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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

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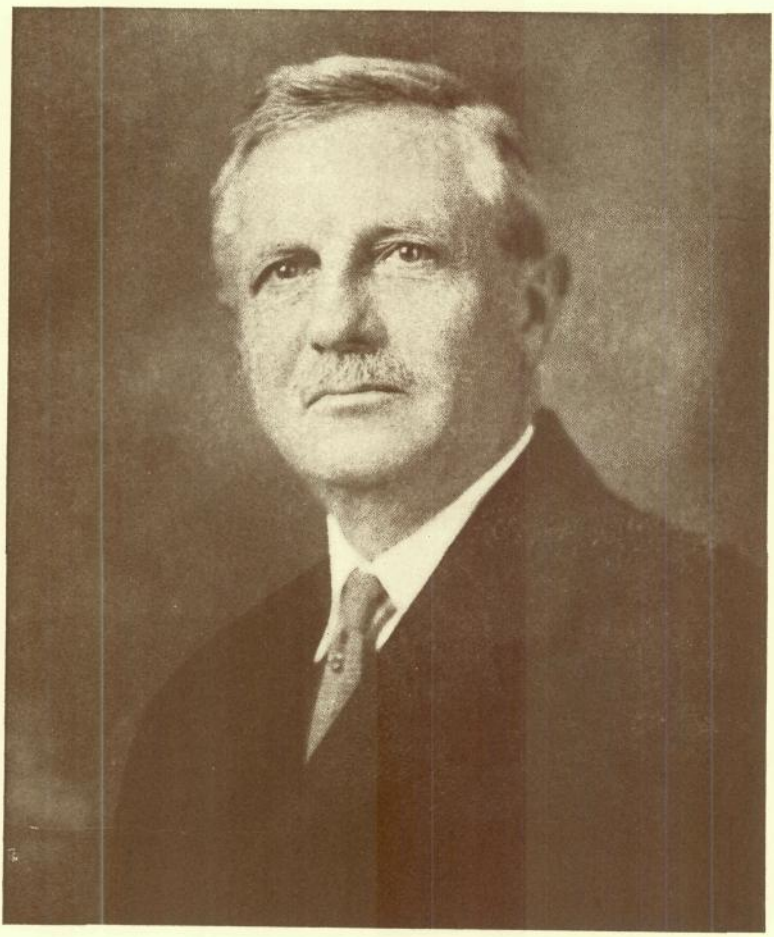


FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SECTION IN AMERICAN HISTORY

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

A generation ago I published in the *Proceedings* of this Society a paper which I had read at the summer meeting of the American Historical Association, on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." The Superintendent of the Census had just announced that a frontier line could no longer be traced, and had declared: "In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it cannot therefore any longer have a place in the census reports."

The significance in American history of the advance of the frontier and of its disappearance is now generally recognized. This evening I wish to consider with you another fundamental factor in American history, namely, the Section. Arising from the facts of physical geography and the regional settlement of different peoples and types of society on the Atlantic coast there was a sectionalism from the beginning. But soon this became involved and modified by the fact that these societies were expanding into the interior, following the frontier, and that their sectionalism took special forms in the presence of the growing West. Today we are substantially a settled nation without the overwhelming influence that accompanied the westward spread of population. Urban concentration chiefly in the East has reversed the movement to a considerable extent. We are more like Europe, and our sections are becoming more and more the American version of the European nation.

First let us consider the influence of the frontier and the West upon American sections. Until our own day, as I urged in that paper, the United States was always beginning over on its outer edge as it advanced into the wilderness.

Therefore the United States was both a developed and a primitive society. The West was a migrating region, a stage of society rather than a place. Each region reached in the process of expansion from the coast had its frontier experience, was for a time "the West," and when the frontier passed on to new regions, it left behind in the older areas, memories, traditions, an inherited attitude toward life, that persisted long after the frontier had passed by. But while the influence of the frontier permeated East as well as West, by survival of the pioneer psychology and by the reaction of the Western ideals and life upon the East, it was in the newer regions, in the area called the West at any given time, that frontier traits and conceptions were most in evidence. This "West" was more than "the frontier" of popular speech. It included also the more populous transitional zone adjacent, which was still influenced by pioneer traditions and where economic society had more in common with the newer than with the older regions.

This "West" wherever found at different years thought of itself and of the nation in different ways from those of the East. It needed capital; it was a debtor region, while the East had the capital and was a creditor section. The West was rural, agricultural, while the East was becoming more and more urban and industrial. Living under conditions where the family was the self-sufficing economic unit, where the complications of more densely settled society did not exist, without accumulated inherited wealth, the frontier regions stressed the rights of man, while the statesmen who voiced the interests of the East stressed the rights of property.

The West believed in the rule of the majority, in what John Randolph, the representative of the Virginia tidewater aristocracy, called "King Numbers." The East feared an unchecked democracy, which might overturn minority rights, destroy established institutions, and attack vested

interests. The buoyant, optimistic, and sometimes reckless and extravagant spirit of innovation was the very life of the West. In the East innovation was a term of reproach. It always "stalked" like an evil spirit. The East represented accumulated experience, the traditions of the family living generation after generation in a single location and under a similar environment, as President Thwing, of Western Reserve University, has aptly put it. But out in the newer West through most of its history men lived in at least two or three states in the course of their migrations. Of the hundred and twenty-four members of the first Wisconsin constitutional convention in 1846, the average was three states for each member. Four had moved eight times. Sixteen had lived in five or more different states, or foreign countries and states; six had lived in seven or more.

The West demanded cheap or free lands on which to base a democratic farming population. The ruling interests in the East feared that such a policy would decrease land values at home and diminish the value of lands which its capitalists had purchased for speculation in the interior. It feared that cheap lands in the West would draw Eastern farmers into the wilderness; would break down the bonds of regular society; would prevent effective control of the discontented; would drain the labor supply away from the growing industrial towns, and thus raise wages.

The West opened a refuge from the rule of established classes, from the subordination of youth to age, from the sway of established and revered institutions. Writing in 1694 when the frontier lay at the borders of Boston Bay, the Reverend Cotton Mather asked: "Do our *Old* People any of them *Go Out* from the Institutions of God, swarming into New Settlements where they and their Untaught Families are like *to Perish for Lack of Vision?*" To their cost, he said, such men have "got unto the *Wrong side of the Hedge*" and "the Angel of the Lord becomes their enemy."

No doubt all this makes too sharply contrasted a picture. But from the beginning East and West have shown a sectional attitude. The interior of the colonies on the Atlantic was disrespectful of the coast, and the coast looked down upon the upland folk. The "Men of the Western World" when they crossed the Alleghanies became self-conscious and even rebellious against the rule of the East. In the thirties the tidewater aristocracy was conquered by the Jacksonian Democracy of the interior.

And so one could go on through the story of the anti-monopolists, the Grangers, the Populists, the Insurgents, the Progressives, the Farmers' Bloc, and the La Follette movement, to illustrate the persistence of the sectionalism of the West, or of considerable parts of it, against the East.

Perhaps Eastern apprehension was never more clearly stated than by Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. "The busy haunts of men, not the remote wilderness," said he, are "the proper school of political talents. If the western people get the power into their hands they will ruin the Atlantic interests. The back members are always averse to the best measures." He would so fix the ratio of representation that the number of representatives from the Atlantic States should always be larger than the number from the Western States. This, he argued, would not be unjust "as the Western settlers would previously know the conditions on which they were to possess their lands." So influential was his argument that the convention struck out the provision in the draft which guaranteed equality with the old states to the states thereafter to be admitted to the Union. But on the motion that the representatives from new states should not exceed those from the Old Thirteen, the affirmative vote was cast by Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland; Pennsylvania was divided; and the motion was defeated by the votes of the Southern States plus New Jersey.

To the average American, to most American historians, and to most of the writers of our school textbooks (if one can trust the indexes to their books) the word *section* applies only to the struggle of South against North on the questions of slavery, state sovereignty, and, eventually, disunion.

But the Civil War was only the most drastic and most tragic of sectional manifestations, and in no small degree the form which it took depended upon the fact that rival societies, free and slave, were marching side by side into the unoccupied lands of the West, each attempting to dominate the back country, the hinterland, working out agreements from time to time, something like the diplomatic treaties of European nations, defining spheres of influence, and awarding mandates, such as in the Missouri Compromise, the Compromise of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Each Atlantic section was, in truth, engaged in a struggle for power; and power was to be gained by drawing upon the growing West. In the Virginia ratification convention of 1787 William Grayson, by no means the most radical of the members, said: "I look upon this as a contest for empire.... If the Mississippi be shut up, emigrations will be stopped entirely. There will be no new states formed on the Western Waters. . . . This contest of the Mississippi involves the great national contest; that is whether one part of this continent shall govern the other. The Northern States have the majority and will endeavor to retain it." Similar conceptions abound in the utterances of North Atlantic statesmen. "It has been said," declared Morris in 1787, "that North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia only, will in a little time have a majority of the people of America. They must in that case include the great interior country and everything is to be apprehended from their getting power into their hands."

If time permitted, it would be possible to illustrate by such utterances all through our history to very recent times

how the Eastern sections regarded the West with its advancing frontier as the raw material for power. To New England until her own children began to occupy the prairies ("reserved by God," as her pioneers declared, "for a pious and industrious people") this aspect of the West threatened to enable the South perpetually to rule the nation. The first great migration, the most extensive in the area covered, flowed into the interior from the Southern upland. Some of the extreme leaders of the New England Federalists did not so much desire to break away from the South as to deprive that section of the three-fifths representation for its slaves, and either to permit the Western States to leave the Union or to see them won by England. Then the Old Thirteen could be united under conditions which would check the expansion of the South and would leave New England in control.

Writing in 1786 Rufus King, of New York, later senator and minister to England, while admitting that it was impolitic at the time wholly to give up the Western settlers, declared that very few men who had examined the subject would refuse their assent "to the opinion that every Citizen of the Atlantic States, who emigrates to the westward of the Alleghany is a total loss to our confederacy."

"Nature," he said, "has severed the two countries by a vast and extensive chain of mountains, interest and convenience will keep them separate, and the feeble policy of our disjointed Government will not be able to unite them. For these reasons I have ever been opposed to encouragements of western emigrants. The States situated on the Atlantic are not sufficiently populous, and losing our men is losing our greatest source of wealth."

Of course the immediate complaint in New England and New York was against the South itself, its Jeffersonian principles, so antagonistic to New England Puritanism; its slavery, its pro-French sympathies. But all these gained

much of their force by the conviction that the West was a reservoir from which the South would continue to draw its power. Among the proposals of the Hartford Convention was that no new state should be admitted into the Union without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses of Congress. The report warned the old states against "an overwhelming Western influence" and predicted that "finally the Western States, multiplied in numbers and augmented in population will control the interests of the whole." Had this proposed amendment been made, the New England States with two other states in the Senate could have blocked the West from future statehood. Nathan Dane, after whom Dane County in this state is named, furnished the argument for this proposal by his elaborate tabulations and schedules. He pointed out that in the commercial states capital was invested in commerce, and in the slaveholding states in western lands. When "Kentucky, Ohio and Tennessee were raised up by this interest & admitted into the Union, then the balance was, materially, affected. The non-commercial states pressed the admission of Louisiana and turned the balance against the Northeast." "It clearly follows, he reasoned, "that if a bare majority in Congress can admit new States into the union (all interior ones as they must be) at pleasure, in these immense Western regions, the balance of the union as once fairly contemplated, must soon be destroyed."

But Jackson defeated the British at New Orleans. The Mississippi Valley remained within the Union, Louisiana's interests became affiliated with the commercial states in many ways, and New England people poured so rapidly into the West that New England found in the northern half of the Valley the basis for a new alliance and new power as disturbing to the slaveholding South as the Southern and Western connection had been to New England.

By the middle of the century the South was alarmed at

the Western power much in the way that New England had been. "I have very great fears," wrote Justice Campbell, later of the Federal Supreme Court, from Mobile to Calhoun in 1847, "that the existing territories of the United States will prove too much for our government. The wild and turbulent conduct of the members upon the Oregon question and their rapacity and greediness in all matters connected with the appropriation of the revenues induces great doubt of the propriety of introducing new States in the Union so fast as we do." Of the legislators from the Western States he said, "Their notions are freer, their impulses stronger, their wills less restrained. I do not wish to increase the number till the New States already admitted to the Union become civilized."

On the other hand, it must be clearly borne in mind that as the West grew in power of population and in numbers of new senators, it resented the conception that it was merely an emanation from a rival North and South; that it was the dependency of one or another of the Eastern sections; that it was to be so limited and controlled as to maintain an equilibrium in the Senate between North and South. It took the attitude of a section itself.

From the beginning the men who went west looked to the future when the people beyond the Alleghanies should rule the nation. Dr. Manasseh Cutler, the active promoter of the Ohio Company of Associates, which made the first considerable permanent settlement in the Old Northwest Territory, wrote in 1787 a *Description of Ohio*. Though himself the minister at Ipswich in the heart of that stronghold of conservatism, the "Essex Junto," he declared that on the Ohio would be "the seat of empire" for the whole Union. Within twenty years, he predicted, there would be more people on the western side of the Alleghany watershed than in the East, and he congratulated these people that "in order to begin right there will be no wrong habits to combat

and no inveterate systems to overturn—there will be no rubbish to remove before you lay the foundations." Evidently it did not take long to produce the Western point of view.

In the Senate in 1837 Benton, of Missouri, scorned the proposals of Calhoun regarding the disposition of the public domain, and boasted that after the census of 1840 had shown the weight of the West it would be so highly bid for that it would write its own bill. Perhaps the debate over the Compromise of 1850 brings out the self-assertive Western attitude in these years most clearly. Calhoun had argued that the equilibrium between North and South was being destroyed by the increase in free states made out of the Western territories. But Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, spoke for the West when he attacked the Southern statesman for the error of thinking of the West as property of the older sections. "What share had the South in the territories," he asked, "or the North, or any other geographical division unknown to the Constitution? I answer none —none at all." And Douglas calculated that if its right to self-determination were admitted, the West would form at least seventeen new free states, and that therefore the theory of equilibrium was a hopeless one.

It was not only the slavery struggle that revealed the Eastern conception of the West as merely the field of contest for power between the rival Atlantic sections, and the West's counter assertion of its own substantive rights. The same thing was shown in many different fields. For example rival Eastern cities and states, the centers of power in their respective sections, engaged in contests for the commercial control of the Mississippi Valley by transportation lines. The contests between rival European powers for the control of the Bagdad railway, the thrust of Germany toward the rich hinterlands made up of the Balkans and India, and the project of *Central Europe* in the history of the World War, have a resemblance to these American sectional contests for

the still more valuable hinterland of the Mississippi Valley. American sections did not go to war over their trade and transportation interests. Nevertheless they recognized that there were such interests. A Southern writer in *DeBow's Review* in 1847 declared:

"A contest has been going on between the North and South not limited to slavery or no slavery—to abolition or no abolition, nor to the politics of either whigs or democrats as such, but a contest for the wealth and commerce of the great valley of the Mississippi—a contest tendered by our Northern brethren, whether the growing commerce of the great West shall be thrown upon New Orleans or given to the Atlantic cities."

Shortly after this, in 1851, the *Western Journal* of St. Louis published articles lamenting that "the Western States are subjected to the relation of Provinces of the East" and that New Orleans was giving way to New York as their commercial city. Since (so the argument ran) exports can never build up a commercial city, the mouth of the Mississippi must be so improved that imports would enter the Valley by way of New Orleans. "Then," said the writer, "a line of cities will arise on the banks of the Mississippi that will far eclipse those on the Atlantic coast."

The middle of the century saw an extension of this sectional contest for economic power derived from the growing West; but it was the railroad trunk lines rather than the canals that occupied the foreground. The goal became the ports of the Pacific. The Memphis convention of 1845 and the Chicago convention of 1847 illustrate how interior cities were now repeating the rivalry for western trade which had earlier been seen on the Atlantic coast. The contests between New Orleans, Memphis, St. Louis, and Chicago influenced the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the later strategy of the struggle for position between the Pacific railroads.

Throughout our history, then, there has been this sec-

tionalism of West and East, and this Eastern conception of the West as recruiting ground merely for the rival Atlantic coast sections. Nation-wide parties have had their eastern and western wings, often differing radically, and yet able by party loyalty and by adjustments and sacrifices to hold together. Such a struggle as the slavery contest can only be understood by bearing in mind that it was not merely a contest of North against South, but that its form and its causes were fundamentally shaped by the dynamic factor of expanding sections, of a West to be won.

This migratory sectionalism has not always been obvious, but it was none the less real and important. Year after year new Wests had been formed. Wildernesses equal in area to the greater European nations had been turned into farms in single decades.

But now the era of the frontier advance has ended. The vast public domain, so far as it is suited to agriculture, is taken up. The competent experts of the Department of Agriculture now tell us that "the nation reached and passed the apogee of agricultural land supply in proportion to population about 1890, and that we have entered a period which will necessarily be marked by a continually increasing scarcity of land." The price of lands has risen as the supply of free lands declined. Iowa farm lands mounted from an average of thirty dollars per acre in 1890 to over two hundred dollars in 1920.

Shortly after 1890 men began to speak less confidently of the inexhaustible forest supply. The reclamation act early in the twentieth century began a new era in governmental conservation and governmental economic activity. The Conservation Congress met in 1908, three centuries after the Jamestown settlers sank their axes into the edge of the American forest. The purpose of the congress was to consider the menace of forest exhaustion, the waste of soil fertility and of mineral resources, the reclamation of the

deserts, the drainage of the swamps. Now we are told by high authority that we shall feel the pinch of timber shortage in less than fifteen years. The free lands are no longer free; the boundless resources are no longer boundless. Already the urban population exceeds the rural population of the United States.

But this does not mean that the Eastern industrial type of urban life will necessarily spread across the whole nation, for food must come from somewhere, and the same expert authorities that predict that within about fifty years the United States itself will be unable to feed its population by its home supply, also conclude that the deficient food supply will not be available from outside the nation, because the same phenomenon of the encroachment of population upon food is in evidence throughout the world. Already Europe as a whole depends upon importation for its food supply. Its large population in proportion to its area and resources cannot be made the basis for estimates of what is possible in the United States, for Europe's large population was made possible by these imports from the United States as well as from other nations.

If the prediction be true, or if anything like it be true, then there must remain in the United States large rural farming interests and sections. The natural advantages of certain regions for farming, or for forestry, or for pasturage will arrest the tendency of the Eastern industrial type of society to flow across the continent and thus to produce a consolidated, homogeneous nation free from sections. At the same time that the nation settles down to the conditions of an occupied land, there will be emphasized the sectional differences arising from unlike geographic regions.

To President Coolidge, as a speech of his in November last shows, the prospect is of a nation importing its supplies of food and resources, facing "the problem of maintaining a prosperous, self-reliant, confident agriculture in a country

preponderantly commercial and industrial." Whether our destiny is to become a nation in which agriculture is subordinate, or one in which it is an equal partner with urban industrial interests, it seems clear that there will be sectional expression of the differences between these interests; for in certain geographic provinces agriculture will be entirely subordinate to manufacture, as in others such industry will be insignificant as compared with farming.

