, and incidentally proved that the men were reasonable, if approached in the right way.

HENRY E. KNAPP, *Menomonie.*

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

Our readers have, no doubt, remarked the changed appearance of our cover. As a magazine of history, it behooves us to present from time to time the several emblems of the state. Until now the state flag has first met the eye of our readers. With this number the flag is replaced by the first state seal, that was in use from the day of the state's admission to the Union, May 29, 1848, for about three years. The first state seal was a replica, with a few slight changes, of Wisconsin's second territorial seal, adopted in 1838. It was designed by William Wagner, an artist of York, Pennsylvania, and is intended to represent the several resources and industries of the commonwealth. In the foreground is the farmer in the act of plowing. In the middle distance is a conventionalized view of the first capitol at Madison; that this was drawn before the building of the capitol is proved by a comparison with the pictures of the first capitol when finished. On either side of the building rise the rocks and hills of western Wisconsin; on those at the right appear buildings supposed to represent a flour mill, and possibly a shot tower, such as the one at Old Helena. These were the manufacturing interests of the state. Commerce is represented by the sailboat on the right, emblematic of lake traffic; and the Mississippi steamboat on the left. In the center are the products of Wisconsin's resources—a sheaf of wheat, a barrel of flour, and a cob house of pig metal from the lead mines. These are flanked by a traditional horn of plenty, and an Indian with bow and arrows. It is worthy of note that the Indian in the territorial seal appeared in scantier and more natural garb than the coat and trousers of the one on this earliest state seal. The motto explains itself: "Civilization succeeds barbarism." Our cover representation gives this interesting and historic emblem in its full size.

The seventy-third annual meeting of our Society will be held at the library on the third Thursday of October at 2:30 o'clock. All members are welcome at the business session. There will probably be a dinner, and the address will be delivered by Frederic L. Paxson, professor of history at the University and curator of the Society.

During the quarter ending July 10, 1925, there were fifteen additions to the membership of the State Historical Society. Six persons enrolled as life members: Arthur T. Adams, Minneapolis, Minn.; Lester J. Cappon, Milwaukee; Robert C. O'Malley, Madison; Bernard M. Palmer, Janesville; DeWitt F. Riess, Sheboygan; Helen F. Thompson, Park Falls.

Seven persons became annual members, as follows: Loraine Brenner, Fond du Lac; Robert E. LaDue, Green Bay; Leslie Johnson, West Salem; George E. Luther, Jackson, Mich.; Lydia L. Meyer, Grafton; Frank J. Studnicka, Milwaukee; Royal B. Way, Beloit.

The Grand Rapids Public Library, Grand Rapids, Michigan, joined as an institutional member; the State Board of Vocational Education, Madison, as a Wisconsin school member.

John T. Kenney, Madison, changed his membership from annual to life.

ACQUISITIONS

The Society has recently acquired the papers of William R. Taylor, of Cottage Grove, Democratic governor of Wisconsin from 1874 to 1876. Governor Taylor, who was a self-made man, came to Wisconsin in 1848, and bought a farm at Cottage Grove, where he also taught school and kept a store. In 1852-53 he was in the lumber camps of the upper Wisconsin River, and some of the most interesting of his papers deal with the contracts for rafting and running lumber from Stevens Point and above in those years. After that experience he lived quietly at home until the Civil War, when he was actively engaged in raising the bounty and in attending to the enlistment quotas for his town. A few papers in this collection relate to these Civil War experiences; there are also some papers concerning insurance interests in the early sixties.

Taylor entered politics through the door of local service. He held many county offices, such as supervisor, member of board of equalization, etc. He also took great interest in agricultural organizations, and was an active worker for the state fairs and a member of the Grange. He was also in the state legislature, in both houses, and well informed of the practical basis of state government. There is little in these papers relating to his term as governor, except clippings from the newspapers and notes for speeches. The bulk of the four boxes of material is composed of correspondence and business transactions post-dating his governorship. In these years he entered into an extensive experiment in cranberry culture, and bought and sold on the Chicago Board of Trade. Occasional sidelights on the political situation appear in his later correspondence. There is also considerable material on agricultural history, and some on emigration from the state to the enticing lands farther west. The entire collection illustrates a somewhat typical career of a Wisconsin man in the last century, and fills a gap in the collection of papers of representative men that the Society is undertaking to assemble.

Frank Hoard, of Fort Atkinson, has presented to the Society a small number of the papers of his father, Governor William Dempster Hoard. It is with much regret we note that we have so meager a number of letters written to Governor Hoard. Among those presented are a few from William Howard Taft, while he was president; one from Booker T. Washington; and some written in World War times on the significance of the Bennett Law of 1888. The bulk of the one box of papers classified under the governer's name consists of addresses and editorials written in the author's own hand. These serve as a memorial to him, and will

constitute the Hoard papers of our Society's collection unless additional material shall in the future supplement them.

An important recent "find" at Oshkosh consists of the letter book of James D. Doty, formerly the property of his granddaughter, Mary Doty Fitzpatrick. Copies of the letters from this early letter book extending in time from June, 1822, to September, 1829, have been furnished our Society. The book itself comprises one hundred and sixty-five pages; its contents deal with settlers' claims, roads and mail carrying, Indian affairs, boundaries and jurisdiction, and include good descriptions of Detroit and Sault Ste. Marie one hundred years ago.

A manuscript genealogy of the Williams family covering four hundred and forty typewritten pages has been presented to our Society by Charles Crosby Williams, of Los Angeles, California. It includes several prominent families of pioneer Wisconsin.

W. W. Bartlett, of Eau Claire, has presented to the Society some papers on modern lumbering, including the letters describing a trip in 1921 to the lumber camps on the upper Chippewa; and an interview with Bruno Vinette, a lumberjack of the fifties.

NECROLOGY

In our last number we noted the death of the last Wisconsin governor of the nineteenth century. At this time we regret to chronicle the passing of two more recent holders of the gubernatorial office. Emanuel L. Phillip, who died on June 15, was born in Sauk County in 1861, the son of Swiss immigrants to this region. Governor Phillip began commercial life as a telegrapher, and by that door entered railroading, which he followed until 1893, when he became head of a lumber interest in Mississippi. In 1897 he organized a refrigerator transit company, which in 1903 was incorporated in Wisconsin; he was also owner of a large model farm, and devoted attention to raising stock. Elected to head the state in 1914, he was reëlected in 1916 and became a most able and effective war governor, placing Wisconsin in the front rank of the states for both home and foreign service. Reëlected for the second time in 1918, he was the first Wisconsin governor since the time of Rusk to serve for six years—three full official terms.

Robert M. LaFollette, who died at Washington on June 19, was a figure of national fame; nevertheless, he was always peculiarly and especially "LaFollette of Wisconsin." Born in Primrose, Dane County, June 14, 1855, he had just passed his seventieth milestone when he was called away. As governor and curator ex-officio of our Society he held office from 1901 to 1905, when he resigned to take his place in the United States Senate, where he served until his death. His candidacy for the presidency in 1924 on an independent ticket is too well known for comment.

Just as we go to press word comes of the death July 9, at Madison, of Mrs. Lucius Fairchild, widow of former Governor Fairchild. A more

extended notice of the life and services of this "elect lady" will appear in our next issue.

Mrs. Kate Hamilton Pier died at Fond du Lac June 23, the day after celebrating her eightieth birthday; she was buried on the fifty-ninth anniversary of her marriage to Colonel Colwert K. Pier, a veteran officer of the Civil War. Mrs. Pier was the first woman lawyer in Wisconsin, graduating with her daughter in 1887 from the law school of the University. Father, mother, and daughter formed a law partnership in Milwaukee, where later two other daughters were added to the firm. In 1891 Mrs. Pier was appointed court commissioner, the first woman in the United States to hold that office. Educated by her father as a business woman, she was the pioneer business and professional woman of the state. At the time of her death she was charter member of the Milwaukee Business and Professional Women's Club, member of the state and national bar associations, founder and ex-president of the Portia Club of women lawyers. Her daughter, Mrs. Kate Pier McIntosh, has a distinguished record in legal annals.

Father Chrysostom Verwyst, one of our most valued contributors and correspondents, died at the Bayfield monastery of the Franciscan order on June 23. In 1916 he wrote for our annual *Proceedings* an account of his early life, in which he described his removal to America in 1848 when seven years old, and the settlement where he and his parents lived in Hollandtown, Brown County. In 1865 he was ordained for the priesthood, and stationed not far from the Menominee reservation in Shawano County; thirteen years later he was sent to Bayfield to take charge of the mission to the Chippewas of that place. He soon became an authority on the language of these tribesmen, and in 1892 contributed to our Society's *Collections,* xii, an article on "Chippewa Geographical Names." For the next volume he wrote "Historic Sites on Chequamegon Bay." His knowledge of early Wisconsin history was profound, and his passing will be deeply regretted by all interested in the northern portion of the state.

Venerable Brother Wendelin Gross, the blacksmith of the brotherhood at St. Nazianz in Manitowoc County, paid the debt of nature June 26. He came from Baden, where he was born eighty-four years ago, in order to serve and labor in the religious community founded by Father Oschwald. Brother Gross was an able craftsman, and mended many an implement for the pioneer farmers of the neighborhood; he was also a humble pietist and joined in the religious exercises of the brotherhood.

Sebastian Duerst, one of the two remaining emigrants of the New Glarus colony, died at Albany, Wisconsin, April 25. He was born in Glarus, Switzerland, in 1837 and came to Wisconsin at the age of eight. An account of this migration is published in *Wis. Hist. Colls.,* viii, 411-439; xii, 335-382; the diary of Duerst's father was translated and published, *ibid.,* xv, 292-337.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Green Bay Historical Society held its annual meeting May 9, on which occasion President H. E. Cole of our Society read the paper on the Military Road which we incorporate in this number of the magazine. In this connection the first four miles of the old road was named the Brown County Memorial Road in honor of the service men of the late World War. Three parks have been purchased and are to be dedicated along this highway—the first marking the site of the first courthouse; the second, the early home of Judge Doty; and the third, the Smith cantonment buildings. Each park will be enclosed with an ornamental fence and marked with a granite boulder containing a bronze tablet. The *Bulletin* of the Green Bay Society continues to present interesting material. The April number contains an article on "La Baye," the old French post, by Arthur C. Neville; and one on "Navarino," by Deborah B. Martin. The June number publishes for the first time, we believe, the original journal of an officer who accompanied Captain William McKay on his expedition in 1814 through Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien.

The Waukesha County Historical Society held its nineteenth annual meeting on May 16, when the report of the historical essay contest was given. Jeanette Gilbert, of the Hartland high school, was the winner for her paper on the early history of Hartland.