Unlike such countries as France and Germany, the United States has the problem of the clash of economic interests closely associated with regional geography on a huge scale. Over areas equal to all France or to all Germany, either the agricultural or the manufacturing types are here in decided ascendancy. Economic interests are sectionalized. The sections occupied by a rural population are of course far inferior in numbers of voters to the sections of urban industrial life. The map is deceptive in this respect, for Greater New York City, which would be a point on the map, has almost as many people as live in all the vast spaces of the Mountain and Pacific States. The population of the New England States and the Middle States of the North Atlantic division is over thirty millions, while the population of Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon is less than ten millions. On the map these states take an imposing space, but owing to physical geography a large portion will always remain sparsely settled. Nevertheless New England and the Middle States together have only eighteen senators, while the states of the section which I have just named have also eighteen senators. New York State alone has a larger population than this northwestern zone of states; but this wealthy and populous state has only two senators as against the eighteen senators of the other region.

On a map constructed so as to give to each state a space proportioned to its population, or to its income tax, instead

of to its dimensions in square miles, the western lands would shrink in their map space in a startling fashion. But in the Senate is exhibited the outcome of the tendencies which statesmen like Gouverneur Morris saw so clearly, namely, the great power of the newer states by their equal representation in the Senate and their ability to take property by taxation from the wealthier section and to distribute it according to numbers, or even according to deficiencies, throughout the Union as a unit. Obviously there is here the certainty of a sectional clash of interests, not unlike those which led to Calhoun's South Carolina Exposition.

Sectionalism will hereafter be shaped by such new forces. We have become a nation comparable to all Europe in area, with settled geographic provinces which equal great European nations. We are in this sense an empire, a federation of sections, a union of potential nations. It is well to look at the result of our leap to power since the ending of the frontier in order to appreciate our problems arising from size and varied sections.

We raise three-fourths of the world's corn, over a third of its swine, over half its cotton, and over one-fifth its wheat. Out of the virgin wilderness we have built such industrial power that we now produce two-thirds of the pig-iron of the world, over twice the steel tonnage of England, Germany, and France combined. We mine nearly half the world's coal. We have fully half the gold coin and bullion of the world, and in 1920 our national wealth exceeded the combined wealth of the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. In the World War President Wilson gave the word that sent two million Americans across the seas to turn the scale in that Titanic conflict. We are forced to think of ourselves continentally and to compare ourselves with all Europe. Why, with so vast a territory, with so many geographic provinces, equal in area, in natural resources, and in natural variety to the lands of the great nations of Europe, did we

not become another Europe? What tendencies have we developed that resembled those of Europe in the course of our history? Are there tendencies toward the transformation of our great sections into types similar to European nations?

It was evident at the outset of a study of the frontier movement that the American people were not passing into a monotonously uniform space. Rather, even in the colonial period, they were entering successive different geographic provinces; they were pouring their plastic pioneer life into geographic moulds. They would modify these moulds, they would have progressive revelations of the capacities of the geographic provinces which they won and settled and developed; but even the task of dealing constructively with the different regions would work its effects upon their traits.

Not a uniform surface, but a kind of checkerboard of differing environments, lay before them in their settlement. There would be the interplay of the migrating stocks and the new geographic provinces. The outcome would be a combination of the two factors, land and people, the creation of differing societies in the different sections. European nations were discovered, conquered, colonized, and developed so far back in history that the process of nation-making is obscure. Not so with section-making in the United States. The process has gone on almost under our own observation. But by the bondage to the modern map, as John Fiske put it, much American history has been obscured. Our constitutional forms, in contrast with the realities, provide for a federation of states. Our historians have dealt chiefly with local history, state history, national history, and but little with sectional history. Our students of government have been more aware of the legal relations of states and nation than with the actual groupings of states into sections, and with the actions of these sections beneath the political surface. State sovereignty, for example, has in fact never

been a vital issue except when a whole section stood behind the challenging state. This is what gave the protest reality.

One of the most interesting features of recent geographical studies is the emphasis placed upon regional geography and human geography. Europe has given more attention to such studies in human geography than has the United States. Perhaps this is because European nations have been forced to consider the geographical aspects of the self-determination of nations and the rearrangement of the map by the treaty which seemed to close the World War. Perhaps in the hard realities of that war the military staffs and the scientists who had to deal with the problem of supplies of food and of raw material were compelled to give attention to the subject. But even before and after this war, the increasing pressure of population upon the means of life compelled in Europe the study of the natural regions, their resources and peoples, and their relations to each other. Now the conditions which I have been attempting to make clear in the United States are forcing us to face the same problem. We, like European nations, are approaching a saturation of population.

That sectionalism which is based on geographical regions has been in evidence from the early colonial period, but it has been obscured and modified by the influence of the unoccupied West. The states have been declining and are likely to continue to diminish in importance in our politics; but the groups of states called sections are likely to become more significant as the state declines. A study of votes in the federal House and Senate from the beginning of our national history reveals the fact that party voting has more often broken down than maintained itself on fundamental issues; that when these votes are mapped or tabulated by the congressional districts or states from which those who cast them came, instead of by alphabetical arrangement, a persistent sectional pattern emerges.

There has been in the earlier periods the sharp clash between New England and the South, with the Middle States divided and unstable, constituting a buffer zone and often holding the balance of power. Then as population spread westward the greater parties were composed of sectional wings—normally in the Republican party there came to be a fairly solid conservative New England, a mixed and uncertain Middle Region, and a more radical North Central wing, ready in the shaping of legislation to join the Democrats in a kind of sectional bloc (even before the days of the bloc) to oppose the conservative and dominant Eastern wing. As time went on, the East North Central States came into closer connection with the Eastern wing, and in the West North Central lay the areas of radical dissent and of third-party movements. Legislation was determined less by party than by sectional voting. Bills were shaped for final passage by compromises between wings or by alliances between sections. The maps of presidential elections showing majorities by counties look like maps of North against South; but there was always a concealed East and West which temporarily laid aside their differences.

I think it not too much to say that in party conventions as well as Congress the outcome of deliberations bears a striking resemblance to treaties between sections, suggestive of treaties between European nations in diplomatic congresses. But over an area equal to all Europe we found it possible to legislate, and we tempered asperities and avoided wars by a process of sectional give-and-take. Whether we shall continue to preserve our national, our inter-sectional, party organization in the sharper sectional conflicts of interest that are likely to accompany the settling down of population, the completer revelation of the influence of physical geography, remains to be seen.

As an illustration of the newer forms of sectionalism, take the movement for the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence deep

waterway. Middle Western leaders are arguing that there is "in the heart of the continent a large area beyond the radius of logical rail haul for the movement of bulk commodities to either seacoast." "Nature," runs the argument, "which has indicated the extent of the area which sends its surplus to the Atlantic seaboard and to the Gulf and to the Pacific ports, has provided the American continent with one potential seacoast not yet utilized. Upon the map of economic divides indicated by geography—the Atlantic seaboard, the Gulf territory, and the Pacific slope—there is, as it were, an economic desert a thousand miles east and west, five hundred miles north and south beyond the radius of logical rail haul to either coast." The desire to give an outlet to what is called this "landlocked commerce to the coast," leads to the demand for "a fourth economic divide based upon the Great Lakes as linked with the ocean, giving to the coast of the Great Lakes access to marine commerce" and permitting the erection of each rail system upon the sea base.[1]

When ex-Senator Townsend of Michigan was running for reëlection a Detroit daily reported: "The East is opposed to him because of his leadership in the waterways movement, but the entire West from Ohio to Idaho is looking hopefully and earnestly to Michigan to give him the largest majority he has ever received. The east and the west will be 'listening in' election night—the east hoping for a reduced Townsend vote, the west hoping fervently that his vote will be a knock-out blow to the eastern opposition to the St. Lawrence waterway."

I quote this to take the opportunity to point out that sweeping statements like these exaggerate the sectional feeling. As a matter of fact, of course, very few Eastern voters

[1] *The Sea Base: Relation of Marine to National Transportation System and of Lakes to Ocean Route to Continental Traffic*, published by Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Tidewater Association (Duluth, Minn., 1923). For an argument in favor of the New York route, see John B. Baldwin, *Our Dardanelles* (Honolulu, 1924).

knew much about Townsend, and, east and west, most of the radio fans were listening in to the vaudeville or the football game or the real prize fight.

But while Duluth writers press the importance of what they call this "frustrated seaway," New York writers protest that the outlet should be through an enlarged Erie Canal if there is to be such a water route at all, and it is argued that the projected St. Lawrence route would be "Our Dardanelles," liable to be closed against the West by Canadian or British government whenever disagreements invited this mode of coercion. In New England meantime there are fears that Boston would be injured as a port, besides the loss of her advantages by sea-borne commerce to the Pacific coast. A few years ago Mayor Curley of Boston indignantly declared that such a waterway "would obliterate New England absolutely."

I read the other day editorials in the *Chicago Tribune* which made the decision of the Supreme Court against the claim of the sanitary district to divert water from Lake Michigan without the permission of the Secretary of War the occasion for this language: "It is time for Chicago, Illinois, and the entire Mississippi Valley to rise in revolt against a tyranny which now threatens its very existence. . . . This is neither a conquered country nor a colony but an integral part of a nation, and as such entitled to the same consideration afforded to New England and New York." The editorial goes on to demand action to prevent the houses of Congress from organizing, etc. In another editorial of that issue, under the caption "The West is West, but the East is London," it is said: "It is natural that the East should turn to London for London policy is Atlantic policy," and the editor speaks of "London and its provinces in Montreal, Boston, New York and Washington."

No doubt this language is not to be taken with entire seriousness, but it is vigorous enough. It proposes revolt,

and paralysis of government; and it, in effect, reads a rather substantial chunk of America out of the Union. Allowing for New England's restraint in speech, mildly similar utterances can be found in the press of that section whenever its interests seem threatened by West or South.[2] When Senator John Taylor, of Virginia, informed Jefferson that the Northeast felt that union with the South was doomed to fail, that philosophic statesman replied in words that are worthy of extended quotation as illustrating both a tolerant spirit and an amusing impression of New England:

"It is true that we are completely under the saddle of Massachusetts and Connecticut and that they ride us very hard, cruelly insulting our feelings, as well as exhausting our strength and substance. Their natural friends, the three other eastern states, join them from a sort of family pride, and they have the art to divide certain other parts of the Union so as to make use of them to govern the whole." But, "seeing," said Jefferson, "that an association of men who will not quarrel with one another is a thing which never existed . . . seeing we must have somebody to quarrel with, I had rather keep our New England associates for that purpose than to see our bickerings transferred to others. They are circumscribed within such narrow bounds, and their population is so full, that their numbers will ever be in the minority, and they are marked, like the Jews, with such perversity of character, as to constitute from that circumstance the natural division of our parties." It will be observed that although he does not extol New England he does not read her out of the Union. The significant fact is that sectional self-consciousness and sensitiveness is likely to be increased as time goes on and crystallized sections feel the full influence of their geographic peculiarities, their special interests, and their developed ideals, in a closed and static nation.

[2] I have illustrated this subject in an article called "Sections and Nation," in the *Yale Review*, October, 1922.

There is a sense in which sectionalism is inevitable and desirable. There is and always has been a sectional geography in America based fundamentally upon geographic regions. There is a geography of political habit—a geography of opinion, of material interests, of racial stocks, of physical fitness, of social traits, of literature, of the distribution of men of ability, even of religious denominations. Professor Josiah Royce defined a "province" or section, in the sense in which I am using the word, as "any one part of a national domain which is geographically and socially sufficiently unified to have a true consciousness of its own ideals and customs and to possess a sense of its distinction from other parts of the country." It was the opinion of this eminent philosopher that the world needs now more than ever before the vigorous development of a highly organized provincial life to serve as a check upon mob psychology on a national scale, and to furnish that variety which is essential to vital growth and originality. With this I agree. But I wish also to urge here, as I have elsewhere, that there is always the danger that the province or section shall think of itself naively as the nation, that New England shall think that America is merely New England writ large, or the Middle West shall think that America is really the Middle West writ large, and then proceed to denounce the sections that do not perceive the accuracy of this view as wicked or ignorant and un-American. This kind of nationalism is a sectional mirage, but it is common, and has been common to all the sections in their unconscious attitude if not in clear expression. It involves the assumption of a superiority of culture, of *Kultur*, to which good morals require that the nation as a whole must yield.

We must frankly face the fact that in this vast and heterogeneous nation, this sister of all Europe, regional geography is a fundamental fact; that the American peace

has been achieved by restraining sectional selfishness and assertiveness and by coming to agreements rather than to reciprocal denunciation or to blows.

In the past we have held our sections together partly because while the undeveloped West was open there was a safety valve, a region for hopeful restoration; partly because there were national political parties, calling out national party allegiance and loyalty over all sections and at the same time yielding somewhat under stress to sectional demands. Party was like an elastic band.

But there would often have been serious danger, such as showed itself when parties became definitely sectionalized just before the Civil War, had it not been the fact that popular party majorities over most of the sections are much closer than is usually supposed. The party held its tenure of power by a narrow margin and must use its power temperately or risk defeat. It must conciliate sectional differences within itself.

Not only the narrowness of normal party majorities, county by county over the nation, but also the existence within each of the large sections of smaller sections or regions which did not agree with the views of their section as a whole, constituted a check both upon party despotism and upon sectional arrogance and exploitation of other sections.

In every state of the Union there are geographic regions, chiefly, but not exclusively, those determined by the ancient forces of geology, which divide the state into the lesser sections. These subsections within the states often cross state lines and connect with like areas in neighboring states and even in different sections of the larger type. Many states have now been made the subject of monographic studies of their internal sections shown in party politics, in economic interests, in social types, in cultural matters such as education, literature, and religion. I have prepared such maps of the United States for the year 1850. For example, the map

by counties showing the distribution of white illiteracy so closely resembles the map of the physiographic regions that the one might almost be taken for the other. Much the same is true for the map of farm values by counties. I have also mapped the Whig and Democratic counties in the presidential elections from 1836 to 1852 and combined them in a map, which shows that certain regions, certain groups of counties, were almost always Whig and others normally Democratic through all these years. Then I have had the photographer superimpose these maps one upon another. As a result it is shown that the rough, the poorer lands, the illiterate counties were for the most part the Democratic counties; while the fertile basins—like the richer wheat areas of the Old Northwest, the limestone islands about Lexington, Kentucky, and Nashville, Tennessee, the Black Belt of the Gulf States, the center of the cotton and slavery interests, the abode of the wealthy and educated great slaveholding planters—were Whig. The Whigs tended to be strong in the areas of the greater rivers and commercial centers and routes, and in the counties with the better record in the matter of illiteracy.

Now I am not saying that Democracy and illiteracy and poor soils are necessarily connected. One of the interesting results of the study is to show that there were exceptions that prevent any such exclusively physical explanations. In North Carolina, for example, very notable Whig areas were in the most illiterate, rough, mountainous counties of that state, where the poor whites were antagonistic to the wealthy slaveholding Democratic planters of the eastern counties. Certain regions, like western New York and the Western Reserve of Ohio, show not so much the influence of physical geography as of the fact that they were colonized by New Englanders and carried on the interest in vested rights which distinguished the Puritan stock.

In short, the studies show that generalizations which

make physical geography or economic interests alone the compelling explanation of political groupings are mistaken. There are also the factors of ideals and psychology, the inherited intellectual habits, derived from the stock from which the voters sprang. Sometimes these ideals carry the voters into lines that contradict their economic interests. But as a rule there has been such a connection of the stock, the geographic conditions, the economic interests, and the conceptions of right and wrong, that all have played upon each other to the same end.

Next I wish to emphasize the fact that these regional subdivisions are persistent. Often they remain politically the same for several generations. Probably the mass of voters inherit their party and their political ideas. Habit rather than reasoning is the fundamental factor in determining political affiliation of the mass of voters, and there is a geography, a habitat, of political habit.

There is the same geography of culture, though I am not able in the time that remains to develop this. For example, in a recent map of short-story areas (of what the author calls local color areas) almost exactly the same regions are shown as appear on the maps which I have mentioned.

There is, then, a sectionalism of the regions within the larger divisions, a sectionalism of minority areas, sometimes protesting against the policies of the larger section in which they lie and finding more in common with similar regions outside of this section. Herein lies a limitation upon the larger section in case it attempts a drastic and subversive policy toward other sections. As Professor Holcombe has pointed out, in this kind of nation, in this vast congeries of sections, voters cannot hope to have a choice between parties any one of which will stand for all the measures which they oppose. The most they can reasonably hope for, he thinks, "is the formation of a party, resting upon a combination of sectional interests which are capable of coop-

eration in national politics without too much jealousy and friction, and including that particular interest with which they are themselves most closely associated. No sectional interest is strong enough, alone and unaided, to control the federal government, and no major party can be formed with a fair prospect of domination in national politics which does not contain more or less incongruous elements."

With this I agree, and indeed have long been on record to this effect. It emphasizes the need for tolerance, for cooperation, for mutual sacrifices by the leaders of the various sections. Statesmanship in this nation consists not only in representing the special interests of the leader's own section, but in finding a formula that will bring the different regions together in a common policy. The greatest statesmen have always had this goal before them. If there were time I should like to quote the striking confirmation of this in writings of even such men as John Quincy Adams, Van Buren, and Calhoun, who are ordinarily thought of as rather definitely sectional. Each formulated plans for concessions to the various sections whereby a national pattern could emerge.

The significance of the section in American history is that it is the faint image of a European nation and that we need to reëxamine our history in the light of this fact. Our politics and our society have been shaped by sectional complexity and interplay not unlike what goes on between European nations. The greater sections are the result of the joint influence of the geologists' physiographic provinces and the colonizing stocks that entered them. The result is found in popular speech in which New England, the Middle States, the South, the Middle West, etc., are as common names as Massachusetts or Wisconsin. The Census divisions are more definite and official designations. Of course, the boundary lines are not definite and fixed. Neither are those of European nations. These larger sections have taken

their characteristic and peculiar attitudes in American civilization in general.

We have furnished to Europe the example of a continental federation of sections over an area equal to Europe itself, and by substituting discussion and concession and compromised legislation for force, we have shown the possibility of international political parties, international legislative bodies, and international peace. Our party system and our variety in regional geography have helped to preserve the American peace. By having our combination of sections represented in a national legislative body, by possessing what may be called a League of Sections, comparable to a League of Nations, if it included political parties and a legislative body, we have enabled these minority sections to defend their interests and yet avoid the use of force.

The thing to be avoided, if the lessons of history are followed, is the insistence upon the particular interests and ideals of the section in which we live, without sympathetic comprehension of the ideals, the interests, and the rights of other sections. We must shape our national action to the fact of a vast and varied Union of unlike sections.

PROHIBITION IN EARLY WISCONSIN

JOSEPH SCHAFER

At the time Wisconsin began to be settled by Northeasterners, the temperance "cause" was already well advanced. Organizing had been going on for some time in New England, New York, and other states. Leaders of the movement at the end of the year 1836 estimated that there were in the United States seven thousand temperance societies with an aggregate of about a million and a half members. It was also stated that three thousand distilleries had ceased operations, seven thousand merchants had given up the sale of liquor, ten thousand drunkards had been reformed, and one thousand vessels were sailing without spirits on board.[1] While the testimony on which these statements rest is *ex parte*, there is no reason to doubt that temperance reform, already seriously agitated for a dozen years or more, had made substantial progress, especially among the class of Yankees who constituted so large a part of the Wisconsin immigration during the next fifteen or twenty years.