The Chippewa Valley Historical Society held a most interesting session on June 6 at Jim Falls, when Anna Ermatinger, granddaughter of the founder of the town, acted as hostess, arranging a program and showing the relics of her pioneer ancestors. The chief feature of the occasion was a paper by W. W. Bartlett on "Early Fur Traders of Chippewa Valley." Among these were members of the Warren, Cadotte, and Ermatinger families, noted since Wisconsin's first days. The address was published in both the Eau Claire *Leader* and the *Telegram*.

The Winnebago County Historical Society gathered on June 14 for its fourth annual pilgrimage—this time to Stanley's Landing on Wolf River. Rain somewhat interfered with the program, which was prepared by the Reverend Francis Dayton, of New London, and consisted of an informal excursion to the Indian remains in the vicinity and an account of their historical significance. The society has prepared its program for the ensuing year, and offers papers of interest for each monthly meeting.

The Fond du Lac County Historical Society holds its meetings in connection with the County Community Club. On June 5 Miss Julia Gibbons reviewed in a paper of much interest the county's pioneer Irish settlement. Two weeks later the society and club met at the hospitable home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles L. Hill, of Rosendale, when a plea for the historical society was made by Mrs. Angeletha Scribner. After this,

a pageant with historical emphasis was presented by the pupils of the Rosendale union high school.

A meeting was called at Trempealeau in mid-June to promote the project of a road to the Perrot State Park. Judge Hensel gave a historical address outlining Perrot's early achievements in that region. Nearly six hundred people responded to the invitation, and interest in the road seems assured.

A historical museum is rapidly developing in the new Kenosha courthouse, due to the interest of the custodian of the building and the generosity of the residents. Among the relics is a collection of old guns including rifles, flintlocks, and shotguns; relics of the first fire companies, primitive agricultural implements, and Indian artifacts. We commend all such efforts to preserve the possessions of our grandparents.

LOCAL HISTORY IN THE NEWSPAPERS

A very remarkable and valuable history of Racine's pioneer period appeared in the *Times-Call* of that city during the early summer, prepared by the well-known local historian E. W. Leach. This series of articles contains not only the best and most complete history of first days in Racine, but many original letters from the founders of the community. It is hoped that this history will be reprinted in permanent form.

All around the circle interest in local history is growing apace. We note the following articles that have recently appeared: In the Haywood *Record* came out "Early Days on Namekagon River"; in the Viroqua *Censor*, "Vernon County in 1856," by Dr. C. V. Porter; in the Superior *Telegram*, "Superior of the Sixties"; in the Merrill *Herald*, "A Pioneer Jenny Newspaper"; in the Waukesha *Freeman*, "A Few Sketches of Pioneer Life," by Mary E. Stewart. The Neillsville *Press* republished the *Clark County Sketch Book* of 1875. The Shullsburg *Pick and Gad* had several articles on "Auld Lang Syne," by Mabel Matl and Geneva James. In the Lancaster *Herald* Judge Wilmot wrote of the days of the Potosi pioneers; while the Brodhead *Register* published "Tales of the First Settlers" as told to the librarian, Jessie E. Sprague. The Plymouth *Herald* found in California an early newspaper published at Glenbeulah, entitled the *Elevator*, and reproduced most of its contents. "Early Waushara County History" appeared in recent numbers of the Wautoma *Argus*. The Stevens Point *Journal* had an article on "Portage County Wilderness," rehearsing the history of the city's patronym, George Stevens. The Sheboygan *Press-Telegram* continues its monthly edition called the *Pioneer*, in which have appeared several articles of value; it also published a sketch of the city of Kiel. Senator W. A. Titus' able address on the first things in Fond du Lac, given before the Kiwanis Club, was printed in full in the Fond du Lac *Commonwealth*.

ANNIVERSARIES AND PAGEANTS

Articles appearing in the Milwaukee *Sonntagspost,* May last, related the founding of Plymouth, Wisconsin, eighty years ago, and gave interesting pictures of early log homes, taverns, and pioneers.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Marathon County was celebrated at the spring meeting of the county board, when Eugene B. Thayer read a sketch of the beginnings of the settlement, and made a strong plea for the local historical society and a place to preserve the relics already collected. Judge Louis Marchetti, one of Wausau's best informed pioneers, gave on the same occasion his reminiscences of early days on the upper Wisconsin, in which, in a burst of local patriotism, he proclaimed Marathon "one of the best counties in the state."

The Milwaukee Musical Society celebrated in May the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding. The Academy of Music (now Schubert's Theatre) was built more than a half-century ago by the efforts of this society, and under its auspices the musical interests of the metropolis grew apace. Some of the performances were by amateur talent; at other times the best professionals were brought there, and the fame of Milwaukee as a musical center is in large part due to this society.

The Normanna Sangerkor of La Crosse is the oldest Norwegian musical society in America. It was founded in 1869 by C. R. Jackwitz, a cousin of the poet Bjornson; the next year this society was invited to Madison, where, as the guests of Ole Bull, its members participated in a concert for the benefit of the State University Library. The choir is still in active practice and planning to take part in the Chicago May festival next year. The Normanna is the oldest of six Scandinavian singing societies now functioning in Wisconsin, and its achievements have done much to stimulate musical interests among the Norse-Americans of the entire Northwest.