In the new territory, however, the Southwesterners, rather than the Northeasterners, were at first the dominant element; and there was little sentiment among the men of the lead mining region in favor of abandoning the use of strong drink. Accordingly, the territorial statute relating to this subject was a very simple licensing law which applied to taverns and groceries, authorizing county boards, town boards, city and village boards to issue licenses at discretion. That was the law until after Wisconsin became a state in the Union—to be exact, until 1849.

During the 1840's the temperance movement of the country received two distinct impulses through changes in

[1] *National Temperance Almanac*, 1836.

organization. First, in 1842, was established the Washingtonian Society for the reclamation of drunkards, this class having been largely neglected under the earlier movement, which was designed mainly to prevent sober men from falling victims to the seductions of strong drink. The Washingtonian Societies multiplied and penetrated everywhere, supplementing the regular temperance societies which, however, did not maintain their earlier zeal and success. Then, about the middle of the decade a new society, the Sons of Temperance, had its inception, and this organization experienced a remarkable success for some years.

It was the Sons of Temperance that developed the sentiment for the drastic regulation or complete prohibition of the liquor traffic in Wisconsin. The Grand Division of the order for this state was founded at Milwaukee on the twenty-second of February, 1848, with John B. Smith as president. At that time there already existed in Wisconsin some twenty-three or twenty-four subordinate divisions with a total membership of about three hundred. The movement was recent, for the division at Racine dated from March, 1847, and it was number four, locals having been formed a little earlier at Milwaukee, Green Bay, and Hazel Green.[2]

The organization of the Grand Division imparted to the movement intensity and confidence. Many prominent men joined the order, the newspapers generally treated it with diplomatic caution, if they did not openly sympathize with it, and it was soon realized that it might become a power in politics. During the first session of the state legislature, held in July, 1848, a bill was introduced in the senate by Simeon Mills, of Madison, to repeal the licensing act which had been on the statute book for almost a decade.[3] We have only intimations of the substitute which the

[2] *Old Oaken Bucket* (Racine), Dec. 16, 1849, 249.
[3] The law regulating taverns and groceries. See *Statutes of Wisconsin*, 1839, 123.

proponents of the repeal desired. But from the discussion in committee of the whole it is clear they wanted to enact the principle "that all persons who shall sell ardent spirits shall be liable in suits at law for all damages which may arise from such sales." Eleven senators gave their adherence to that principle, while eight opposed. Those in favor represented Walworth, Fond du Lac, Jefferson, Waukesha, Green, Racine, Rock, Dane, and Milwaukee counties. The opponents of the bill represented Iowa, Crawford, Sheboygan, Washington, Columbia, Lafayette, and Milwaukee counties.

The matter stopped with the senate, the assembly having no such bill before it. But at the next session a bill was brought forward in both houses which was passed and approved by the governor. The resulting statute was referred to as Chapter 29, *Revised Statutes of 1849*, and was entitled: "An act relating to the sale of spirituous liquors." The distinctive provision of the law was that it required the vendor of liquor to execute a $1000 bond, with adequate sureties, on which he could be sued for any damages either to community or to individual which might be thought to result from his sale of liquor. Town boards could sue to recover damages in case of paupers created by drink sold them; a wife might sue to recover damages to herself and children in case of the husband's neglect due to the same cause.

This act of 1849 was apparently a Wisconsin invention. So far as I can find, no other state had a law similar to it; the temperance press of the country lauded it as a great step forward in temperance legislation, and the temperance people of this state boasted of the state's leadership. At a great meeting of Sons of Temperance in Madison, July 7, they toasted the late legislature, saying: "They washed out a multitude of sins by the act making dealers in spirituous liquors responsible to their victims and to the com-

munity for all damages caused by the sale of their poisonous drugs."[4] And yet, the law did not work. In May, 1849, A. Constantine Barry of Racine began the publication of a temperance paper, or magazine, called *The Old Oaken Bucket.* That paper was made the official organ of the Wisconsin Grand Division Sons of Temperance, and, of course, the editor was profoundly interested in this legislation. He regarded the temperance law as "a good and righteous law" and was pleased with the fact that it was everywhere held up as a model; still he was convinced that "generally speaking, it will remain a dead letter on the statute books. There is a greater law opposed to it and which renders it a nullity. . . . Unless enlightened public opinion and sentiment go along with a law and sustain it, it is good for nothing."[5] And public opinion did not sustain the temperance law.

But the move to repeal the law, in the next legislature, came not from the friends of temperance but from their opponents. In the senate, a repeal bill was introduced by Fred W. Horn, of Cedarburg, Ozaukee (then Washington) County, and in the assembly by Cornelius S. Griffin, who represented Mequon in the later Ozaukee County and Germantown in Washington County. So it was a case of the Germans' seeking to abolish a law which was the most characteristic expression of Yankee austerity. Yankee sentiment, however, prevailed. The Sons of Temperance had extended their organization powerfully during the preceding year, and evidently many politicians were either afraid to encounter their opposition or were genuinely sympathetic with their plans. So, instead of having the law abolished, as they desired, Mr. Horn and his coadjutors suffered the discomfiture of seeing it strengthened by amendment.

[4] See Madison *Wisconsin Express,* July 10, 1849. The act, however, was in harmony with the spirit of the temperance crusade. See, for example, Charles Jewett, M. D., *Speeches, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings* (Boston, 1849).

[5] *Old Oaken Bucket,* Sept. 29, 1849, 169.

Mr. Horn nevertheless derived some satisfaction from the presentation of an ironical minority report in which he delivered views diametrically opposed to those of the Yankee legislators, and since his views are doubtless representative of the German attitude they deserve to be quoted. The majority of the special committee, under the chairmanship of John B. Smith of Milwaukee—head of the Sons of Temperance of Wisconsin—reported in favor of the passage of the bill, which was generally known as the Smith bill. Mr. Horn facetiously asked permission to add a few points by way of "perfecting" the bill (which was sure to pass the senate) so that there might be no chance "for the miserable wretch who sells liquid poison to his fellow men of evading the law and to keep the tippler himself as harmless [blameless] as possible, adopting the principle that no man is responsible for his own acts; but the one [is responsible] who tempted him to commit crime and ruin himself, and your committee trusts that many a poor sinner may, by that doctrine, enter the Kingdom of Heaven, inasmuch as the Devil who tempted him is the only one to blame in the matter."

Then follow several "sections"of a pretended amended bill, the most pointed being the following: "Every and all persons who for the space of twenty-five years and upwards have been steady drinkers in every part of the globe, and by that means may have accomplished their ruin and poverty by degrees and who shall find their way into this state with but one sixpence in their pockets, if that sixpence is paid for liquor, the person so giving or selling the liquor to such person shall support all the orphans and the widow of the man who spent his last sixpence with him; and such liquor vendor shall not be allowed to prove that the ruin of such person has been accomplished years ago, and in other countries, but the words of the law 'justly attributable to such traffic' shall cover all cases of this kind."[6]

[6] *Senate Journal*, 1850. Proceedings for Jan. 21 and 22, 1850.

The journals of the legislature afford no clue to the arguments put forward by the proponents of the amended bill. But in the newspapers of the day where some notice was taken of the debate we learn that Mr. Smith himself, its sponsor, felt that the law of 1849 was good, based on right principles, but had proved inoperative on account of certain imperfections which ought to be remedied by amendment. The law, he said, "had been lauded from one end of the land to the other. . . . He was aware it was imperfect in many respects. Many of our laws are imperfect. Let us amend and not destroy. Let those who make drunkards, paupers, widows and orphans pay for it and not tax virtue and sobriety to support such an unholy traffic." His colleague from Milwaukee, Duncan C. Reed, was in favor of repeal and declared the sentiment among Mr. Smith's constituents was such that they would doubtless instruct him to go for its repeal.[7]

The upshot of the discussion, as stated above, was the adoption of Smith's amended bill. This made the original thousand-dollar bond renewable as often as the fund might be depleted by judgments against it, abolished the principle of the license altogether, and sought to strengthen the process of enforcing the statute. The reception of the amended law in Kenosha was enthusiastic, a mass meeting there expressing complete sympathy with its objects and resolving in favor of its rigid enforcement. By contrast, a mob in Milwaukee visited Mr. Smith's residence at night (in his absence), raised a general commotion, and then proceeded to demolish windows and other breakable articles.[8] The mob was reported to have been made up largely if not wholly of Germans; but some of the best Germans in the city publicly denounced the outrage and demanded the apprehension and punishment of the ringleaders. Unfortunately, the

[7] Madison *Wisconsin Express*, Jan. 22, 1850.
[8] Milwaukee *Sentinel and Gazette*, Mar. 6, 1850. The riot occurred on the evening of Mar. 4.

German papers condoned the action of the mob.[9] After the publication of the law a monster protest meeting was held in Milwaukee, which overflowed Military Hall, and a series of vigorous resolutions presented by the editor of the *Volksfreund* was adopted. These resolutions denounce the law as impracticable, foolish, odious, and illiberal. It is unenforceable, and the principle underlying it, which would make the vendor of liquor "a trustee of the morals of the people at large," is wrong. They censure Senator Smith for forcing the law through against the wishes of his constituents as expressed in petitions to the legislature. But they deprecate the use of violence, alluding to the late riot. Finally, they provide for the appointment of a permanent committee to consider what steps can be taken to protect themselves and secure the repeal of the law. Mayor Upham acted as chairman of the meeting, but it is clear that its active element was the Germans of Milwaukee, and we now have the issue joined between them and the Yankees, on a question which was destined to prove fairly permanent.

The Yankees themselves had doubts about the working of the law. Mr. Barry, in the organ of the Sons of Temperance, regarded it as an improvement on the former statute, particularly in being more definite. "But," he says, "there are points in the law which will be evaded, and no law perhaps can ever be framed which designing men will not evade after some fashion, until the mightier law—Public Opinion—utters its demands and gives to the written one binding force and effect. We shall see whether men will obey the law and whether it will be sustained."

A year's trial proved disappointing. The law was not enforced. In some places the people insisted that their officers exact the required bond of liquor dealers, in others no attention whatever was paid to the law. And where the

[9] *Sentinel and Gazette*, Mar. 7, 1850. Letters of Charles A. Brandeker and A. Henry Bielfeld, in *ibid.*, Mar. 11, 1850.

[10] *Old Oaken Bucket*, Mar. 9, 1850, 331.

bond was executed the temperance element seemed to think all had been done that the situation demanded, and no serious attempt seems to have been made anywhere to obtain judgment in a suit against a liquor dealer for damages wrought by his traffic, which was the very point of the statute. In fact, it is the testimony of the temperance party that the traffic in strong drink gained ground under it. "It had again, virtually, the sanction of law," says the editor of the *Old Oaken Bucket*, "and through it gained something of respectability. And the consequence is that there has been a glorious revival in intemperance."[11] He thought the law should be repealed and believed a perfectly open traffic preferable to the pretended regulation of it under the statute.

But Mr. Barry's solution, which was that of the Sons of Temperance generally, was to substitute an out and out prohibitory law. We are at the time when prohibition was coming to be broached in many states, so that Wisconsin in this was merely voicing a general sentiment. The next winter's legislative grist, in fact, brought forward the first of the "Maine" laws, and also a prohibitory law in the neighboring state of Iowa, while Illinois adopted a drastic regulatory act. When the Wisconsin legislature met, those interested at first believed its personnel rendered the cause of prohibition safe. But some influence led to the repeal of the temperance law and the substitution of an act which returned frankly to the principle of licensing the trade. The sum of $100 was fixed as the regular license fee for groceries, saloons, or any other places where liquors were sold to be drunk on the premises. A bond was required, in the sum of $500, with adequate sureties, conditional that "the applicant will during the continuance of his license keep and maintain an orderly and well regulated house, that he will permit no gambling with cards or dice," or otherwise,

[11] *Old Oaken Bucket*, Nov. 2, 1850.

and that he would fulfill all requirements made upon him by the authorities. He would have the right of a jury trial in case he was charged with violations of the statute. The sale of intoxicants to one who had been publicly declared a "spendthrift" was prohibited under penalty and there were the usual restrictions about selling to minors, servants, etc. In principle, though not in detail, this was the law which continued to govern the liquor traffic in Wisconsin down to very recent times.

Prohibitionists attempted to pass a prohibition measure at that session[12] and they acknowledged that the passage of the licensing law was a triumph of the opposition. "The former law," said Mr. Barry, "being hateful in sight of the rum interest, through art and intrigue it succeeded in getting enacted the present law; and that too while the petitions of the people were twenty to one in favor of the entire prohibition of the liquor traffic. It will be well for temperance men to see who enter our legislature at another session."[13] Wisconsin, he said in a later issue,[14] has "forfeited the good name she had everywhere" as a leader of the temperance hosts.

When we consider the causes of this clear reversal of policy, the impractical character of the former law must occupy a foremost place on the list. It is conceivable that, on the principle of the early English laws, which provided specific payments for specific injuries—so much for the loss of the forefinger to the first joint, so much for a hand, so much for an arm, an eye, a tooth, the big toe, etc., etc.—system of damages might have been devised and published as part of the law; and these could then have been applied to cases in which the liquor dealer was sued on his bond for injuries sustained by an individual or by society. But to turn over to a jury the bald question of how much a dealer

[12] *Senate Journal*, 1851, 320. Bill 153 (S) prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage; reported and read first and second times; in Committee of the Whole; reported back and laid on the table.

[13] *Old Oaken Bucket.* Editorial, Mar. 22, 1851. See also issue of Mar. 15.

[14] *Ibid.*, Apr. 19, 1851.

should pay the suffering family of a tippler who frequented his saloon was a sheer futility.

A second cause of the relative loss of influence of the Yankee element, in the legislature, was the rapid growth of the German element particularly in the eastern part of the state. The Germans, almost to a man, were opposed to severe laws on the subject of the sale of liquor, believing with Fred Horn that every man is responsible for his own use of such beverages and that all have a right to indulge in them at will. Their view was diametrically opposed to that of the Yankees, who held that the traffic in strong drink, since it often led to evil results, was criminal in its nature. At the earlier dates when the liquor question was under discussion the German influence was not fully arrayed, and it was not strong enough at best to curb the militant Yankee sentiment for drastic reform. But the forty or fifty thousand Germans who were in the state by the opening of the year 1851, dominating the politics of several eastern counties on a question such as this, and being distributed widely enough to exert considerable influence in other sections as well, found themselves the balance of power between the proliquor element and the antiliquor element of the state. Under the circumstances they could have such a law as they desired and they went for a general licensing law.

It is significant of the German leadership in this matter that the chief effort in the senate on behalf of the law was made by Dr. Franz Huebschmann of Milwaukee, who replaced Senator John B. Smith. When the petitions on the subject of a liquor law went to a committee, Peter H. Turner of Palmyra, Jefferson County, who was the chairman, reported for the majority in favor of prohibition. His arguments were the usual ones, and he laid special emphasis on the fact that the recommendations of the committee were in harmony with recent action taken in the states of Vermont, Illinois, and Iowa. The report laid down the

principle: "All laws have their foundation in the public good —and as all impose restraint, and all deny the right to do wrong the law which should establish the fact that the sale of liquor is wrong would be plainly a principle of right and has a precedent in every other law directing and influencing the conduct of men. . . . It is useless to talk of correcting the effect so long as the cause is protected, and to legislate against intemperance and its attendant consequences while the cause is left to do its work, is to give life and effect to that over which we have no control."[15] The committee accompanied their report with a full-fledged prohibition bill.

Doctor Huebschmann, for the minority, reported that no one could properly assert the inevitable harmfulness of intoxicating liquors. "Millions of men use beer and wine and to some extent other intoxicating drinks as a beverage and make it in fact as much a part of their food as others do tea and coffee, and the only difference which in the opinion of your committee exists between them, is the difference of taste and habit." The proposed prohibition law "would be too arbitrary and antidemocratic and therefore inoperative in any community where the laws can only be carried out and sustained by the countenance and approval of public opinion." Prohibition would not be a cure of the admitted evils of intemperance. If it were, why not apply the remedy to other evil practices, like the use of opium, which is much more harmful than spirituous liquors and which can be taken clandestinely.[16] The only way to carry out such laws would be to go to the European system of employing a host of police officers to devour the substance of the people. "Wisconsin," continues the report, "has been sufficiently experimented upon, and the rights of her citizens have been

[15] *Senate Journal*, 1851. Appendix, p. 99.

[16] This was a palpable "hit" because a prominent Wisconsin prohibition lecturer had but recently gone into insanity under very dramatic circumstances, when the fact that he was an opium addict was widely published.

tampered with, by laws enacted ostensibly for the promotion of the temperance cause, and her legislature need not go beyond the limits of the state to learn experience. The friends of such laws have been permitted to have it all their own way for the last two years, but have effected just the contrary of what was desired. The law passed at the last session of the legislature made it the particular duty of the grand juries of the different counties to carry out the provisions of said law, but the grand juries of a great majority of the counties, reflecting the prevailing public opinion, and acting under the 'higher law' of common sense, at once disregarded said law." He believed a prohibition law would be still more a dead letter, but that through a license law more control could be exercised over the traffic, since such a law would be sustained by the people.[17]

In the assembly a licensing bill was sponsored by a German representative from Manitowoc County, one of the German sections of the state. When the final vote on its passage was taken in that house, those favoring numbered thirty and those opposing twenty-four.[18] In the yea and nay vote it is seen that all seven members from Milwaukee County voted for the bill, also the two from that part of Washington County which became the later Ozaukee, the two Sheboygan County members, and the Manitowoc member—this was the distinctively German area. But the bill also had the solid support of the delegations from Grant

[17] *Senate Journal*, Appendix, p. 101-103.

[18] *Assembly Journal*, 513. *Ayes* 30: Biddlecome (Grant Co.), Bjornson (Dane), Bradley (Columbia), Briggs (Grant), Carney (Milwaukee), Chase (Milwaukee), Cole (Lafayette), Dick (Calumet), Doran (Milwaukee), Fuller (Waukesha), Groot (Waukesha), Henning (St. Croix), Jenkins (Milwaukee), J. B. Johnson (Grant), Jones (Grant), Julius (Fond du Lac), La Due (Sheboygan), Lessey (Brown), Malmros (Manitowoc), Murphy (Sheboygan), Olmsted (Lafayette), Osborne (Milwaukee), Rogan (Jefferson), Stock (Washington), Tompkins (Rock-Janesville), Walker (Milwaukee), Whiton (Dodge), Wilson (Milwaukee), Wing (Jefferson), Horn (Washington). *Noes* 24: Bannister (Rock-Beloit), Barnett (Fond du Lac), Bird (Dane), Clothier (Jefferson), Cone (Waukesha), Eastman (Winnebago), Easton (Walworth), Estabrook (Walworth), French (Dodge), Hale (Kenosha), Hemingway (Walworth), Hulbert (Green), Kinney (Rock), Lowth (Dodge), Moore (Washington), Ray (Walworth), Seaver (Rock), Smith (Dodge), Spooner (Walworth), Tinker (Racine), Toll (Washington), Utley (Racine), Van Vliet (Racine), Vincent (Rock).

and Lafayette counties (Iowa members and Crawford members being absent), together with the single votes from Brown, Calumet, Columbia, and St. Croix. It received a majority from Jefferson and Waukesha, and a divided vote from Dane and Fond du Lac, with a minority from Rock and Dodge. The upper lakeshore counties and the southwest furnished seventeen of the votes. On the other hand, Racine, Kenosha, Walworth, and Rock (Yankeeland) went all but solidly against the law, casting thirteen of the twenty-four negative votes. Waukesha furnished one, Washington two, Jefferson one, Dodge three, Dane one, Fond du Lac one, Green one, and Winnebago one.

At least one additional reason can be adduced for the failure of the prohibition element to put through their proposed law in 1851—that is, the partial disintegration of the Sons of Temperance in the state during the interval since the adoption of the temperance law. In 1849 the order flourished greatly, adding new local divisions almost weekly and keeping up the morale of its members by frequent public meetings both local and regional. But probably their very success proved their undoing. At all events, many of the churches began to oppose the Sons, ostensibly on the ground that danger lurked in secret orders. Some of the churches, like the Congregational Church of Lake Mills, passed resolutions deploring the action of their members in joining such an organization; church elders took up the cudgels against the order in the newspapers; in a word, they put the Sons of Temperance on the defensive. How far the real animus may have been a spirit of rivalry for the interest of young men cannot be ascertained, but the unfriendliness of many Protestant evangelical churches is established. The temperance movement had affected the Catholic communion also. Father Theobald Mathew, the great Irish temperance lecturer, visited America in 1849 and gained thousands of adherents to the cause in Boston and other eastern cities.

Whether or not the Catholic church in Wisconsin actively opposed the Sons of Temperance is not clear, though the opposition to secret orders is usually at least as strong among Catholics as others.

Another embarrassment of the order grew out of the Compromise of 1850, and especially the fugitive slave law. The Sons of Temperance was a nation-wide organization. On account of the slavery agitation the national council saw fit to oppose the admission of colored men to the locals. This action so outraged the radical abolitionist prohibitionists of Wisconsin that some of the locals, on account of it, surrendered their charters. Most of the others lost much of their fighting spirit and the decline of the order for a time became marked. Thus, instead of coming to the legislature in the character of successful crusaders, as was the case a year previous, they came in 1851 with some of the aspects of a defeated and bedraggled army. They had failed to make good with the temperance law given at their behest in 1849 and strengthened in 1850, confessing that the law had been almost universally flouted; they had failed to hold their organization gains and would prove less formidable to intractable legislators than they had seemed a year earlier. Hence, the legislature felt itself free to follow what the majority deemed the practical course of adopting a licensing law instead of the prohibitory law which the Sons of Temperance were demanding.

But the prohibitionists had no thought of abandoning the struggle. They returned to the charge the very next session, and had the support of many petitioners who asked for a repeal of the licensing law and the substitution of one prohibiting both the manufacture and the sale of intoxicants. The legislature, nevertheless, failed to pass a prohibitory law. One section of opinion desired to initiate a law which should then be submitted to the people for adoption or rejection. But there were doubts of the constitutionality of such a

course. A different bill, merely submitting to the people the question whether or not a prohibitory law should be passed, was read a first and second time and laid on the table. The next year such a bill was passed, and the people at the November election, 1853, had before them for settlement the question whether or not they wished the legislature to enact a Maine law. On that issue the vote records a sharp divergence of sentiment between the sections of the state, but there was a small majority in favor.[19]

The Yankee area went solidly for the Maine law, the German area still more overwhelmingly against. Milwaukee County significantly registered the German opposition with a vote of 4381 against the bill to 1243 in favor. Racine County, on the other hand, gave about 500 majority in favor, and the other southeastern counties were at least equally dry. There were incidents connected with that hard-fought campaign which left a deep impression upon the public mind. It was charged in the prohibition press, for example, that many Milwaukee Germans, in order to show the contempt in which they held the ideas of their opponents, went to the polling places with enormous, arm-long ox-horns filled with beer slung from the shoulder. From that "canteen" they regaled themselves until it was empty, when they walked up to beer wagons standing conveniently in the street, replenished their horns, and returned strengthened for the conflict. When, at a later time, the Germans complained of the Yankees' illiberality and their fanatical disposition to force others to accept their customs, the prohibitionists were prone to remind the Germans of that episode. If the Germans, so ran the response, had shown less fanatical insistence on those customs to which Yankees objected most strenuously, such as making Sunday a day for general carousal, and if they had been willing to respect

[19] The vote stood: for prohibition, 27,519; against, 24,109.

election day, their appeal for "liberality" would have come with better grace.[20]

With the prestige of the favorable popular vote the prohibitionists proceeded with the plan to give the state a Maine law. Such a bill was initiated in each house and passed both houses. There was then some jockeying in the senate by which concurrence with the assembly was prevented. So no law eventuated. The legislative discussion brought out a report against prohibition by E. M. Hunter of Milwaukee, which perhaps deserves mention as foreshadowing some of the constitutional arguments on which the bill of a year later was vetoed. The report also stated, in striking fashion, the more general argument against prohibition. Admitting the evils attendant upon the liquor traffic, Hunter contended that prohibition afforded no remedy for them, it being based on a false theory, namely, that men are not responsible for their own acts. He then proceeded to another argument. "Suppose," he says, "the total abstinence pledge were enacted into a law, and the command go forth from this capital that no man throughout the state should drink anything which might produce intoxication. Would not every one revolt immediately and treat it as a nullity? And what is a prohibitory law save a total abstinence pledge for all the state? It is only cloaked by professing to act against the *vendor*, while the drinker who is solely guilty of whatever may be criminal in the matter, goes unpunished. Why not begin at the right end and make the drinker the direct as he is the real object of this new system of legislation? Who would then be so hardy as to raise his voice in defense of so monstrous an invasion of inherent right?" It was a closely reasoned "lawyer's" report, whether prepared by Mr. Hunter him-

[20] "It does not lessen the desire for a Maine law to live near a 'Bier Halle' and band of music every Sabbath. Let the Germans respect our customs if they want us to respect theirs." *Temperance League*, Aug. 15, 1854.

self or by some other, and it suggests that the prolicense party was putting itself in train for a mighty conflict.[21]

The "treachery" of the senate, as prohibitionists regarded it, created the psychology of the next summer's campaign. It likewise influenced the liquor question locally in many portions of the state. A group of women in Baraboo, stirred by the story of a drunkard who threatened to murder his wife, proceeded to clean out all the liquor from the grog shops of that village, not one of which was conforming to any kind of license law. Six of the most prominent women were arrested for destroying property, were taken before a "beer" justice in Prairie du Sac, and remanded to jail.[22] The incident created widespread excitement, inducing many women of the state to take special interest in the prohibition campaign.[23] A movement of the Temperance Alliance to force compliance with the licensing law caused the prosecution of half a hundred grog-shop keepers in Milwaukee; the village of Appleton prohibited all sale of intoxicants within its limits, thus exercising local option powers, and in some other villages unlicensed places were compelled by mob action to stop selling liquor. Feeling ran high everywhere, so that politicians were compelled to declare their attitude on the question, and the election resulted in a victory for prohibition in the legislature.

In the session of 1855 several different bills on the subject were introduced. The one that finally passed the two houses merely prohibited the "sale" of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, not their manufacture. That concession to Milwaukee's extensive and valuable brewing interests appears to have been necessary to enable the prohibitionists to control the requisite majorities. The vote stood 43 to 25

[21] The report is in *Senate Journal*, 1854, 77-91.

[22] They were freed by a Baraboo judge on a writ of *habeas corpus*, it being shown by the testimony that they had not destroyed the liquid property in *malice*. *Temperance League*, June 28, July 5, and July 19, 1854.

[23] The women of Reedsburg, Sauk County, passed vigorous resolutions in support of the Baraboo women. *Temperance League*, Aug. 2, 1854.

in the assembly, 14 to 8 in the senate. It then went to Governor Barstow and was vetoed. His grounds were constitutional, embracing several points. One was that the bill would bring about forfeiture of property without proof of the guilt of the individual. Another, that on conviction there would be "forfeiture of estate," in violation of the guarantees of the constitution. And a third, that sequestered liquor was by the proposed law directed to be destroyed if found to be impure, whereas the constitution directed that property so seized should be sold for the benefit of the school fund. The legislative majority for prohibition was not large enough to overcome the governor's action.

Thus ended a movement, which had lasted six years, to control by law the tendency of men to become tipplers and drunkards. Not that the prohibitionists now gave over their efforts to bring about the desired reform. But such efforts, after 1855, became increasingly futile. Other states, both east and west, went over to the prohibition basis, and Wisconsin would undoubtedly have done so had the Yankee element continued dominant. The relative decline of that element and the corresponding increase in the number of Germans was responsible for the firm establishment of licensing as a policy in this state. The year 1855 marks the entrance of the Republican party to power in the governorship through the election of Coles Bashford against Barstow. Bashford had been one of the senate prohibitionists, and it was understood that both the Prohibitionists and the Know-Nothings threw their support to him. Under these circumstances it is not strange that the Germans generally held aloof from the Republican party despite their general sympathy with its antislavery attitude. The Republicans realized that, in order to win success on national issues, the party in Wisconsin must attract a goodly share of the Germans to its support, and this could not be done without abandoning the extreme Yankee attitude on the liquor

question. Therefore, from the campaign of 1856 the Republican leaders sought to suppress the issue of prohibition and they at last convinced the Germans that the licensing policy was safe in Republican hands.

After this article was in page proof, the following reference to the Smith law was discovered in the diary of Colonel M. Frank, which was published in Francis H. Lyman, *History of Kenosha County* (Chicago, 1916):

"January 16, 1850: Great trial of liquor sellers terminated today, having been in continuance more than two days. Suit brought by a wife to recover damages of a liquor seller on his bond of indemnity, for selling liquor to her husband by reason of which sale her husband became sick and incapable of rendering her any support. Verdict for the plaintiff of $100, being the largest sum within the jurisdiction of the justice court. This is the first case under the new law of this kind which has been tried in the state."

THE UNIVERSITY IN 1874-1887

FLORENCE BASCOM

A benevolent patriarch of my native village essayed to quicken a faltering enthusiasm for a transfer from the Berkshire Hills to the remote and level West by picturing the Wisconsin City of the Lakes. Madison, he said, was laid out on the plan of the city of Washington, with streets and avenues radiating from the capitol. The capitol, of marble, stood on a hill in a park of oak trees. State Street, leading from the capitol westward to the group of University buildings, was, he said, the "Pennsylvania Avenue of the West." No further details of this street were added or called for; the picture was complete; I knew I should recognize State Street and I longed to see it. The University campus bordered for several miles, he said, the largest of a chain of four lakes, and two more lakes could be seen from the top of University Hall. The president's house was on a hill sloping to Lake Mendota and dotted with oak trees. The patriarch chose his words well: *hills*, lakes, grand old oak trees, and acres upon acres of campus! The details of shaven lawns and stately buildings were left to an imagination quite ready to supply them; the West no longer seemed too remote, nor flat, nor undesirable.

In 1874 smooth lawns and landscape gardening were not a very old story even in the effete East, and it was not to be wondered at that the University campus on the hot August day of our arrival was quite innocent of lawn mowers or of any gardening but vegetable. A tall coarse yellow grass clothed it and a high picket and rail fence painted white enclosed it. The oak trees, which certainly were there, dwarfed by severe winters and dry summers, seemed to rise but

little above the grass. On either side a narrow and treacherous board sidewalk led up the slope to University Hill, and an obviously new two-plank-and-clay sidewalk led over the hill past the low wooden gymnasium to the president's house on the more distant hill. This was my first acquaintance with the practical board sidewalk, practical but treacherous. In later years it happened that immediately after meeting, with immense and shy respect, a distinguished Scandinavian geologist I flung him prone upon Mother Earth by the simple device of stepping upon the end of a loose board in the sidewalk.

The president's house was at that time the only building on the hill, with an orchard on the northern slope just west of the house, and a vineyard of Concord grapes on the southern slope. Those luscious Concords were a wonderful product of a dry soil, and a temptation to generations of students: my brother and one of his most distinguished classmates were, I recall, caught purple-handed in this vineyard. The linden trees, the linden driveway, the groups of evergreen trees, and the seats at commanding points, all came later, and also the stables, which from my point of view were a very essential addition to a home.

There never was anything the matter with the site of the president's house, except that only half of the house could be heated at one time, which half depending upon the direction of the wind—that in those telephoneless and deliveryless days housekeeping required foresight and patience, and that only hardy petunias would survive the summer droughts which annually baked our lawn a crisp yellow. A legend spread, to my foolish distress, that the petunia was the president's favorite flower. But the sunsets, which we watched from the housetop whenever climatic conditions permitted, were a marvelous and complete compensation for every inconvenience. Such sunsets, with a low horizon and a sheet of water whose surface momentarily changing

under the impact of stirring air variously reflected the delicate and glowing colours of the sky, were never seen in the Berkshires and were a source of never-to-be-forgotten enchantment. When the astronomical observatories were completed in 1878 and the house of the sunsets became the astronomer's residence, the more commodious and comfortable character of Governor Dewey's old home (620 State Street) with all the conveniences and distinction of a location on the "Pennsylvania Avenue of the West" quite failed to compensate for the loss of views and ample spaces. The local center of my affections always remained the house on the hill. I used to go back occasionally on a Sunday afternoon and sit with Professor Watson on the north porch, watching the shadows scudding across Mendota and my quondam pet rooster strutting on the lawn with his snow-white flock.

It was not until after 1887 that the house on Langdon Street became the home of the president and the lower campus was added to the University grounds. Between 1874 and 1887 there were "vacant lots" between Langdon and State streets traversed by paths and sometimes used for baseball practice.

The University grounds, which owe their unmatched natural advantages to prodigal unloading during the Ice Age, were losing during these years their unkempt character and acquiring something of their present aspect: the fence with the ornate white posts disappeared, the beautiful east slope was kept as a lawn, the driveways were lengthened and trees planted.

The students in the meantime were benefiting by the simple life of a small institution: we knew and admired all of our ten professors and resented any additions to their number by the introduction of "wise men from the East." On the faculty which we knew in 1874 were men of character and scholarship: Professor William F. Allen and Professor

Roland D. Irving were distinguished men in their profession and their names will live among investigators in their subjects. Professor Allen, with the scholar's oblivion of the trivial incitements to mirth which move an ignoble class, used to regard us over his glasses with a puzzled gaze when a ripple of laughter followed his rapid roll-call, "Green-Horne-Howe." Professor and Mrs. Allen quite unconsciously exerted a finely cultural influence in those days of immaturity: their home had the intellectual atmosphere of eastern New England and the liberal spirit of the Middle West.[1]

Professor Irving, distinctly a New Yorker and lacking the austerity of the New Englander, an aristocrat in tastes and of a generous and noble nature, was known by a smaller number of students. He was a rare teacher and a great geologist. By training and temperament disinclined to coeducation, in his classroom coeducation was carried out with almost startling consistency, typified by the seating of his students alphabetically without distinction of sex. It might be noted that in those days the somewhat opprobrious epithet "co-eds" had not yet been fastened upon the women. It may have been introduced with other and more desirable accessions from eastern institutions. It certainly is not indigenous to Wisconsin and does not fairly indicate the attitude of the student body toward the young women in my day.

It is necessary only to name Professors Sterling, Carpenter, Feuling, Nicodemus, Parkinson, and Daniels to demonstrate the strength of our faculty in 1874. Professor Carpenter died in 1878 before many of us knew him as a teacher, but an oral entrance examination in English grammar, which he conducted, made an impression on me of force and ability which I have never forgotten.

[1] Mrs. Allen's reminiscences were published in this magazine in September, 1923, under the title "The University of Wisconsin soon after the Civil War."

Professor Feuling, whose chair was *limited* to modern languages and comparative philology, had an uncommon personality. The story is told of him that finding himself the only member of the faculty upon the chapel platform (this, I believe, antedated 1874) he announced that in so much as he was the only officer there and he was an "infiddle" there would be no chapel that morning.

Professor Davies, with the reputation of a scholar in his subject, physics, was never able to put over his instruction. Upon request we went to the board and occupied ourselves *very* busily in putting down equations, which we quickly erased at the sound of the bell and escaped, neither student nor professor any the wiser for the hour. Professor Kerr will always be remembered as the mild and gentle scholar who put at ease the most timid and backward student and was in turn ungratefully hectored in the classroom. Professor Anderson, whose autographed translations of Björnsterne Björnson's novels, seven in number, are among the cherished volumes in my library, was an enthusiastic instructor in 1874, later becoming professor of Scandinavian languages and literature. "To bee or not to bee" that is the question now-a-days" is inscribed on the flyleaf of *Magnhild*. It was Professor Anderson who inveigled me into the hot and healthful task of beekeeping, an experience not to be forgotten, nor to be regretted, nor to be repeated. Of all that early faculty Professor Anderson is, I think, the only one still living.[2] May he enjoy life for many years to come.

To this faculty came the wise men from the East, among whom we all remember with high regard John M. Olin, Edward A. Birge, Edw. T. Owen, Captain Charles King, Edw. S. Holden, William Trelease, Storm Bull (alias Tempestuous Taurus), and John William Stearns. No less distinguished men were added to our staff from the alumni

[2] The writer is mistaken in this, for Professor Parkinson is still living at the advanced age of ninety.

of the University: C. R. Van Hise, F. J. Turner, Julius E. Olson, G. C. Comstock, Allen Conover, D. B. Frankenburger, L. M. Hoskins, Milton Updegraff, and others.

No reminiscences of old days would be complete without mention of Patrick—janitor, doorkeeper, and messenger to the president. There is an old story which I have heard told by one of the chief actors. When the incoming president, newly arrived in the spring of 1874, established himself in his office in University Hall, he expressed to Patrick some hope that they would get on well together. "Oh yes, Sor, I think so, Sor," replied Patrick, "for I have inquired into your charactor, Sor." When there was illness in our home Patrick appeared at the door in the early morning with a bottle of medicine, the efficacy of which had been tested and established in his household. He was very earnest that we should accept it, and of course we did.

The nonchalant "Mr." Ashby, janitor of Ladies' Hall, who could always be found leaning languidly against a wall with folded arms and crossed legs, ready for conversation, was of quite another and a more Dickensonian type.

The discontinuance of the preparatory department soon depleted our numbers advantageously, and the increasing subdivision of subjects meant stronger contacts with a larger number of directing minds. There were no candidates for higher degrees in those days, and textbooks and recitations were the order of the day, though in some classrooms considerable material was added by the professor. Courses were for the most part required, and specialization such as can be secured through the group system and electives was not thought of. There was only too little general or collateral reading and no manifestation, I should say, of the spirit of research. On the other hand, the majority of us were in earnest about securing the training which the University offered, and were neither captiously critical of nor antagonistic to our instructors. Nor were we distracted

from our main purpose by a multiplicity of social pleasures. My recollection is that "class receptions" given by hospitable members of the faculty constituted our major dissipations and were greatly valued by us. The president's annual Commencement receptions were in the early years held in the capitol. It was not one of my privileges to attend them and I always claimed that they were not very exclusive affairs, but the senior and faculty receptions at the president's house, with an abundance of food, were another matter; there was always enough forage for a friend and myself the next day. I cherish in tender memory the simplicity and unsophistication of those evenings. The relations between town and gown were close and cordial; many a shy student from the country recalls gratefully the hospitality of some delightful Madison home. The University also drew an exceptional number of distinguished visitors from New England and old England.