Libraries, while among the most forward-looking of our educational institutions, sometimes pause long enough to examine their past and recount their anniversaries. The Madison Free Library noted the completion in 1925 of fifty years of service for the capital city. In 1875 the Madison Institute, organized on a private basis, turned over its four thousand volumes to the city, which agreed to make provision for their care. July 18, 1853, the legislature by special act chartered the Madison Institute, whose object was to promote the higher interests of the city by collecting a library and providing lectures. The work of this institute was highly successful; by its means, lecturers of national reputation, such as Horace Greeley and Bayard Taylor, were brought to Madison and a considerable library collected. This library was usable only by subscribing members, but when in 1875 the Free Library was organized and located in the city hall, the books became accessible to all residents. The library of four thousand volumes has become one of sixty-

five thousand, with a staff of seventeen members and twenty-one thousand borrowers yearly. The present building was erected in 1905-1906.

Kenosha also had a library anniversary, when on May 30 it recalled the twenty-five years of usefulness in the Gilbert M. Simmons building, which was dedicated in 1900. Before that time the Kenosha public library had not been adequately equipped for the needs of the community. The generosity of Mr. Simmons has provided facilities which make this library a prominent factor in the development of the city. Bishop Fallows was the orator of the day, at the dedication of the present building.

Among the churches anniversaries have been multiplying. The First Baptist Church of Fond du Lac was eighty years old on May 21, and held a three days' celebration at which the historical sketch was presented by Miss Ida Searl.

The First Presbyterian Church of Portage celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary June 27-28. An exhibit of historical relics and a pageant of early church life were among the features that interested large audiences on those days.

St. Augustine Catholic Church of Trenton, not far from West Bend, will celebrate its diamond jubilee (seventy-fifth anniversary) on Labor Day of this year.

St. Lawrence's Catholic parish of Jefferson held a diamond jubilee on June 21 in honor of the first log church building erected in 1846 for the newly-arrived Germans.

St. Michael's Church at Dane held a golden jubilee for its fiftieth anniversary on June 21. The church was beautifully decorated for the occasion and provided with new altar furniture. Many former parishioners returned for the celebration.

St. John's Nopomuc Church at Castle Rock, the home of the Catholic Bohemians of that locality, was started fifty years ago. Its history is recounted in the Fennimore *Times* by Laura Luchar, pupil in the graded school at Castle Rock.

St. Mary's Catholic Church at Juneau observed its fiftieth anniversary June 24, when high mass was read and a jubilee sermon preached before many visiting priests and parishioners.

St. Mary's Hospital of Green Bay, under the care of the Sisters of the Misericordia, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary on June 27.

The outstanding church celebration of the past quarter was that honoring the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Fond du Lac diocese of the Episcopal Church, and the twenty-fifth year of the incum-

bency of Bishop Reginald H. Weller. The exercises were continued for a week, and a pilgrimage was made to Ripon, Oshkosh, Appleton, Sheboygan, Sheboygan Falls, and Plymouth. The Oneida mission at Duck Creek, which is celebrating one hundred years of continuous service, was also visited. There have been three bishops connected with this diocese: Bishop John Henry Hobart Brown, the founder, 1875-1889; Bishop Charles C. Grafton, 1889-1912; and the present incumbent, who became coadjutor in 1900. The cathedral church is St. Paul's at Fond du Lac, famed for its mural decorations and woodcarving.

The second annual Indian pageant of the Apostle Islands was performed near Bayfield during the two weeks of August 2-16. We are glad to report that the utmost care was taken of the participating Indians, and that the entire affair was under the direction of scholars and historical specialists. The Indian girls of the chorus were all from the colleges provided for Indian youth, and their lives were carefully supervised while engaged in rehearsals and performances. Rena White, of Odanah, who took the part of Ke-wa-de-no-kwa, the "Girl of the North," is a student at Haskell, Kansas. The pageant of 1925 was far finer and more finished than that of last year.

The American School of Wild Life Protection, that has for seven years met each August at McGregor, Iowa, provided on August 18 for an Indian Day to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the famous treaty of Prairie du Chien. Indian descendants of those participating in the treaty were present, and several addresses were given by scholars and experts in Indian lore.

LANDMARKS AND MONUMENTS

The bronze tablet erected at Old Helena on the Wisconsin River, near the place where the army crossed in 1832 when pursuing Black Hawk's hostile band, was unveiled with appropriate exercises on Labor Day. A more extended account will appear in our next issue.

In connection with the Norse-American centennial celebration a replica of the statue to be erected at Madison to Colonel Hans C. Heg was unveiled on June 25 at his birthplace at Lier, Norway. This was the gift of the Norwegian Association and is a cast from the model of the American sculptor, Paul Fjelde. The American minister to Norway delivered the dedication address, and members of the Norwegian cabinet and legislature took part in the proceedings. The Norwegians of Racine County will erect a shaft on Norway Hill in memory of Colonel Heg.

The G. A. R. memorial shaft was unveiled in Riverside Cemetery at Appleton on Memorial Day. The dedicatory address was made by Vilas H. Whaley, past commander of the state American Legion; the Spanish-American War veterans, the Woman's Relief Corps, the Boy and Girl Scouts also took part in the exercises.

A monument at the National Cemetery at Marietta, Georgia, in honor of the Wisconsin soldiers buried there will be erected in the near future. Governor Blaine has appointed a committee to select this monument, provided for by the last legislature.