The women lacked gymnasium drill or any form of organized athletics, except that sometime in 1878 or 1879 at the instigation of Will Anderson, of grateful memory, and with him as instructor, the inadequate University gymnasium (by custom ceded to the men exclusively) was opened to the women a few hours every week. This was far from sufficient exercise, and the women suffered from lack of regular exercise unless they indulged individually in swimming, boating, or riding. There was little enough of this, but the feat of swimming from Picnic Point to our boat-house (a good seven-eighths of a mile) was accomplished by a woman in my class. It is an interesting manifestation of the attitude of certain public critics toward change, that when the collegiate training of women was first on trial there were clamorous complaints that the health of young women was being wrecked; now the same class of public critics are loudly complaining that college women are "Amazons."

Baseball was a great game among the men, and the women took a keen interest in watching the match games. There were no tennis courts, and though a football was occasionally *kicked* as a form of exercise the real game was still unknown.

Student conservatism was manifested in the expressed resentment of the student body to the introduction of the card catalogue system in the Library replacing the quite inadequate but endeared-by-familiar-use printed pamphlet catalogue.

Our student meetings were held at first in the chapel of University Hall and later in the assembly room of Library Hall, where also on Sunday afternoons we were addressed by the president on themes of ethical import with a vigor and potency which I am free to say kept one student in the path of rectitude. Our obligations to the state were made exceedingly plain, and the seed was sown which later fructified in the "Wisconsin Idea."

Secret societies among the women were not a dominant factor in University life. Until about 1881, I believe, when Delta Gamma gave us a shocking surprise, Kappa Kappa Gamma had no rivals and might be accused of displaying an arrogant spirit, but it by no means exerted the influence on the campus which was wielded by the literary societies—Castalia and Laurea. These societies drew their membership at that time from two rather different groups of women, and the rivalry between the two organizations was thoroughgoing and even regulated our social intercourse. The plays, the debates, and the character parties of one's literary society were the occasion of the most intense emotions of one's University life. Among the men there were several fraternities, but much the same rôle was played by the literary societies, and the forensic event of the year was then, as it is perhaps now, the public debate between Athena and Hesperia. The lights of Athena and Hesperia used always

to be glowing in the low windows of the top floor of University Hall on my late return from the meeting of my society.

Our religious life was given expression in the University Christian Association, a vigorous and liberal body, and later by organizations cooperating with the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. of the state, by Saturday evening talks by the president, and by the churches of Madison. Dr. Charles H. Richards was during all these years and more (1867-1890) the pastor of the Congregational Church, and easily won and kept by his personality and his liberality a strong hold upon the students of the University. The Unitarian and Presbyterian churches also drew strongly the University element.

At this distance it seems an amazing fact that the illness excuses of the entire student body passed over the president's desk: a simple white card initialed with the cryptic "803." When one recalls that in those days of a small University income, the president was provided with neither a University secretary nor a private secretary, that even the catalogues and Commencement programs were addressed by him, that he carried professorial work in addition to administrative duties, that he was producing speeches, articles, and books, it is not to be wondered that the information sent from his office to inquiring students often took the form of a laconic postcard; nor, I suppose, was it to be wondered at that occasionally the incoming freshman sent his luggage to the president's house pending a permanent location.

These old days have rapidly given place to better conditions, to increased efficiency, to larger opportunities, to larger numbers, and perhaps to a scattering of interests and a loosening of ties. That the graduates of today have a better training than those of our day cannot for a moment be doubted, but it is questionable whether they cherish so intimate an affection for their Alma Mater as we did when five dozen photographs (cabinet size, Curtiss Studio) were a sufficient number to affect an exchange with every member of one's class.

WARREN DOWNES PARKER

WILLARD N. PARKER

Warren Downes Parker was born at Bradford, Vermont, September 26, 1839. In 1855 he moved with his parents to Janesville, Wisconsin. From 1855 to 1908 he was a resident of Wisconsin, moving from place to place as he advanced in the teaching profession. His retirement from active work was on January 5, 1903. The succeeding four years were spent at his old home, River Falls, and then he and his wife took up residence in Pasadena, California, July 2, 1908, where he died March 21, 1920. His remains were cremated.

The father of Warren Downes Parker was J. W. D. Parker, who was born at Bradford, Vermont, March 22, 1808, and died October 2, 1865, at Janesville. He was a lawyer of considerable prominence, and judge of the county court in Vermont and later of the municipal court in Janesville. The mother was Amine C. Pratt, born in Bradford, Vermont, March 6, 1813, and died at River Falls, Wisconsin, January 31, 1883. She was buried in Oak Hill Cemetery, Janesville. There was one sister in the family, by the name of Marion Amine, born at Bradford, Vermont, June 4, 1835, who became the wife of George R. Curtis of Janesville in 1864, and had two children who died young. Marion died at Janesville, August 10, 1875.

On August 26, 1869, Warren Downes Parker was married to Justine Bernice Hewes, formerly, from 1862 to 1865, a pupil of his in the Delavan high school. The marriage took place in Chicago, where the bride's parents had moved. This marriage was a most happy one, and throughout the life of Mr. Parker his good wife contributed much toward his advancement. She shared with him the

trials and tribulations through which he passed, and as a helpmate was always a great asset in the administration of his official duties. Wherever they resided both contributed to the welfare of the community and made hosts of lasting friends. Mrs. Parker is now residing in Pasadena, California.

The only child born to Mr. and Mrs. Parker was Warren Downes Jr., June 2, 1873. The boy was the life and inspiration of the parents and was afforded every educational advantage possible in his preparation for the profession of mining engineer. He had a course at the University of Wisconsin, and three additional years in the College of Mines at Houghton, Michigan. Downes Jr. soon became an expert in his special line, receiving a high salary at a very young age in keeping with his efficiency. His last mining engineering labors were in Nicaragua, Central America, where he contracted some disease prevalent in that country from which he failed to rally, and died at New Orleans, Louisiana, on September 6, 1907. His remains were buried in Oak Hill Cemetery, Janesville. The death of Downes Jr. was a great shock to Mr. and Mrs. Parker, from which they never fully recovered.

Mr. Parker's elementary schooling was received in the district school and academy at Bradford, Vermont; his secondary education in the high school at Janesville, Wisconsin, from which he was graduated in 1859. From that day until death called him, Warren Downes Parker was a student, and through his own persistent efforts advanced in learning and understanding. So great was his progress in the world of letters and his success in his chosen profession, that the University of Wisconsin in 1874, on the recommendation of Dr. John Bascom, then president, conferred upon him the master of arts degree.

A few months after Mr. Parker's graduation from the Janesville high school, he did his first teaching in a district

school in the town of Rock, Rock County, Wisconsin, from December, 1859, to March, 1860—the so-called "winter term." That fall he taught in the first ward school in Janesville, and he held this position for two years, or until June, 1862. From this subordinate position, in September, 1862, he went to the headship of the schools at Delavan, Wisconsin, and taught there four years, or until June, 1866. The fall of the same year found him at the head of the schools at Monroe, Wisconsin, but only until February, 1867. Then in December, 1867, he became the superintendent of schools at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, and remained in this position until December, 1869, when he resigned to become superintendent of the Janesville schools the following January, remaining in this field for five years, or until April, 1875.

It was in September of the same year that he became president of the newly created State Normal School at River Falls, Wisconsin, and here for fourteen consecutive years he trained thousands of teachers. In September, 1889, he was appointed by State Superintendent Thayer as the high school inspector of Wisconsin, remaining in this work until July, 1891. In the fall of this year Mr. Parker assumed the headship of the State School for Blind at Janesville, but owing to failing health remained in the work only a few months.

From February, 1892, to August, 1894, he was a state normal school regent, and acted as secretary to the state normal board of regents. In September, 1894, he was again called to the presidency of his old normal school at River Falls, and remained in this position until June, 1898, completing eighteen years of service in this one institution.

On January 1, 1899, he was appointed by L. D. Harvey, just elected state superintendent of public instruction of Wisconsin, as the state free high school inspector. This position he held until July, 1901, when he became the state inspector of schools for the deaf, retiring from this work with his chief, Superintendent Harvey, January 5, 1903.

Mr. Parker's energies were not devoted alone to the schoolroom. He was interested in all civic projects which looked to the betterment of the community in which he lived. His broadness of view also brought him in touch with the general welfare activities of society which pertained to the state and nation. Of course, his principal influence was felt directly in educational matters.

He was a prominent worker in the teachers' institutes of Wisconsin, while in the Wisconsin State Teachers' Association he held all the offices, including those of secretary and treasurer, and was president during the session of 1870 held at Watertown. He was secretary of this organization from 1867 to 1886, nineteen years. In appreciation of his service to the association he was presented with a handsome marble clock and a goldheaded cane by the members of that organization. Mr. Parker was also railway secretary of the National Education Association, with which organization he was intimately connected during all his educational career. He served in this capacity at the meeting held in Wisconsin in 1884 and in Chicago, Illinois, in 1887. At the conclusion of the latter meeting the officers of the National Associaiton presented him with a Howard watch in appreciation of the great service he had rendered them. He was a life member of the National Education Association—a gift from the River Falls Normal School faculty and students.

During the great world's fair at St. Louis, in 1904, Mr. Parker was in charge of the Wisconsin educational exhibit, which he had previously prepared and arranged in the educational building. In this capacity he brought home to thousands of visitors from all over the world the wonderful work that the Badger State was doing in educating its boys and girls.

In his last days of retirement at Pasadena, he was no less active in contributing to the welfare of the people than he was in his active work of life. Although constantly re-

quested to assume official positions, he declined them all. He was interested in every movement for the betterment of the schools and the intellectual and moral growth of the children of the community. We note that at the dedication of Washington Park in Pasadena on April 30, 1921, among trees planted on the occasion was one in honor of Warren Downes Parker. He shared this honor with John Muir, John Burroughs, and local men who had contributed to the welfare and pleasure of the citizens of Pasadena.

When one speaks of the character of an individual, it must necessarily involve the entire life of the subject. The writer, although bearing the same name, is no relation to Warren Downes Parker, the subject of this sketch. He first met Mr. Parker in the fall of 1890, when the latter, as inspector of the free high schools of the state of Wisconsin, visited him at Fox Lake, where he was then principal of the high school. From that time on the writer had various contacts with Mr. Parker, especially in educational matters, and in January, 1899, there began a close fellowship with him as a colaborer in the State Department of Public Instruction of the state of Wisconsin, which terminated January 5, 1903, with the retirement of our chief, State Superintendent Harvey.

The writer knew Warren Downes Parker intimately. After the lapse of these many years there is still impressed upon his mind the genuine manhood of this great educator and leader of young men and women. It was the earnestness of Warren D. Parker that commanded the respect of all who came in contact with him. He was a man of the deepest sincerity, and every project that he undertook was carried to completion with an energy and perseverance that are seldom found in the ranks of educators. He scorned sham, decried evil, was frank and sincere in all his dealings with his fellowmen. He always shot straight from the shoulder in all his activities of life, and expected in return the same

straightforward, honest, upright dealings from others. These were the characteristics which have made his name one to be remembered by all those who came in contact with him in the educational world. At times his constructive criticisms may have been considered unjust, but as time rolled on we who had the good fortune to come under his guidance appreciated more and more their true worth.

Professionally Warren Downes Parker was a remarkable man. The teaching of boys and girls, the instruction of young men and women for the teaching profession, and the directing of educational affairs in the high offices which he held, have stamped him as one of Wisconsin's greatest men in the educational field. As a student he stood high in the scholastic ranks. No time was wasted in his academic preparation for the teaching profession. As a teacher he was a logical and forceful instructor. The young and old who had the good fortune to come under his teaching appreciated his thoroughness and realized that when he gave them a mark in their work, that mark was fully earned.

As Mr. Parker advanced in the teaching profession from that of an instructor of youth to the higher and larger work of preparing teachers, his great value to society became more apparent. In the instruction of teachers he conducted many institutes of short duration during the summer in both urban and rural communities. Then came his work in the River Falls State Normal School, devoted exclusively to the preparation of teachers. It was during his eighteen years in this institution that the greatest work of his life was done. The alumni of this institution are now scattered not only throughout Wisconsin, but over the United States, and many are in foreign countries. All of them realize and appreciate the great help this great man gave them in those days when they were preparing for life's work.

In his capacity as an inspector Mr. Parker's earnestness, zeal, and love of the truth inspired those who came under his

supervision. His criticisms were always constructive. We all know that like other professions the teaching profession is not without its deadbeats, and these are the only ones who in the entire life of Mr. Parker could be counted as his enemies; and this, of course, brings us to say most truthfully that "we love him for the enemies he made." Keen of intellect, experienced in the ways of the world, and knowing the teaching problem from its foundation to its highest accomplishments, Mr. Parker, though tolerant and kindly in his advice, dealt definitely and decisively with all camouflagers.

Warren Downes Parker loved the profession of teaching dearly, and nothing of an outside nature was ever allowed to interfere with his growth in educational work. We find that in his early days he became a member of the Masonic Lodge, completing the Knights Templar degree. On his return to Madison in 1902 he withdrew from the Masonic lodges and took no further interest in this work. His religious belief may be summed up in the creed of the Universalist church. Though not a religious enthusiast, no man ever lived a more moral life than Warren Downes Parker, and his standards of conduct were of the highest.

Attesting these strong traits of character here indicated, and in proof of the lasting results of Mr. Parker's life work, was the honor paid him and his good wife on the occasion of their golden wedding anniversary, August 26, 1919. Unknown to either, the former students of Mr. Parker and the faculty of the River Falls Normal School united in the celebration of this day by a substantial gold contribution which was presented to the couple at a surprise function given in their honor in one of the beautiful estates of Pasadena. More than four hundred congratulatory messages were received on this eventful day from all parts of the United States—all of which formed a well deserved tribute to the good deeds of these good people.

The world is better because Warren Downes Parker came into it and lived and worked eleven years beyond the allotted three score and ten of man. All over Wisconsin and throughout this country and the world men and women are living today who owe their inspiration for better and more useful lives to this good man. He taught boys and girls how to live intellectually and morally. He taught teachers how to teach boys and girls to live the ideal life, and so on and on down the generations his good deeds are multiplied and will continue to multiply for the good of all humanity.

Warren Downes Parker—the teacher, the leader, the man!

MAIL TRANSPORTATION IN THE EARLY DAYS: A TRIP OVERLAND FROM THE CLIFF MINE TO APPLETON

Mrs. T. O. Bennett

At our previous meetings we have been told of "early days" in the copper country—of "first boat day," and how it was observed; also pleasant reminiscences of mining life at "Old Central" and other mines. No one has told us of winter transportation to connect with the outer world or of winter and summer mail service. From the days of the earliest settlement, mail in the winter was carried by Indians on toboggans drawn by dogs, and it was often weeks and even months after the boats stopped running before any mail reached us. In the summer our mail and all other transportation was by boats. At Eagle River there was a dock or pier extending out into the lake more than half a mile; the sand kept washing in around this pier until the water was not deep enough for the boats to land, so they had to stop farther out, when mail and freight were unloaded onto a scow or small boat and taken into Eagle River. On November 5, 1864, one of the steamers stopped on its way up the lake to leave the mail, and William Siebold, then postmaster at Eagle River, went out with a small boat to get it. The clerk on the steamer delivered the mail bag to Mr. Siebold, and the steamer went on its way up the lake. There was a strong off-land wind blowing, too strong in fact for Mr. Siebold to row against; he was blown out into the lake and never found. The largest and best tug on Portage Lake was sent out and searched the shores of Isle Royale and the North Shore, but found nothing of either man or boat.

In the winter of 1862-63 the first team road and mail route was opened via Rockland to Appleton. The stopping places at that time on the route, starting from the Cliff Mine, were Houghton, Rockland, Lake Vieux Desert, Pete Martin's, Wolf River, Indian Joe's, Hi Polar's, White Lake, Shawano, New London, and Appleton, which was the nearest railroad station. These stopping places were from forty-five to fifty or more miles apart.

My father, the late George S. Wilson, was the first man to make this trip, starting from the Cliff Mine in the winter of 1862-63. At this time Percival Updegraff was the agent of the mine, and his father, mother, and two sisters were spending the winter there with him. About the first of December his mother died, and as their home was in Mount Vernon, Ohio, they were anxious to take the body there. After consulting with my father, they decided they could make the trip overland to Appleton. It took several days to get ready, as the casket—a rough box covered with black velvet—had to be made in the carpenter-shop, since there was no undertaker at hand. Also a provision box had to be made to carry necessities for the trip.

In the party were Percival and Charles Updegraff, their father, and my father. The weather was very cold and wayside houses were far apart; the first one stood about two hundred feet west of the present John Phillips' saloon near Allouez, and was kept by Charles Mellon. The Calumet and Hecla Mine had not yet been discovered, and it was an almost unbroken forest to drive through from the Cliff to the Franklin Mine. When they reached Houghton, the senior Mr. Updegraff was sick, so they stayed at the Douglas House that night (which, by the way, was no part of the present structure, although located on the same site). In the morning the old gentleman was much worse and it was decided that Percival should remain in Houghton with his father, while Charles and my father would continue the

journey alone, arriving at Rockland that night and continuing the next day to Lake Vieux Desert. The latter station was kept by a white man named Fox, who a few years later was proprietor of the Butterfield House in Houghton; most of the other stations on the route were kept by Indians.

The second night was spent at Pete Martin's station. Continuing their journey, in the evening of the third day they reached the Wolf River station, which was kept by an old Indian subchief. They went into the house, where were several Indians, and two kettles boiling over the fire—one containing soup, the other potatoes. Meat was scarce on that road. When dinner was ready the old chief seated himself at the head of the table. The menu was soup and potatoes without salt. When the soup was served, my father, seeing particles of white meat floating in it, asked what it was made of. The chief, who could not talk much English, pointed to an old mother dog and some puppies on the floor by the fireplace and then to the soup, and said, "Bow-wow." As the travelers had no relish for "bow-wow" soup, they ate only potatoes for their dinner. They stayed all night and were charged three dollars each for dinner, lodging, and a breakfast consisting of some more boiled potatoes.

The next day being rather stormy, it was impossible to make the next station that night. Toward evening they came to an old barn with some marsh hay in it, and decided to stay there overnight; they made a fire and got something to eat, retiring soon afterwards. After lying down they heard a noise around their provision box, and on looking out saw a large wolf in their sleigh. My father tried to make a noise to frighten it away, and found that he was speechless from fright; upon trial Charles found that he was in the same fix. After a while they succeeded in making a noise of some kind and the wolf went away. However, they were afraid to stay there the rest of the night, so they hitched up

their team again and went on their way, reaching the next station, kept by Indian Joe, sometime during the next day. There they decided to stay over night. The sleeping apartments at this place consisted of a shanty about twenty feet square made of poles, with a large hole in the roof, no floor, a small fire on the ground in the center. Everybody rolled up in his blanket or buffalo robe and lay on the ground with feet to the fire; this accommodation was worth one dollar each.