We are pleased to record that the log cabin of Governor Doty, which stands on the island between Neenah and Menasha, on the land of the late Curator John Strange, will be repaired and preserved. Mrs. Strange has offered the building to the city council, which will remove it to city park land, and rehabilitate both exterior and interior. This relic of pioneer life has always attracted the attention of tourists, and after removal and reconstruction will be open for public inspection.

The Annie C. Stewart memorial fountain, bequeathed some years ago to the Madison Park and Pleasure Drive Association, has been placed on the crest of a hill overlooking Vilas Park. The fountain was executed by the sculptor Frederick J. Clasgens, of Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Delavan Woman's Club unveiled on July 12 a bronze tablet on the site of a former Winnebago village situated on Delavan Lake.

HISTORICAL NOTES

The outstanding historical celebration of the summer was the Norse-American Centennial held at Minneapolis June 6-9, honored as it was by the presence of the President of the United States. This occasion has led to the publication of much historical literature, a large share of which relates to the early life of Norwegians in Wisconsin. The June number of *Minnesota History* was a Norse-American Centennial number, and included an excellent article by Theodore C. Blegen on the attitude of the Norwegian government towards the emigration to America, and a translation of Peter Testman's account of a visit to America in 1839. Of this latter only one copy is known to exist, that in the library of Bergen, Norway. In the June issue of the magazine of the Sons of Norway, Albert O. Barton surveys "The Norwegian Element in America 1825-1925"; the same number of the magazine reprints Ole Rynning's *America Book* in full. Dr. R. B. Anderson, one of our curators, has published *Kleng Peerson og Restarautionen;* and Dr. O. M. Norlie, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has issued a *History of the Norwegian People in America.* Both the Norwegian and English language newspapers have carried long articles of historical import; we note an article sent out by the Associated Press, consisting of an interview with Professor Julius Olson on Wisconsin's participation in the Centennial; the Monroe *Journal* gives an article on the Norwegian settlement at Wiota; the Beloit *News,* one on Rock County immigrants; and the Racine *Journal-News,* one on the Muskego settlement—all accompanied by appropriate illustrations.

In our March number we gave our readers a brief review of Frederic L. Paxson's *History of the American Frontier.* We note that

our opinion of its excellence is shared by high authority, for Professor Paxson was awarded the Pulitzer prize for the "best book on American history" published in 1924.

The Newberry Library of Chicago presented last spring an exhibition of Indian treaties dating back to 1677. Some of these treaties are on the original parchments which were given to the Indian tribesmen, and were obtained from them by the indefatigable collector Edward E. Ayer. A treaty of 1788 covered the cession of the Oneida to New York State, because of which they ultimately migrated to Wisconsin. Other very valuable documents were shown in this exhibit which are of interest to all lovers of western and Indian history.

The manuscript of a brief autobiography written by Abraham Lincoln in 1858 at the request of Jesse Fell is now owned by a Milwaukeean who purchased it from the Fell family. It is hoped that so precious a manuscript may soon be placed in the custody of some public institution.

An item of interest to all students of the fur trade régime is the recent announcement of the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company that the repository of its records in London will soon be open for research and that indexes will be ready to aid the workers.

Louis Houck, of Cape Girardeau, Missouri, the well-known historian of Missouri and the publisher of important papers on the Spanish régime in the Northwest, died at his home last February. Mr. Houck was in early days a student at the University of Wisconsin, later editor of a German paper in Illinois, then lawyer, railroad builder, and historical writer. He favored our Society with copies of the documents he obtained at considerable expense from the archives in Spain.

In our last September number we published an article on the early history of Ripon College, in which mention was made of Jane Bowen as an early student. Mrs. Jane Bowen Shaw is still living at La Grange, Illinois, and, recently, her reminiscences of early Ripon College were published in a local paper and copied by the Fond du Lac *Commonwealth*.

When the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway to the ocean becomes an accomplished fact, and our Lake Michigan ports become harbors for ocean-going vessels, it will be interesting to recall that as long ago as 1876 Captain "Jack" Powers of Racine sailed thence across to Scotland, and returned *without* his vessel. Several other Racine skippers braved the ocean terrors fifty years ago; and most of the lake ports can boast of captains who adventured upon the salt seas. An article in the Racine *Journal-News* of May 2 gives a remarkable sketch of such historic voyages.

Holy Hill, sometimes called the "Wisconsin Lourdes," in southern Washington County is to be surmounted by a new church to replace the brick structure nearly half a century old. The new building will be of

Romanesque architecture crowned with three towers rising one hundred and fifty feet above the hilltop and will become a beacon for many miles around.

State highway number fifty-five, which winds across the Menominee Indian Reservation in Shawano and Oconto counties, follows the line of the old military road that ran north from Fort Howard to Lake Superior. This earlier road was begun in Lincoln's administration and was a land-grant road, built under contract for the alternate sections of land three miles each side of the proposed road. The present highway was opened for automobiles last year.

The sawmill on the Menominee reservation at Neopit burned recently, and the tribesmen are faced with the problem of continuous or occasional occupation. If the government, as is proposed, puts in an enlarged reinforced concrete mill, the twenty million feet of lumber the Indians are allowed to cut annually from their timber lands can be sawed in less than eight months. This would mean long periods of unemployment, and the red men do not want an enlarged mill, but one like that which was burned. Therefore, with the advent of each group of visitors councils are held, and petitions are sent to the supervisors of forests of the Indian Department, to the Congressmen of the district, and to Senator Lenroot. The women's clubs have also taken up the matter, and it is expected that the "Neopit situation" will soon be solved.

MUSEUM NOTES

The American Anthropological Association, Central Section, held its annual meeting at the state museum at Springfield, Illinois, on Friday and Saturday, April 23 and 24. About fifty archeologists and ethnologists from seven Middle-West states were present and participated in the speaking programs. Reports on the progress of state archeological surveys now being conducted in Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Iowa were presented by H. S. Shetrone, C. E. Brown, George R. Fox, and C. R. Keyes. An opportunity was given the members to inspect the very extensive and valuable archeological collections of C. D. Payne, of Springfield. Charles E. Brown, Madison, was elected president of the section, Professor Charles R. Keyes, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, vice-president, and George R. Fox, Three Oaks, Michigan, secretary-treasurer. The 1926 meeting will be held at Columbus, Ohio.

A gavel made from a limb of the famous Logan elm was presented to the section by Dr. William C. Mills, of Columbus, Ohio.

On Saturday, June 20, there were unveiled at the Logan Museum, Beloit College, Wisconsin, twelve large mural paintings illustrating the descent of aboriginal man from the prehistoric cave dwellers of Europe. These are the gift to the museum of Dr. Frank G. Logan, of Chicago. The museums of the Middle West were represented at this ceremony by

Dr. Ralph Linton, of the Field Museum, Chicago, and Charles E. Brown, of the Wisconsin Historical Museum, who were among the speakers on the program. Dr. George L. Collie, its director, has built up at Beloit a very useful museum illustrating American and European archeology.

For the use of students of the summer session of the University of Wisconsin, Charles E. Brown, director of the State Historical Museum at Madison, has published an attractive leaflet entitled "The Trees of the Campus," in which the sixty species of native and twenty species of foreign trees on the University campus are described and located. Among these are a number of historic trees, including a large black locust in the rear of old North Hall, under whose branches the famous American naturalist John Muir received his first botany lesson, and the so-called "Presidents' tree," a large white oak standing on the edge of Observatory Hill, in front of the home of former presidents of the University. Two chapters in this leaflet are devoted to a consideration of the uses of trees and the folklore of trees. In previous years Mr. Brown has published other summer session leaflets, bearing the titles of "Little Walks About Madison," "Indian Folk Lore," "Paul Bunyan Tales," "Flower Toys and Games," "Campus Landmarks," "Wisconsin Indian Tribes," "Lake Mendota Historical Excursion," and "Lake Wingra."

The 1925 committee on state archeological surveys, just appointed by the National Research Council, Washington, D. C., consists of Dr. A. V. Kidder, chairman; Peter A. Brannon, Charles E. Brown, Amos W. Butler, Roland V. Dixon, Frederick W. Hodge, Charles R. Keyes, William C. Mills, Warren K. Moorehead, H. M. Whelpley, and Clark Wissler, all nationally known men in the field of American anthropology. A report of the state surveys and other work conducted by the committee in various states is now being published. In the Middle-West states of Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Iowa, and Wisconsin especially notable progress is being made in surveying, exploring, and recording Indian remains.

The Wisconsin Museums Conference and the Wisconsin Archeological Society are planning to hold a joint meeting at Green Bay on October 15. Arthur C. Neville, Green Bay, is the present president of the Conference, and Dr. Eberhard J. W. Notz, Milwaukee, the president of the Archeological Society. During this meeting it is planned to conduct an automobile pilgrimage to some of the more important historic sites in the Green Bay region, and to mark several of these with metal tablets. During the month of August the Wisconsin Archeological Society will unveil a tablet to be erected on a fine Indian bear effigy mound in Devils Lake State Park, where the society has marked other notable Indian mounds in previous years. The society has just published a *Fifth Addition to the Record of Wisconsin Indian Antiquities*, in

which ten thousand additional Indian mounds and sites are located in seventy Wisconsin counties. Copies of this publication may be obtained through its Madison office.

The Wisconsin and Illinois chapters of the Friends of Our Native Landscape held their annual spring meeting at the Wisconsin River Dells at Kilbourn, Wisconsin, on Saturday and Sunday, June 6 and 7. About two hundred and fifty members of the two societies were present at the meeting, the program of which included visits to the principal scenic and historical features of the region. John S. Donald, Madison, president of the Wisconsin chapter, and Jens Jensen, of Chicago, were among the principal speakers at the gathering of nature lovers, historians, and archeologists. On Saturday evening the Chicago chapter produced before a large audience in Artists' Glen its impressive masque, "Beauty of the Wild."

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Mrs. Clara Lyon Hayes ("William Penn Lyon") is the daughter of Judge Lyon, whose biography, after being produced in successive numbers of this magazine, will be published in book form.

Joseph Schafer ("Origin of Wisconsin's Free School System"), our Superintendent, presents new light on this subject, gained from a study of the Society's recently acquired file of Kenosha newspapers, of which he wrote editorially in the June issue of this magazine.

H. E. Cole ("The Old Military Road"), president of our Society, read this article at the annual meeting on May 9 of the Green Bay Historical Society.

Henry Stern ("The Life Story of a Milwaukee Merchant") wrote his reminiscences in German. We print the story from a translation made by Miss A. B. Ernst, of the University of Wisconsin.

Mrs. William Grant Fitch ("A Little Girl of Old Milwaukee") sends us this article through her son, Grant Fitch, a banker in our metropolis. It was originally written for the author's great-grandson, the child of Mrs. Ruth Fitch Bartlett.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bird Companions. By Angelia Kumlien Main. (Boston, 1925). 287p.