Continuing their journey they arrived at Hi Polar's station the next evening. When they went in to supper they noticed that the meat looked coarse and red; upon being told it was horse meat, they again ate potatoes for supper at one dollar per meal. After a breakfast of boiled potatoes the following morning, they continued on to White Lake station, which was kept by a young white man and his wife; here they fared a little better. On leaving this station the next morning they overtook a small party of Indians who insisted on riding with them until their team was pretty well tired out, and they had to give them all the tobacco they had to get rid of them. It was long after dark when they reached Keshena, the Indian reservation some twelve miles out from Shawano; and as the Indians were having a dance and "pow wow," they took the bells off the team in the hope of getting by without being held up again, as they had nothing left to give them. They succeeded in getting by noiselessly, and reached Shawano about midnight.

Leaving there the next morning, they arrived at Appleton in the evening, when Mr. Updegraff went East with the body and my father was left to make the return trip alone. This he did without mishap. When he reached Houghton, the senior Mr. Updegraff was still alive and lingered until the first of March. When he died, that long, hard journey must be made again by my father and Percival Updegraff, with about the same experiences as on the former trip.

ANNALS OF A COUNTRY TRADESMAN

OSCAR H. BAUER

I was born before the Industrial Revolution closed. This was not known to me at the time Professor W. A. Scott of the University of Wisconsin, in a rapid flow of incisive language that I thought could apply only remotely to one of my small-town origin, lectured on the subject to a class of which I was a member twenty-five years ago. As a matter of fact, it was money which my father had earned under the old régime that made it possible for me to listen to Professor Scott's lectures.

My father was a shoemaker, following the calling of St. Crispin from the time that he was eleven years old, in 1861. He was apprenticed at that early age to a man whose shop was located in the town of Leroy, Dodge County, and received altogether fifty dollars for the first three years. After that he did piecework. He moved about a little, spending some time at Sun Prairie. When a narrow-gauge railroad was built from Iron Ridge to Fond du Lac, a short line that carried the ambitious name of Fond du Lac, Amboy, and Peoria Railroad, father, who was about to marry and was looking for a place to locate, decided to build a shop and home at Brownsville, a town-site which had just been opened on the new road twelve miles south of Fond du Lac.

In a short time Brownsville had a store, a blacksmith shop, a wagon-maker's shop, my father's place of business, and a saloon. The blacksmith shop remains to this day dangerously near to our former home. I often heard father say that one of the chief business mistakes of his life was that he did not purchase the lot on the east side, on which the blacksmith shop stands, as he had purchased the one on the west, which we used for a garden. The lower fire insurance premiums which he would have paid because of the lessened risk, alone would have made the purchase of the lot profitable.

The wagon-maker soon gave up making wagons; he could not compete successfully with Fish Brothers of Racine andthe South

Bend manufacturers. For a time he contented himself with the repairing that he was called upon to do, but later he sold out to the blacksmith, who easily learned to do wood-work in addition to his own craft. The saloon in time had two competitors and did fairly well until the coming of prohibition. How it has prospered since, I inferred when I was at Mayville a short time ago. I called upon some cousins, who sell Buicks. While I stood round, a fine, new car was put in readiness for delivery.

"Whose car is that?" I asked.

"That's going up to X——, at Brownsville."

"What business is he in?"

"He runs the soft-drink parlor, R——'s old place."

After the coming of factory boots and shoes, father repaired them, both he and his former customers grumbling a little now and then about their quality; and then, as the demands of his increasing family grew, he enlarged our home and shop, and commenced general merchandising in competition with the other storekeeper. He soon had a good trade in boots and shoes, and mother managed the dry-goods and groceries. She also did the bookkeeping.

When I visited my parents a short time ago, I asked father whether I might have one of the wooden lasts that he had used in his shoemaking. When he told me that he had burned all of them as they were always in the way down in the basement, I was sorry that I had asked for one, as I feared that I might have made him regret his action. However, father is no sentimentalist about his shoemaking. Possibly he is right. To pound lasts for sixty years and to be beaten out of the game as he was by the makers of factory boots and shoes is not a thought to be dwelt upon by him with the delight of an antiquarian. Yet I know that father often thinks of the days when he pegged away and of the nights when he worked under the shaded hanging-lamp, always scrupulously clean, conveniently placed in front of him. Undoubtedly he has some memories of that time not shared by his children, because things that impress their elders are sometimes not noticed by the young.

In common we have a recollection of some of the neighbors

who came in to give an order for a pair of boots or shoes, or for the sake of talk and the warmth of the stove.

There was Pat Geelan, who chewed pails of fine-cut tobacco and related outlandish stories of things that happened while he was in the lumber camps of northern Wisconsin. We found out later that most of his stories were to be found in the *Saturday Blade*, a weekly which contained more harmless, simple, mirth-provoking lies than any paper published nowadays. The two Sampson brothers, who were, intellectually, giants among the country folk, came in for serious talk. One of them later became an auditor in the United States Treasury Department during Cleveland's presidency, and gained some notoriety when on one occasion he threw a Southerner down a stairway at Washington.

These meetings in my father's shop were generally peaceable. Once, however, H——, an irascible old soul, and N—— got into a dispute. H—— seized father's heel block, a heavy, cylindrical piece of hardwood about two feet long, and was about to strike his opponent a heavy blow with it when father jumped up and seized it just in time.

A caller whom we can never forget was G——. One cold morning in January he came with an unnatural look upon his face, stood with his back to the stove, and without looking up said, "They're after me." Even we children soon understood the sad condition of our nearest neighbor. His mind was gone, and that evening he was taken to the Hospital for the Insane at Oshkosh, where he soon died.

Father had one woman customer for whom he regularly made calf-skin boots. She owned a good-sized farm in Fond du Lac County two miles away and did her own work most of the year. She never married, was eccentric but very keen, and affected mannish ways and dress. She interested us children but we were not attracted by her. She could shoot well, and on one occasion she shot the hound of a hunting party which had come from Fond du Lac to hunt rabbits and did not heed the "No trespass" signs which she had put up on her farm. This woman was known as "Uncle Em." In her immediate neighborhood lived a man named Dewitt Clinton Collins, a settler from New York, as might

be inferred from his name. I recall him on account of the Civil War blue army coat with brass buttons and a long cape which he still wore in the early eighties.

Several other customers I remember distinctly. There was one man from Leroy who talked in a drawling way, and every once in a while said "and so on." We called him "Mr. And-So-On." John Joyce, a nursery agent for a part of the year and a sponge during the rest, came in frequently to talk to father. I remember him because whenever he was drunk he would sing, "O Mary, my darling, why don't you come home?" We did not take his song seriously because we knew that Joyce had no home to which Mary might go. He himself died in the poor-house. Frequently seen with him was Pete Schu, whose name served us children in an odd way. Whenever one of us was asked the question "Who?" and the answer was not forthcoming, the reply was sure to be, "Pete Schu."

Of those who came to this country from Germany about the time of my birth, Jacob Wurtz stands out in my memory because of a few characteristics, chief among which were a stirring, hearty laugh and constant good nature. He married a widow shortly after he arrived, and both lived long and prosperously. Though he read English and became well-informed, his speech always made his origin evident. When the name of our railroad station was changed from Brownsville to Thetis, some of us spoke approvingly and expressed our admiration of the Greek nymph and her son Achilles, but Jacob Wurtz affected to be displeased. I can still hear him. "Dedis! Dedis! Was ist das fur ein Nam! Brownsville will not grow by dat name." Before he died, the name of the station was again changed to Brownsville. Evidently a new official had come along, who knew not Homer.

A proverb says, "Shoemakers' sons go barefoot." That was not our case. I recall two pairs of boots, one for my brother and one for me, of fine calf-skin with red tops. They were of interest to all the children of the neighborhood and a great delight to us. Years later, when one day Professor J. F. A. Pyre, of the University of Wisconsin, spoke in an understanding and enthusiastic way of Marlowe's shoemaking, I do not think that he guessed the

pleasure his words gave one of his listeners. Professor Pyre also introduced me to Dekker, who, because of his *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, has naturally appealed to me very strongly. My father, like Simon Eyre, at one time had an apprentice and one or two journeymen; but unlike Simon he never became mayor of his town nor set a banquet for a president or a governor, perhaps because Brownsville only recently was incorporated—as a village. Father did become a member of the school board, and had the responsibility of hiring the teacher and of mowing the grass and thistles in the school yard on summer evenings. And as for a Lacy disguised as a Hans among father's workmen? There was no disguise about them. I recall two of them who had red noses, and who were without interest when not spurred on by "schnapps," which was stronger drink than father cared for. One of them, the last, I believe, left mother in an angry mood, for I remember that on the day he went she threw the wooden bed he had used out of the window, while she commanded my brother and me to hack it to pieces and burn it in the back yard. I think she was glad to celebrate the passing of the old days with a bonfire, although she undoubtedly regretted the loss of a bed.

There was always a time during the summer months when there was insufficient work to keep father busy. For a few days during harvest he would go to the near-by farms and cradle wheat; and great was the pride he took in his ability to cut down more than the other men in the field. He was in demand at such a time. By this work in the open fields he won some lasting friends whom he could not have gained by serving them only as their shoemaker. Even after the binders came into general use, he always spent a week or ten days stacking grain, mostly barley at that later time.

The change from shoemaking to storekeeping meant an enriched life for us children, for it brought us in contact with a number of salesmen, who represented the greater world and typified its urbanity, power, intelligence, and all-round resourcefulness.

One of our favorite "agents," as we called the salesmen, was Davis, the tea and grocery man, who at all times commanded our loyalty. He liked to discuss fundamental things and thus helped

much to enlarge our mental horizons. Some years later he took me with him to drive his fine team of ponies through the neighboring villages. At Rubicon he set me on the train for home, while he drove on. It was harvest time in the country, and I recall the pleasure we took in the scenery and in the activity of the farmers. One thing he said on this trip I remember distinctly; it contrasted with the general cheerfulness of our talk. On noticing some women pitching and loading grain in a field we were passing, he said, "Some of those women give birth to a child in the morning and are back milking cows at night." Later, when I learned that his wife was an invalid and that his two daughters had died of consumption, I understood why he should have spoken in such an unusual way to a boy of fourteen. Later Davis changed houses; that is, he represented a different firm. My father was disturbed, for he had to choose between loyalty to the old firm, against which he had no complaint to make, and to Davis, whom he regarded as an old friend. Perhaps it was the influence of the children in favor of Davis that was the deciding factor, for father bought of the new firm. Most of the goods of our store were ordered from the salesmen, who carried samples. Thread and notions, however, were bought directly of Campbell, a vigorous, hearty Scotchman, who looked exactly like the pictures of Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. We always looked forward to his arrival. He came regularly with his large covered wagon, which held a great variety of needles, thread, lace, hooks and eyes, etc. His load was drawn by two large white horses. Some of Campbell's remarks were of a tenor I did not comprehend at the time he uttered them, but still they stuck in my memory. I recall his vigorous "D--n the Kirk! If it had not been for her, Scotland would have been three hundred years ago where she is today. Superstition is the hangman's whip that keeps the Scots in bondage." I remember how sorry we used to feel for all the Scotch who had failed to migrate to this country. Campbell talked some of Burns, and once read parts of *Tam o'Shanter*. He seemed to care most for the lines beginning, "But pleasures are like poppies spread."

One day this denouncer of superstition astonished us by stating

that he refused to use the telephone, which had just come into use in our neighborhood, because the Devil was "back of it." For his militant spirit of democracy, however, we admired him. He told us how he shocked his mother when he revisited Scotland years after he first came to America. In her presence he refused to take off his hat to a "laird," something she had taught him very carefully to do when he was a boy. He tried to right himself with her by saying that now he was an American citizen, and that in America one man is as good as another. If his mother still questioned the merits of his action, his narrative of the event certainly made us greater admirers of her son. Campbell frequently said that he hoped to die on his wagon. Whether his wish was granted, I do not know; but he is surely dead, for it is thirty years since he made his last trip through central Wisconsin, and he was then an old man.

DOCUMENTS

JOURNAL OF A WORLD WAR VETERAN[1]

IRA LEE PETERSON

Sunday, July 28. There were so many troops in Chateau Thierry that we had to march to a little place just outside the city and sleep under trees. When we wake up we hear that it will be a couple of days before our cook wagon will catch up. Every one is desperate now as we had practically nothing to eat the day before. There is a potato patch near by and every one gets busy "jungling up." Scribner, Smith, and I make our meals together for the day. Smith manages to get some bread from the French soldiers. I get carrots and onions and we live pretty well on vegetables for the day. About five o'clock the battalion gets on the move and we march through the war-wrecked country north of Chateau Thierry.

Monday, July 29. Have marched nearly all night; we must have marched over twelve miles. Every one is dead tired and a few have fallen out along the way. We go through villages that are nothing but ruins and we pass by an immense cannon that speaks about every five minutes. The shot goes so far after the retreating Germans we cannot hear its explosion. We are put in an opening by an immense forest and there we go to sleep. About nine o'clock we are moved into the woods and after a while we are issued some dry rations which are very welcome. The cannon boom so all day and the aeroplanes are so busy that one can't sleep. From what we hear we know they have the Germans retreating at a great rate.

Tuesday, July 30. My squad and I draw the ammunition this morning. We had been out at the corner of the road a couple of hours during the night waiting for it, but it did not come. While out there we had the chance to hold our breath while four immense French cannon took turns lighting up the country and with a deafening roar sending shells whistling after the Germans.

[1] The first installment of this diary was printed in the December, 1924, issue of this magazine.

During the afternoon we are got all ready to move on a moment's notice as the Americans are marching on attack. We have to destroy all letters, etc., on our persons. We are not needed that afternoon so we do not move till in the evening. We move into a thick grove on a hillside where it is very difficult to hang on long enough to sleep any.

Wednesday, July 31. The cooks and cook wagons have caught up now, so we have a chance to get something warm. We find five dead Americans from the 30th Infantry down by the river. Sergt. Ponte with a detail buries one of them. Have chance to watch a battery of French 155's work. Move to another wood near by just before sunset. Hear stories from other fellows about this great drive. From a line between Soissons and Rheims the Germans got to Chateau Thierry in their spring drive. About July 12 the Americans started them back. The result is that with the German pillaging and the Allied artillery the country is in ruins. About ten miles north of Chateau Thierry the 30th Infantry is bombarded terrifically on July 14, and three divisions of Prussian guards try to break through but fail.

"K" COMPANY GOING INTO BATTLE

Thursday, Aug. 1. We are in a nice wood this morning where it is more quiet than in most of the woods. During the morning the American planes bring down one German plane. We are resting most of the day in the wood when about three o'clock we get hurry orders to move. Inside of fifteen minutes we are moving without suspecting what the reason is. After we have marched about two kilometers and get upon the high ground, we realize. The Americans are going to it in great style. Such a sight I never saw in my life. Off in a distance we can see great clouds of dust and smoke where shells are lighting. All along the road and fields are dead bodies and dead horses. And ambulance after ambulance passes us going to the rear, filled with wounded. Everybody seems excited as the Americans are advancing so fast. Every once in a while groups of prisoners are brought along by M. P.'s. I see Harry Davis bringing back two. We soon arrive in the village just back of our firing line. Soon the facts dawn on us;

the 127th is fighting and an awful fight they are putting up. Wounded come back by the hundreds and several are killed. They have taken a village and a wood which was full of machine-gun nests. I meet two fellows from "G" Company of Madison, and they tell me of what is going on. "G" Company has between 50 and 60 able-bodied men left; other companies of the regiment are not much larger. Most all of the casualties have been from machine-guns and some from shell fire while they were in a wood. Our cook wagon has not caught up, so we eat supper at headquarters company who are feeding anybody. It is a dandy supper; we get all we want. After supper we get ready to move. The packs of the 127th are lying all over. We pile up our stuff near the kitchen and carry light packs. I do not carry any pack at all, as I have been advised not to. We march out to the edge of the village and as we are going out I happen to look at a stretcher going by and Glen Sweno raises his head and smiles at me. His foot is all bandaged up. Matters look serious now when I see one of my neighbors going by wounded. We are halted on the edge of the village and sit down to wait for the dark. It is a very strange evening; every one is quiet and reflecting on his future. The sun is setting behind a cloud, and from remarks heard around, every one is wondering how long he has to live. 127th wiped out, the 128th to continue the battle, one doesn't seem very funny now. It finally grows dark and we march up to the woods the 127th took, and extend in line of skirmishers. It happens to be a quiet night and there are no casualties.

"OVER THE TOP"

Friday, Aug. 2. Just as some of us are thinking about sleeping some, toward three o'clock in the morning we are ordered to march to the clearing and assemble. Then platoon commanders inform their platoons that acting Major Lindbaum has just received orders to relieve the 127th Infantry, and after a barrage lasting for ten minutes starting at four o'clock, we are to go over the top and advance three hundred yards. The 127th seems rather anxious to leave there—that is, what is left of them—and the relief was not made in any orderly way. The words "Over the

top" have a rather sinister tone, when in this case it means advancing. Every one is very quiet and no one seems excited. At exactly four o'clock all the 75's back of us open up, and those shells exploding and combing out the woods ahead of us sound very good to us. It seems like a very good barrage and it seems a wonder if any of the enemy can live through it. At ten minutes after four the barrage becomes a moving barrage and lasts about twenty minutes more. "I" and "K" companies march through the woods following the barrage and extend in a skirmish line on the other side. We advance about three hundred yards and while the Major has stopped the advance to get our line at the proper angle, a German machine-gun opens up from Reddy Farm almost to our flank. Everybody sinks to the ground and hugs his face into the dirt as deep as he can get it. After about two minutes of continuous fire in which bullets whistled over us so close it was anything but funny, the fire ceased and some of "I" Company advanced and did away with the two Germans. After this the line advanced into the next woods and after the French have got even with us on our right, we advance to the next little wood and there we remain the rest of the forenoon in the rain. Now that the first excitement is over, we wonder if there are any casualties. Finally we hear that Sergt. Ponte is killed. He raised up just a little to back into a dead furrow and was shot in the lungs. He was from Minneapolis and had been attached to our company after the 6th Regiment was broken up. He had charge of the stretcher-bearer detail this morning.

It is very disagreeable in the rain, and we make ourselves as comfortable as we can under the fir trees while the scouts work out ahead. About one o'clock it is "up and at 'em" again. This time the entire battalion deploys in two waves across a great field and we advance about two kilometers past Chamery, which is a deserted village in the clearing, and go into the village of Coulonges and halt on the other side after we have looked through all the buildings. I have led a column up one of the main streets and all I see is a cat in front of one of the wrecked homes which looks at me with a hungry stare. It is so thin it only seems to have hair and eyes left. We have gained our objective and it is

evident the Germans are retreated as far as Fismes, as a German 77 is firing from that neighborhood into some empty barracks right near us. The mist is clearing away and soon the Huns spy us and direct their fire at us. A retreat of a few yards is ordered so they will lose their range. Soon the news drifts over from the opposite hillside that three are wounded, including Nicholson and Corp. Moses; and Corp. Moser is hit with a piece of shrapnel but it does not penetrate. Corp. Graham is killed instantly. I saw the shell explode near them but it was impossible to tell who was hit as the American [never] so much as murmurs. We have not been in our new place long before a shell comes whistling low over the first platoon and lights near by. Every one starts down the hill. I am getting a drink at a spring. Before Sergt. McPhoeters and Shorty Hart and myself get very far down the hill, three shells come so low in succession that we fall flat on the ground, and shrapnel and gravel spatter on us from all directions. We make a dash for the stone wall then. I am beginning to wonder whether I am really wanted on this earth and my resolutions then and there bode good for no Hun. We spend about three or four hours in the village, which is very much wrecked. Some very beautiful homes are nothing but wrecks inside after the Germans have finished ravaging them. In one home there is a piano which can still make some noise. After dark, we take up positions in front of the village. We have only hardtack to eat, and no blankets, as we left them behind.