This attractive book by one of our Society's curators bears as its subtitle: *Description and Biography of One Hundred and Fifty Song Birds Found East of the Mississippi. Paying Especial Attention to These Birds in Wisconsin.* It is distinctively a Wisconsin product, not only because of the birds it describes, but because the author has spent all her life in our state, and has profited from childhood by the association with her grandfather, to whom the book is dedicated—Thure Ludwig Kumlien, a distinguished pioneer naturalist. This volume is therefore the result of three generations of lovers of Wisconsin's woods and ways. It is accurately described by its title, for from childhood the author has had the feathered songsters for her companions, and has known them as intimately as most of us know our human friends and relatives.

Wild life about Lake Koshkonong has always been abundant and representative. It was because of the great variety of bird species that nested and sang in its neighborhood that Dr. Thure Kumlien, coming from the Old World, chose to make his home in that vicinity. There he devoted himself to collecting and classifying natural history specimens; and there all members of his family grew up in personal association with Wisconsin's out-of-doors. Hence this work is distinctly a labor of love on the part of the author, and bears eloquent testimony to her knowledge of and affection for Wisconsin's winged tribes.

The volume is arranged according to the scientific classification of the American Ornithologists' Union checklist; but the treatment of each bird is neither stereotyped nor dry (as scientific classifications tend to become for all but the initiated). Whatever these descriptions may mean to the ornithologist, to the layman they are delightful bird biographies, noting the characteristics and idiosyncrasies of each individual species among them, making them seem like real personalities. This intimacy and simplicity make up an unusual book, full of charm for all lovers of bird lore.

There is nothing commonplace about the several accounts of each of the one hundred and fifty songsters described—the descriptions are as natural as a conversation with a friend about a morning's walk in the open. None the less the necessary facts for identification and appreciation are all there—the color schemes, nests, eggs, notes, and habits of each species—so skillfully interwoven with incident and poem that the reader is surprised into acquiring useful information while perusing the pages for pure pleasure. Throughout the entire narrative are sprinkled personal experiences and observations, incidents relating to many a rare bird, all without any affectation or apparent attempt at instruction.

The poems also are chosen with great care and excellent judgment; only such are introduced as really aid in the appreciation of the bird

itself. Lacking suitable quotations, Mrs. Main has written some to please herself, such as this for the cedar waxwing:

"In a tailor-made gown
Of shining brown,
With a beautiful shimmering sheen,
And unruffled feathers
In all kind of weathers,
The trim dainty waxwing is seen."

The author has not failed, on occasion, to introduce an appropriate legend, such as "An Indian Story of the Robin," based upon a Chippewa folk tale related for generations to the red children around Lake Superior's distant shore; or the story of Lord Baltimore early in the seventeenth century noting and naming the oriole which wore the colors of his own livery. Thus science, poetry, folklore, and experience have all yielded their tribute to the bird personalities revealed in this unusual book.

The volume has an index of both common and scientific names; while an appendix classifying the birds by their colors will prove useful to novices and initiated alike. The illustrations are numerous and add to the value of the book. A few in color give the reader some idea of the brilliance of our Wisconsin songsters.

We can think of no more delightful gift for young residents of Wisconsin than a volume so replete with charm and instruction, at once accurate and interesting, leading the reader's eye on from page to page, and keeping him alert as each bird makes his entrance and exit upon this miniature stage. Well does Robert Ridgway, the ornithologist of the Smithsonian Institution, say in his note of introduction, that it seems "to be one of the most original and interesting of all recent contributions to popular bird-lore." We bespeak for *Bird Companions* the hearty appreciation and interest of all friends of Wisconsin's wild life.

Charles Kendall Adams: A Life-Sketch. By Charles Forster Smith. (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1924). 150p.

Charles Kendall Adams was president of the University of Wisconsin from 1892 to 1901, a period in which the institution made greater progress than in any preceding decade. It is fitting, therefore, that this life-sketch should be published under the auspices of the regents, and written by a member of the faculty who was an especial friend of President Adams, whom he himself chose in 1894 to be the head of the important department of Greek language and literature. Professor Smith has utilized all the sources at his command, and it is a commentary on the ephemeral fame of important personages, that less than a quarter-century after his departure so few documentary memorials of President Adams can be found.

Adams came to Wisconsin with the prestige of a professorship in Michigan University and a term of seven years (1885-1892) as president

of Cornell. He made Wisconsin over from a provincial into a cosmopolitan institution, for it was during his administration that our State University emerged from obscurity and became of note in the eyes of the world. He encouraged new social ideals at Wisconsin, promoted athletics, and quietly but persistently blazoned abroad the University's fame. Nor did he neglect the interests of letters and science; it was under President Adams that the present library building of our Society was begun and completed; it was due in part to his prescience that the University and the Society were sharers in this enterprise. It was one of his last public acts to attend the dedication of the building; and to the University Library he bequeathed his own collection of books, while Mrs. Adams left her books and treasures to the Society's care.

To the students and the public at large President Adams was rather a symbol than a person. Distinguished in appearance, dignified in manner, he typified the University rather than dominated it. The author of this sketch has attempted to present his personal and human qualities; he has printed a number of his letters, written in moments of relaxation, which hardly show him either as a scholar or as an administrator. They do, however, give evidence of his devotion to the University and his constant thought for its welfare.