GOING THROUGH A BARRAGE

Saturday, Aug. 3. After shells have been whistling over all night, and I have frozen all night so that my teeth chattered, we march into Cohen about four o'clock with the expectation of being relieved. After waiting till about eight o'clock the Major orders the battalion to form and advance with the French on our right. We are very tired and hungry, and the only consolation we have as we advance is to see old French people returning along the road to their homes with their possessions on wheelbarrows. It shows they have a great deal of confidence in the Americans. There are tears in their eyes. They are so glad to see the endless

waves of khaki advancing after the enemy. The Germans were in the act of harvesting the wheat crop when our drive was made. It is very little they got away with, and they have had to retreat so fast they have had to leave a great deal of machinery behind. German officers had their men cut the wheat, thrash it out, and put it in little bags and address it home.

We advance about six kilometers during the forenoon and then we take shelter on the side hills as the enemy artillery above Fismes is getting busy. After lying on the side hill all day and having shells burst everywhere but right where we are, we again take up the advance. We go down through a valley and start up a very long hill just south of Fismes. The sight to be seen on the hill was one never to be forgotten. Great explosions were landing on that hill to stop the first wave's advance. They are awful large ones, probably at least 155's. They plow into the earth, make a deafening roar, and then dirt and shrapnel fly high into the air. We have advanced so far ahead of our artillery, they are of no value now. Enemy aeroplanes are buzzing low along the Vesle and a dozen or more balloons are up. The air is very still and heavy, except for the terrible explosions. I feel like a machine now, advancing without thoughts of the future, as I have ceased to think of my danger. A silent prayer, and then we advance with the second wave. Great shells seem to burst everywhere, except by our platoon. I am so tired from the long climb that I have ceased to fall to the ground when a great shell comes. We pass some badly wounded fellows, who get on my nerves worse than dead ones do. Three of my squad aid a couple of badly wounded back. It is pitiful to hear some wounded call for help, and Lieut. Solm wonders if we will have to make the platoon into a Red Cross unit. The great gas shells light and the gas cloud spreads into the air. Several gas alarms are given and we have our masks on and off a great deal. When we reach the very top of the hill, I can barely see objects running into a wood way north of Fismes. Machine-guns are opening up on our advancing wave, down in the valley of Fismes. Prisoners are taken and the town is deserted by the enemy. As soon as it grows dark we dig in on the hill. All night the small pieces of the enemy keep shoot-

ing in our neighborhood. Kleinschmidt and I sleep together in a blanket Phair gave me. About one o'clock it starts to rain and we soon become soaked. Just before daylight we form up and march to the rear. Other units are coming forward to relieve us.

Sunday, Aug. 4. We march back to Cohen, which is out of range of shell-fire, and we all feel rather thankful we are still alive. In fact my conclusion is, even though I feel like a stranger on earth this morning, that we are veterans now and ready for anything. A good breakfast is given out, but for some unknown reason I can't eat. I receive thirteen welcome letters this morning and I spend the forenoon reading them and drying my clothes. A large dinner is served to us but I seem to have lost my appetite even though I have eaten practically nothing for two days. After dinner I try to sleep and cannot. About the middle of the afternoon I was told to look at my knees, and sure enough, mustard gas had formed a blister, and I realize my internal trouble is caused from inhaling gas too. I report to the first-aid station about supper time. A bunch of us are loaded in an ambulance and taken to Chateau Thierry. We are given all we want to eat but much to my sorrow I can eat hardly anything. Our clothes are taken away and we sleep in a large tent tonight.

Monday, Aug. 5. We are loaded onto a large truck this morning and taken to Coullomiers. Arrive there just before supper. Have supper there and rest on cots till about midnight, when ambulances take us to the depot and about one o'clock we are loaded on a U. S. hospital train. It is equipped fine and we enjoy the ride on it. We ride all day Tuesday.

Wednesday, Aug. 7. Arrive at Vichy about two o'clock in the morning. Red Cross lady comes through with lemonade and finally we are unloaded and carried in ambulances and trucks to the hospital. I get separated from Freeman and Grodovant and am put in a nice room on the second floor. The building has been a hotel before, taken over now by the U. S. Army.

Thursday, Aug. 8. Feel much better now after a good night's rest. Am regaining appetite now. Today our meals are brought to us.

Friday, Aug. 9. We are given slippers so we can go down to

the dining room and eat now. When the gong sounds, every one makes for the dining room. Fellows that are practically well act as waiters.

Saturday, Aug. 10. About all we can do these days when we haven't any clothes is to read papers and write letters. Every evening about seven-thirty some Frenchman comes along and gives us some music. Any extra *sous* the fellows have are thrown down to him. Their music sounds very good for a change, but it isn't as good as one hears in the U. S.

Sunday, Monday, Tuesday. We have promise of clothes now and we are rather anxious to get them so as to get out and exercise some. Probably we could sleep better if we got out some. Every night we are annoyed to a late hour by some soldiers giving some French girls English lessons. Some of the soldiers seem to have become very friendly with some of the *mademoiselles*.

Friday, Aug. 16. Get clothes today and go out and see some of the city. Meet an old man who is an American. He shows me around for a while. Go to Carlton Hotel in evening to see movies.

Saturday, Aug. 17. Get out this afternoon and we have a fine time. Ride to Cussett on tramway and have scrambled eggs. Take a bicycle ride around the city after supper.

Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday. Spend forenoons reading and helping out Miss Wing, the nurse. Afternoons I go out walking in the parks and about the city.

Friday, Aug. 23. Today a large group of us are evacuated and sent to Mars-sur-Allier, where there is a convalescent camp. I am starved here for about a week and then I demand that I be sent back to the front, where I will at least have corned beef to eat. A group of us are sent to St. Aignan and there I receive a complete new outfit.

After staying in St. Aignan a week, a bunch of 32nd men are started back to the division. This is the worst trip I ever took in France. We travel all over France and it takes us eight days to catch up with the 32nd Division. We went through Paris, Noise-le Sec, Chateau Thierry, Chalons, St. Dizier, Toul, and Joinville. We finally got to our division in the Joinville area.

Sunday, Sept. 22. French trucks driven by Japanese take us

from Chatonrupt this Sunday afternoon. We follow the Marne River as far as St. Dizier and then go north to Bar-le-Duc. Our Jap loses us twice on the way but by morning we arrive within twenty-five miles of Verdun and hike through a forest.

Monday, Sept. 23. Maj. Smith has great difficulty in finding out where we belong and it is way after dinner before we are located in a wood near some old French barracks. We learn here a great drive is coming on the Verdun front.

Tuesday, Sept. 24. Pat Savee, who had just returned from the hospital, Sergt. Schultz, and I sleep in one "pup" tent. Today the company drills by platoons in the valley near the bivouac camp. Y. M. C. A. car comes up near camp in afternoon so we can buy chocolate. No aeroplanes bother us in the woods.

Wednesday, Sept. 25. At supper time this afternoon we receive orders to pack up, and after all the rations are given out and packs are rolled, we fall in and about seven o'clock we move north. The entire division is on the move. With a heavy pack on my back I realize I am not back to my former health yet. We pass the 82nd Division moving in a different direction. We go through a town and then across the longest stretch of flat country I ever saw in France. We then hike through more villages and it begins to seem like one of the most trying hikes I was ever on.

About eleven o'clock we come to a good-sized village, and as we rest there we see the soldiers stationed there go to the top of the hill on the north side of the village. We ask them what is coming off and they say one of the heaviest barrages in this war will be started at eleven o'clock by the French and Americans. This barrage is on a front from Rheims to Verdun, and the entire sector is taken over by Americans and aided with French artillery, so we have a double amount of artillery. At eleven o'clock the sky along the north is lighted up and there is a constant rumble. It is one of the greatest sights I ever saw.

Thursday, Sept. 26. We arrive at the top of the hill near a village about two o'clock and make our beds any place we can find. The constant rumble of the barrage does not keep us from sleeping because we are dead tired. I have walked part way on my nerve and a number of fellows fell out. Just after breakfast,

a long-range gun of the Germans is trying to get shells into the village. Most of them light on the side of the hill opposite us. Finally a shell hits on top of the hill and a piece of shell breaks Sergt. Jordan's leg. We then move our belongings down to the bottom of the hill.

About noon we fall in again and start moving forward. The barrage lifted this morning at five-thirty and they have gone over the top all along the front. The barrage is a moving barrage now. The Ninety-first Division and the Thirty-seventh—principally Ohio troops—are the first to go forward out of the old trenches which have been held for three years. Long-range shelling continues but none comes near us. The entire regiment is moving together. Progress is rather slow but we finally arrive in some woods on the side of a hill. We make our bivouac camp under the trees.

Friday, Sept. 27. Sergt. Schultz, Kleinschmidt, and I sleep in one tent. With the exception of the first night, no shells come back near us. Today German prisoners go down the main road in a steady stream. The divisions advance over ten kilometers in the first two days on the front.

Saturday, Sept. 28. We don't have anything to do here but rest up, and I take full advantage of that. We hear of the success of the drive on the front and see proof of it as prisoners continue to pour back along the main roads. Casualties are light so far for the Americans.

Sunday, Sept. 29. Pack up again towards evening and about dark we start out. It starts raining and rains more or less all night. We spend most of the night waiting by the road. About morning we start and hike very fast for twelve kilometers. It is a rather miserable hike.

Monday, Sept. 30. We passed through old "No Man's Land" this morning. I never saw such deep and wide trenches in my life. We go into a wood that used to be on the German side and make our camp there. The trees are half shot down and there are great shell holes all over.

Tuesday, Oct. 1. The entire sector has advanced its front over fifteen kilometers into the Argonne. Cambrai falls to the

British, and Bulgaria surrenders. We have nothing to do in this wood, and we are most lucky not to be shelled any. None of our artillery is near us.

Wednesday, Oct. 2. Kleinschmidt, Schultz, and I are in the same tent here too. The weather is nice and with no shelling here it is quite pleasant. Germany asks for an armistice, which creates quite a stir about Peace. A great deal of betting goes on.

Thursday, Oct. 3. While staying in the woods here, I make a trip to the creek every morning to wash and fill my canteen. Along this road the cook wagons of the 37th Division are lined up, and when the fellows are relieved they come back here for their first meal. I overhear one man saying if the artillery had only kept up they would easily have chased the Huns to Berlin. He had come back before they had much resistance in the Argonne, as the division that followed later had. Our fellows have had a great time looking over the old dugouts of the Germans and all sorts of material are lying about. We are not bothered by aeroplane-bombing in the woods as we have a night patrol every night and during the day the anti-aircraft guns and machine-guns chase the Hun planes away. While down after water I see the machine-guns shoot down a Hun plane off toward the front line. About dark we start toward the front again. We hike through a forest, down along a plank road made by the Huns, and then up over hill after hill. The regiment advances in column of battalions, companies lined up in line of platoons. Our big guns are busy and so are the Huns with theirs. We advance down over long sloping hills of the old battle ground of the famous Verdun front. The Huns are systematically combing the countryside with their artillery and our new men are awfully nervous. Three artillery men are wounded near one of our batteries just before we pass it. Some shells light so close that iron whizzes over our heads. I do all I can to help keep the men from turning into a mob and finally we reach a hillside that has dead space on its side.

Friday, Oct. 4. We are very glad to get to the side of this hill after being exposed to long-range shelling. We take little shovels and dig places to lie in, and fall asleep. About daylight the batteries on the hills back of us open up with a deafening roar but

we are so tired most of us sleep right on. A little after five o'clock the 1st Division passes through our outfit. The barrage continues till nearly noon. The 1st Division goes over the top at six o'clock. Harry Ginrich from Delavan, who is in the 1st Division, is excused from going over on account of sickness. He finds us on the hillside and has a chance to visit with the boys. About noon the battalion is on the move again to follow up the 1st Division, which has driven the Germans farther on. Just before we move, I see the largest German bombing plane I ever saw. It looks like a building moving through the air. There are dozens of planes around and along with the artillery. I realize the Verdun battle field is just as bad as it ever was. We move forward toward the road from which the 1st Division chased the Germans. Batteries of our 75's are lined up behind every hedge. We pass by some buildings which are nearly knocked down by shells and then cross the road and go down into some brush. There are shell holes along a road into this brush that are large enough to bury five men in. We dig in under this low brush and keep out of sight. Down below us toward the German village the 1st Division is battling with the Germans and it is a thrilling sight to look down on that battle field.

During the afternoon a tank rattles down the road toward the rear.

Saturday, Oct. 5. It is a miserable night in this brush. Shells light in the hollow all night and keep us awake and towards morning it rains some. Just as we think we might get some of the eats the ration detail has brought we are ordered to move again. This move is for our good, as we go down by the German village and go into some already-made fox holes just above this village. We have a chance to eat here and soon the sun comes out and dries out our clothes. Soon German prisoners begin to come back in groups. The 1st Division has attacked again and groups of prisoners come back near us. They carry their wounded in blankets and our wounded men are carried on stretchers, four Huns carrying each one. I enjoy looking these prisoners over but they don't pay any attention to our curiosity at all. I suggest eating to the squad and we soon get away with the bread and "corn bill." About ten

o'clock the Huns start shelling back areas. As we are in support now we are just close enough to have a number of shells fall all around. There is just enough slope to our hill so the shells can't hit our shelters. I see shells hit over in some brush east of us and the infantry men run out into the open for all they are worth. Some shells light in the old German village and smash down what the American artillery hasn't done. After noontime the Hun planes try to get busy and explore in our back areas. About the middle of the afternoon some American planes are busy and all of a sudden I see the greatest sight I ever saw in the air while in this war. An American plane begins to maneuver above a Boche plane and all of a sudden he dives straight down toward the Boche, his machine-gunner pouring a stream of lead at the Boche. Suddenly the Boche plane tips nose downward and the pilot falls out and goes whirling over a thousand feet to the earth. Then another man falls out and seems to go head first to earth. The plane does not go to earth so fast as the men, but when it hits the earth it strikes on its propeller. This seems to bother the Germans a lot because for the rest of the afternoon Boche planes come over and fly low over the spot where their comrades fell. About eight o'clock Thompson and Kildow come up with the front end of the field kitchen loaded with mashed potatoes, bread, and coffee. As we haven't had much since morning we are glad to see this "chow" come. We line up and I get all the mashed potatoes I can eat.

This German village which lies in the valley below us seems to have been a fairyland for the Germans before the Americans came. Deep dugouts were made under the buildings. The buildings seem to be made of red tile, and the officers had a bungalow that was as near a palace for them as possible.

Sunday, Oct. 6. About two o'clock we are wakened and soon the third battalion is on the move in column of twos toward the front line. We go through valleys, over hills, and through brush; all the while the shells scream overhead from our artillery. It seems queer but no shells of the Huns light very close to us, and about five o'clock we are lying along a road back of the front line. All this time the artillery has been rather inactive considering we

are in the Argonne woods. We dig little holes to sit in and fall asleep until daylight. About seven o'clock we are ordered to fall in to move and the third platoon starts for the front line down a hill in plain sight of the Germans. Just as we start a plane flies over with the French insignia on and one of the sergeants puts out his white panel to indicate the front line. It happens to be a Hun with a French plane and just as we start down the hill shells begin to light around us. The fellows fall flat on the ground and I crawl up behind a stump. A few light very close to us and two shells make direct hits on the second platoon and kill six and wound twelve. Freeman is the only old man in the bunch wounded. Ganguit finds he hasn't two full squads left. Soon as it lets up, the third platoon moves to the bottom of the hill and takes up its position. We are the most forward of any American unit on the front line and we soon discover that two or three Hun machine-guns are within a hundred yards of us. The fact that we are so close to the Germans protects us from their artillery fire.

Monday, Oct. 7. At last daylight comes and it seems as if the big guns seem to let up then to a certain extent. Buster Smith and I had lain in one hole all night, trusting to luck none of those 88's would make a direct hit into our hole. Shells keep us awake all night and before daylight as usual they are doing their worst. One shell lights real close to us and a piece about as large as a walnut lights on the blankets between us. The remainder of the platoon is along in an old ditch. I have to make a run for my squad every time I go over to them and a machine-gun snipes at me every time I try it. That is nothing, though, compared with the artillery. Finally the forenoon wears away. All the time the machine-guns and artillery are busy and I make it a point to stay where there is the most protection. The Argonne woods seem to be a murderous place, as dead Americans are lying here and there and the number of wounded is the most yet on any American sector.

So far in our company six have been killed in the second platoon and twelve wounded and Corp. Moser of Delavan is killed by high explosive, and Trombly has his arm broken by high explosive. In the third platoon a new man is wounded by a

machine bullet while out scouting with Lieut. Nord and Sergt. Schultz. In the afternoon bread and jam is brought down to us. After we eat that, Lieut. Nord, Sergt. Schultz, Corp. Kennon, and I crawl up in the brush and take pot shots at places where we think the German machine-gunners are. After we get through doing that for a while Lieut. Nord takes a notion he wants wires strung back to the company headquarters for the liaison runners to guide by. He picks Channith and me to help him and after he gets to the road he tells us to finish it to the P. C.[2] We are right in plain sight of the Germans and any one with sense can see it is a foolish errand. Soon a bombardment of the support follows and I go over to battalion headquarters and ask where "K" Company's P. C. is, regardless of the bombardment. While I am asking for information at headquarters a piece of high explosive hits me in the arm and a very small piece hits me on the point of the right jaw. At the same moment the explosion of the shell comes off as it hits about thirty feet behind me. Some fellows pull me down in a hole and an awful bombardment follows. Just about the same time I am hit, a large shell hits on the path below us and blows fourteen men into the air as though they were leaves. After the gas has cleared away and the shelling has let up, Hansen of the Medical Corps gives me first aid and tags me. Just at dusk I start for the rear, passing stretcher bearers and other wounded along the path. As I go through the clearing a Hun machine-gunner on the flank snipes me. He can see the white bandage around my head. I finally reach the 127th first aid and get re-bandaged. By midnight I am back at a field hospital where I stay for the night.