It is to be regretted that this biography does not bring out more of President Adams' contributions to scholarship and to University policy. The author does give his last chapter to the writings of Adams and a careful bibliography of his minor publications, but the discussion is short and perfunctory; the author's interest is evidently in the personal record. One piece of composition has become immortal—namely, Adams' pronouncement on liberty of teaching, the last sentence of which is engraved on a tablet at Bascom Hall: "Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe the State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone truth can be found." Had he left us no other legacy, this statement is sufficient to make the fame of Adams as president of our State University, and to make his biography of value to all future generations of students therein.

Paul Bunyan. By Esther Shephard. (Seattle, 1924). 235p.

American folklore has been much enriched of recent years by collections of the "yarns" of the northern lumberman, clustered around a Hercules-like character known as Paul Bunyan. The tales are told in the lumber camps from Maine to Washington, and a considerable number of them appear to have originated in Wisconsin during the palmy days of great lumbering operations in the northern woods. According to most of the tales Paul Bunyan was born in Maine, logged on the Ottawa for a time, but his greatest exploits were in the forests of northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. There were situated the famous "Big Onion River," and the "Pyramid Forty"; it was in Wisconsin that occurred the marvelous round drive, and the camp "where the prunestones used to get

so thick they had to have twenty ox-teams haulin' 'em away, and they hauled 'em out in the woods, and the chipmunks ate 'em and grew so big the people shot 'em for tigers." Wisconsin seems also to have been the place where the winter of the blue snow occurred, when "it was so cold that the loggers all swore blue streaks, and the snow all turned blue." Later Paul logged in North Dakota, and then was off for the West, where he and "Babe, the blue ox," performed more feats of strength, such as digging Puget Sound. Paul's last stand is in Alaska, and there may he flourish to the delight of all tellers of and listeners to tall tales.

More than one compilation of these hero legends has appeared in recent years. Charles E. Brown, our museum chief, prepared a small booklet in 1922 on the feats of this superhuman lumberjack. Miss Shephard's collection is well done, and prefaced by a "Foreword" of value concerning the origin and growth of the Paul Bunyan myth.

SOME PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

The Geography of Southwestern Wisconsin. By W. O. Blanchard. (Madison, 1924). 117p.

This valuable study of the physiographic region lying south of the Wisconsin and west of the terminal moraine of the glaciated area, comprising Grant, Iowa, and Lafayette counties with parts of Green and Dane, shows the importance of concentrated study of one locality constituting a physical unit. The thesis of the book is the influence of physiography on historical development, and nearly one-third of the pages are given to a historical sketch, and the history of transportation. Mining and agriculture each claims its part; followed by a chapter on the distribution of the population, and several pages of summarization. The illustrations are among the most valuable parts of the volume, the graphs and figures showing distribution of agricultural products being numerous and illuminating.

Within the area, the study is on the contrast between the portion north of the military ridge (called the escarpment), and that to the south (designated as the back slope). The conclusion is that "better economic environment has given the south slope a population density twice as great, more luxuries . . . better schools as suggested by a total expenditure two and one-half times as great for equal areas, and by the number of students at the University of Wisconsin. Persistence of frontier conditions on the north slope is further shown by the lower percentage of tenancy there."

In the two chapters especially devoted to history the author has relied upon secondary sources, from which he has carefully compiled a fairly satisfactory sketch of the southwestern portion of the state. It should be understood, however, that it is only a sketch, a skeleton outline that may be filled out with more complete studies of human life in the lead mining region.

Wisconsin Highway Commission: Fifth Biennial Report of State Highway Activities. (Madison, 1924). 247p.

This report of an important commission presents a historical review of the work of road making from the foundation of Wisconsin's American period. Beginning with a sketch of the first military road (the history of which we publish *in extenso* in this number), the account continues with a notice of the Black River road; then it mentions the era of plank roads, culminating in the control of transportation by the railroads. With the invention of the automobile better roads were demanded by the state, and in 1907 the first law was passed for county aid and a commission appointed as the highway division of the State Geological Survey. In 1911, the Highway Commission became a separate entity and the first state aid law was passed, supplemented in 1916 by the federal aid law. In 1918 the first state trunk highways were prepared. Now their total mileage is over ten thousand, with twelve thousand miles of county trunks, and 57,300 miles of town roads. The construction of these roads, the maintenance and marking, the investigation of road materials, the bridge and culvert problems, have all called for scientific ability of high degree. Wisconsin travelers should read this remarkably interesting public document in order to learn what the commission's service has been and what its continuing activities mean to the state.

Wisconsin Memorial Day Annual. Issued by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. (Madison, 1925). 48p.

These annuals, compiled by the publicity editor of the State Department of Public Instruction, contain valuable historical and patriotic literature, well selected and skillfully combined. After a picture of the capitol and a foreword and dedication by the governor, there follow poems and selections for the instruction and entertainment of all Wisconsin citizens, as well as the pupils in the schools. We note in this latest number articles of value by Hosea W. Rood, L. Hugo Keller, A. O. Barton, and C. P. Donaldson. The first named, former patriotic instructor of the G. A. R., writes of "Four Soldier Boys of 1861"—Harlan Squire, William Stowell, Clement A. Boughton, and Daniel A. Titus, all of whom paid the supreme sacrifice for their country. Captain Keller, state commander of the American Legion, gives a history of that organization. Mr. Barton recounts the services and memorials of Colonel Hans C. Heg; while Mr. Donaldson, commander of the Wisconsin division of Sons of Veterans, writes on "Schools and Memorial Day."

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