Thursday, Oct. 8. At last morning comes. Even though I am all tired out, I haven't slept any. The piece of high explosive which has penetrated my arm just came to the surface of the skin on the under side of my arm, and it seems to pain a great deal during the damp night. The doctor at the first aid of the 127th, who doctored me for diphtheria at Prauthoy, tells me if it hadn't been for all my clothes it might have gone clear through my arm and into my side. After a good breakfast of cakes and hash we are loaded into a truck, as they are short of ambulances, and as

[2] Post of command.

we go south we hope we are saying good-bye for good to the hills of Verdun. Shortly after noon we arrive at Fleury and after waiting around until about five o'clock I am taken into the operating room and have an X-ray taken of my jaw and arm. The scene in the operating room is one to remember always. There were about two dozen tables in the room and all kinds of doctors about the place. On each table was a wounded man under the effect of ether. Some were snoring real loud and others were groaning and hollering. They laid me up on a table and let me watch the others for a few minutes. After a couple of doctors have finished with one case, they come over to me and begin to "kid" me. Finally one dumps an instrument over my nose and sprinkles ether into it. Soon I am leaving the world. I imagine I hear the voices get fainter. When I come to a little while later I am in bed in B ward with Wegner of Whitewater beside me.

Wednesday, Oct. 9. After listening to a man curse the Kaiser to a finish, while he is coming out of ether, I fall asleep and have a good night's sleep, the first one in several nights. I have a good breakfast this morning, the first meal in twenty-four hours, on account of taking ether. I have quite a visit with Earl Gustaveson from Madison. His home used to be in Whitewater. Just after dinner, several of us are loaded onto a French Red Cross train, which is nothing but box-cars fixed up to hold stretchers. Late in the afternoon the train gets going and jumps along just enough to make a couple of wounded men in the car let out all kinds of groans. An old Frenchman is in charge of the car and he takes care of us the best he can.

Friday, Oct. 11. Have traveled all day Thursday without coming to any large place. We went just west of Chaumont and Troyes and just east of Paris. All the time I am wondering where we are going. I am hoping it is to Vichy, as the brakeman says we are going through Nevers. When we reach Nevers about ten o'clock we find out we are going to the hospital at Mars, the very place where I didn't care to go, as I had been at the convalescent camp there. About two o'clock we are switched up into the grounds. A fellow by the name of Fritzler from Door County in Wisconsin and I go together to ward 17 in Base No. 35. After

we get in between white sheets, the doctor and nurse come around and dress my wounds and put a tube in my arm.

WARD 17, BASE 35, OCTOBER 11 TO NOVEMBER 16

For about two weeks the rubber tube is kept in my wound in my arm and every two hours they inject disinfectant into it. After I have been there three or four days, I get my clothes and walk around a little in the daytime. The wound on my jaw heals up in just a few days. Lynn Wilear comes into bed No. 11 on Sunday, October 13, and I am in bed No. 9. Sergt. Barker and McPhoeters come into the tent back of the ward and stay about two weeks. Soon my wound heals from the operation side, and although the hole is larger around than a dollar at first, it soon draws up and as soon as Miss Scott, the nurse, thinks it is past all danger, she puts a bandage on without putting in the tube. I soon get acquainted with three of the boys who seem to be very good fellows. They are Padgett from North Carolina, Prewitt from Texas, and Gedalge from New York. The latter I call "New York." He was in the beleaguered battalion of the 77th Division in the Argonne forest.

Along in the last week of October the T. B.'s in the ward leave as they are in D class.

Sergt. De Filipo, Prewitt, Gedalge, and I offer to do the K. P. ["kitchen police"] work for the ward, and soon we are feeding the fellows all they want. We have a jolly good time now. The Sergt. and New York are good singers, and while we wash and wipe the dishes we have a regular concert. It attracts so much attention, they are asked to sing for the ward and for the officers' ward. When New York and I go anywhere, he always finds a chance to sing. About the first of November Turkey surrenders to the Allies and soon after Austria capitulates and signs the Allies' armistice terms. All this time the Allies are fighting for all they are worth, the Americans having gone through the Argonne woods and bearing on to Sedan. About the sixth of November the Germans ask for an armistice again and they are told to go to General Foch. Their commission cross the French lines on November 8 to sign the armistice terms and on November 11 sign

them at five A. M. French time. Hostilities cease at eleven A. M. Prewitt has been sent to the annex and on Saturday, November 1, De Filipo, New York, and I ask to be sent over, in hopes we will be sent back to our companies. We understand that if we can get in A class, we will be sent back, but no one seems to be certain we will.

Sunday, Nov. 17. This afternoon the four of us go to St. Pierre. It is eight kilometers and just a nice walk. De Filipo meets a friend over there and they buy seventeen francs worth of steak and we have a regular feast in a café.

Wednesday, Nov. 20. Texas, New York, De Filipo, and I go over to a French farmhouse and have a dandy dinner of omelet, bread, cream cheese, and milk. We arrange for a turkey dinner Sunday night as we are afraid we won't be here Thanksgiving.

Friday, Nov. 22. Texas and De Filipo leave on a train today for Nice; they are in B class.

Sunday, Nov. 24. Kennon and English of the Red Cross, Clay, and Slim Pian, a comedian, New York, and I go to the dinner, which is one of the best meals I ever sat down to.

Thursday, Nov. 28. As usual New York and I get busy and spend the day doing something. We go to church services at the Red Cross in the A. M. They give us beef for dinner and the corps men and the officers have turkey. The idea of it makes us so sore we go over to the base and eat turkey.

Saturday, Nov. 30. I get a pass and go to St. Pierre and get my pictures. I come home by way of Mars and am invited into a French home for a treat. In the evening New York and I have toast and an extra large piece of beefsteak apiece in the kitchen.

Monday, Dec. 2. Several nurses come in today and I volunteer to help in their kitchen so as to pass away the time and get better eats. Curly and Hank are the cooks and later on Esplande comes in Hank's place. We have great eats, such as biscuits, hot-cakes, roast steaks, cake, and doughnuts.

Sunday, Dec. 8. The mess sergeant gets us two turkeys as the patients are having turkey today. Eight of us make those turkeys look like a "G. I. can" had hit them. We are well satisfied that we made up for Thanksgiving.

Saturday, Dec. 14. I get permission of Capt. Coleman to get a leave to Vichy. They are good enough to give me forty-eight hours. I get ready during the day and in the evening I take the train from Mars. I have the pleasure of riding first class.

Sunday, Dec. 15. I have a very pleasant day of it in Vichy. In the forenoon I visit with the folks at the Hotel Du Havre. In the afternoon I visit with a fellow from the 127th who has been a prisoner in Ratstatt, Germany. It is very interesting to listen to him.

Thursday, Dec. 19. Gedalge and I are asked by Miss Benedict to take care of the goods which came into the Red Cross this afternoon. We are to be detailed as Red Cross men and Miss Benedict arranges it with headquarters.

Friday, Dec. 20. We are busy today getting the Red Cross in order. Only four more days to Christmas and we are going to make it as great a one as we can. We fill six hundred stockings this evening, Base 131 getting 170 of them.

Saturday, Dec. 21. We hand out the stockings at the registrar's office as the men are checked out there. Each pair contains candy, nuts, cigarettes, matches, handkerchiefs, cookies, and figs. It is much more than the boys ever expected.

Sunday, Dec. 22. We are real busy trying to make the hut look nice and get the presents ready. Miss Lorah and Miss Miller come today to be with 107 Red Cross hut. Chaplain holds services here both morning and evening.

Tuesday, Dec. 24. We get the presents all ready by evening and after supper we carry them to the different wards and leave them in the wardmaster's office. At nine o'clock the ladies start to give them out to the boys while we carry them.

Wednesday (Christmas), Dec. 25. Christmas was a complete success. The boys are as happy as little kids over their presents. Over two thousand are given out altogether. We have doings both morning and evening.

Thursday, Friday, Saturday. We keep a few boys at work every day and the appearance of the hut is improving every day. Saturday evening the show troops from Nevers come down and put on their show. Gedalge is to be evacuated but is held over.

Sunday, Dec. 29. Gedalge and Bovington go to Nevers on pass, and I take care of the place. Miss Lorah, her friend, and I have a nice Sunday dinner. I get the meals from Frenchy and we have *beaucoup* steak these days.

Wednesday, Jan. 1, 1919. Stayed up until four o'clock this morning having a real New Year's celebration. Pian, English, Pangborne, Esplande, the Red Cross ladies, and Gladie and I made up the party. We had a midnight supper of pie, sandwiches, cocoa, etc.

Saturday, Jan. 4. Go to Nevers on pass and make several purchases. To finish the day I climb to the top of the cathedral.

Red Cross No. 5 is fixed up now and Gladie and I decide to take it easier. The stage is fixed up just beautiful and the ladies have nice rooms and a sitting-room. Everything is painted up and Gladie and I have our own room.

Monday, Feb. 3. Gladie and I go to Nevers Monday P. M. and try to get the money that has been cabled to him by his brother. They tell us up there that we must write to the American Express Company or call there and get the money. We decide to start to Paris, so take the ten o'clock from Mars.

Tuesday, Feb. 4 (Paris). We catch the American Express out of Nevers and we don't get a seat as it is so crowded. The train gets to Paris at nine o'clock at the P. L. M. *la gare*. We are given two hours' leave in Paris by the M. P.'s, which seems much of a joke. But we start out by going down in a subway. An American major shows us the way and we have a nice ride in the subway. He tells us to get off at the L'Opera and the major finds us the American Express Company right away. Within an hour after arriving Gladie has his money without any trouble. We are satisfied now as we have done something which we had our doubts about. We are right in the heart of the city and cannot but admire some of the beautiful buildings about. We start back to the station and find we will stay till one-twenty P. M. We eat dinner in the Red Cross and hang around near the station until the train leaves. We take the local back and eat supper at Montsciget and arrive in Nevers at twelve o'clock. We drag into the Red Cross at eight o'clock in the morning.

EVENTS AFTER LEAVING RED CROSS UNTIL TIME OF DISCHARGE

Sunday Feb. 16, 1919. I complete my work at the Red Cross today as I am to be evacuated upon my own request to the U. S. I would be able to get special transportation orders from General Headquarters but they put me in charge of the men who are to be evacuated from the different hospitals. There are eighty-four in all and we leave Mars a little before noon to go to St. Aignan. Change cars at Sancaize and we reach Bourges the middle of the afternoon where we are treated by the Red Cross. We resume our journey and stop at Verizon in the evening. We reach St. Aignan in the morning about five o'clock.

Feb. 17-25. St. Aignan is a regular mud hole like all other camps in France in the winter. When I am not in charge of details I spend my time looking for places to get something more than slum to eat.

Feb. 25. Casual companies are being formed the last couple of days and a group of Wisconsin men are being formed into the Wisconsin casual company. By evening several companies are on a train of box-cars ready to start for Marseilles on their last box-car ride in France.

Feb. 27. We arrive at Marseilles after having passed through some of the most beautiful country I ever saw.

Mar. 2. We load on the steamship *Italia* today.

Mar. 3. We start out on the Mediterranean Sea today and as we leave the wharf we see French and British soldiers, also German prisoners; so we are taking our last look at the soldiers of some of the greatest nations concerned in the war.

Mar. 6. We arrive at the Rock of Gibraltar today.

Mar. 20. We sight the U. S. shore at eleven A. M. and pass the Statue of Liberty at three P. M. We go to Camp Merritt from New York tonight.

Apr. 4. Discharged at Camp Grant, Rockford, Ill.

(*Concluded*)

EDITORIAL COMMENT

MEMORIALS OF JOHN H. TWEEDY

The Historical Society has recently received, from the hand of Miss Mariette Tweedy, a significant collection of letters illustrating the political career of her father, the late John H. Tweedy.

John H. Tweedy was born at Danbury, Connecticut, November 9, 1814. In 1836 he arrived at Milwaukee, fresh from the law school, and began a noteworthy career in the practice of law in partnership with Hans Crocker. In 1841 Mr. Tweedy was elected to the legislative council of the Territory of Wisconsin, serving during the session of 1841-42. He was a member of the first constitutional convention, 1846, being the only Whig elected from the Milwaukee district, which sent twelve delegates. So successful was he in impressing himself upon the convention that, despite the meagerness of Whig representation in that body, Tweedy in several instances carried his points by the sheer weight of character and of argument. In 1847 he was chosen delegate to Congress from the Territory of Wisconsin, defeating Moses M. Strong of Mineral Point. Since Wisconsin entered the Union, under a bill presented by Mr. Tweedy, in 1848, he was the last of the territorial delegates. In the election for state officers which occurred in May, 1848, the Whigs of Wisconsin nominated Mr. Tweedy for governor in his absence and against his wishes, but the Democratic majority in the state at that time was so large that notwithstanding his popularity and prestige he failed. The election resulted in the choice of Nelson Dewey of Grant County. Thereafter Mr. Tweedy held political office on only one other occasion—as a member of the legislative assembly in 1853.

His time, energies, and uncommon powers were gradually absorbed in business ventures, particularly those connected with the development of Wisconsin railroads.

There is much testimony, both in the records of his various achievements and in the tradition which comes down from the days of his activity, to indicate that Mr. Tweedy was a man of extraordinary intellectual gifts. His oratory is said to have been of a very high order; his political acumen and personal leadership brought him successes which it was generally acknowledged could not have been attained under the circumstances by any other Whig in Wisconsin; his business sagacity and rugged honesty gained him much repute in the early days of speculative ventures and "shoestring" financiering. He died November 12, 1891, in Milwaukee.

The papers which have been turned over to the Historical Society relate, with a very few exceptions, exclusively to the several periods in Mr. Tweedy's political activity. They were written to him by friends at Milwaukee when he was a member of the territorial council in 1841 and 1842, by friends, political partisans, and other constituents in all parts of Wisconsin during his service in the constitutional convention, and particularly during his service at Washington as delegate from Wisconsin. A few date from the time of his service at Madison in 1853, and only a negligible number are of other dates than the above. Among his correspondents we find such prominent Milwaukeeans as General Rufus King, editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Hans Crocker, his law partner, and Thomas L. Ogden, who was in some sense a business associate. To these should be added Francis Randall, J. E. Arnold, W. Chase, and W. R. Longstreet. The wider circle of political supporters who wrote to Mr. Tweedy at various times, and particularly during the Washington period, include Marshall M. Strong of Racine; William S. Hamilton of Wiota, Lafayette County, son of

Alexander Hamilton; J. Allen Barber, a Whig lawyer and legislator of Lancaster, Grant County; A. L. Collins of Madison, Wyman Spooner and George Gale of Elkhorn, L. G. Fisher of Beloit, C. C. Washburn and Charles Bracken of Mineral Point, S. Ryan, Daniel Whitney, and H. S. Baird of Green Bay, D. R. Burt of Potosi, Linus R. Cody of Watertown, and others.

Most of the correspondents mentioned above, being Whigs and interested in the success of the Whig cause, conveyed to their delegate in Congress the political news of the day and their opinions upon it. Some of the letters will prove valuable sources for the politics of the time. This is particularly true of General King's letters; for it is one thing to read what a political leader has to say, with an insistent purpose of propaganda, through the columns of a newspaper, and quite another thing to know what he will say in perfect confidence to an intimate friend. It would be possible from the letters here collected to gauge the influence of the propagandist motive as seen in some of General King's editorials on subjects discussed in the letters to Tweedy. Take, for example, the subject of the foreign vote in Milwaukee and in the state: As editor of the *Sentinel*, General King was never at liberty to concede that foreign vote to the Democracy. In his private communications he admitted that it was almost solidly Democratic. On that subject there is confirmatory testimony from several sources. Mr. Cody, evidently belonging to that rare type the Whig Irishman, complains that with the new constitution in effect the Democratic majority in Watertown, which had been only thirty, would be automatically increased to more than a hundred. J. Allen Barber, of the southwest part of the state, writes, May 23, 1848: "The Whigs have been sadly defeated in Wisconsin by the foreign Catholic vote, and so long as our suffrage remains as it now is we can hope for no other result." Mr. Barber was evidently anxious to have

Congress take a hand and virtually change the constitution of Wisconsin as it affected the question of suffrage, before admitting the state to the Union. Such a plan had been attempted in connection with the law for admitting Michigan into the Union, but it was too late in the day politically to accomplish the result even then, while in 1848 few had the temerity even to suggest it.

King's comments upon the presidential nomination in 1848 are highly interesting. He is convinced that five-sixths of the Whigs in the eastern part of the state would prefer Henry Clay, although he is equally certain that Clay could not be elected, because in order to succeed the Whigs would be compelled to draw votes from the Locofocos. General Taylor, he thinks, is much more popular among the Germans and with many of the Irish. Also, he seems to be a favorite with a large proportion of the Whigs in the southwestern part of the state. "If old Zack would only quit writing letters it would be an easy trick to make this sentiment universal."

Numerous letters were written to Tweedy from the capitol at Madison during the session of the second constitutional convention by members of that body, and others were written by members or non-members after the convention had finished its labors. These letters, it is believed, will prove of sufficient importance as evidence of the views of men on the controverted features of the constitution, to justify their publication by way of supplement to the Constitutional Series already published by the Historical Society. There are some shrewd comments upon the more prominent delegates, particularly in one of the letters of William S. Hamilton, who undertakes to assess the quality of the leadership of some half-dozen of the most talked of members. Kilbourn and Dunn, he says, destroyed themselves politically in the convention; Martin about held his own, etc.

A letter of Mr. Collins (March 31, 1848) concedes that the Wisconsin Whigs could use some money which the national committee ought to furnish. He rather timidly mentions $1000 as a not unreasonable figure, and justifies the estimate by exposing the plans they have for creating an organization. They hope to furnish to each precinct committee a record-book in which shall be inscribed every voter's name with his political leanings. These books will then be collected by the state committee and placed in charge of the secretary. That officer should be on a salary. Besides, they want to hire men with teams to transport delegates to the local conventions—and there will be other expenses, though, he says, they do not intend *to buy votes*!

Several letters contain direct replies to communications sent by Tweedy. In those he had evidently asked for names of influential men who ought to be plied with public documents, and from one correspondent we derive Tweedy's classification of the persons he desired to reach. These (as L. G. Fisher of Beloit quotes his words back to him) were the following: first, "Intelligent active Whigs who will read, digest, circulate, and talk it into others"; second, "The Lukewarms"; third, "The locos who are half sick"; fourth, "Moderate abolitionists." Fisher gave him a long list under the first description, and one nearly as long under the fourth. The second and third were not very fruitful. No doubt these combined lists represented the leaders of opinion in the political life of Beloit at that time—just when Wisconsin was ready to assume the responsibilities of statehood—and there are similar lists from perhaps twenty distinct communities.

A small part of this new material will interest our neighbor to the northwest. The people of the St. Croix valley, on the west side, were about to suffer a change of status by the admission of Wisconsin into the Union. They were anxious to be incorporated in a proposed new Territory of

Minnesota and did not wish to be attached to Wisconsin So wrote H. H. Sibley and several others, supplying the delegate with testimony as to popular sentiment. That district, for a short space of time, was a kind of informal, distinct territory.

J. E. Arnold, writing from Madison, February 11, 1841, gave his friend Tweedy an amusing description of the Democratic territorial convention. In particular he lampooned one "C," a delegate from the Milwaukee Democracy, who spoke thus; for, says Arnold, "I can give you his speech: Largest assembly he ever addressed—proudest day of his life—thanked God he was able to find himself among so many true democrats. He felt that he stood among those whose blood descended from the heroes whose ashes reposed in Bunker Hill! (Great applause). In looking around in the assembly he could not but compare them with that glorious body assembled to sign the Declaration of Independence!!! (here I had to stuff my hkf into my mouth, for in looking over the Bar the first man I saw was greasy Mc the barber who was sitting as a delegate—and then I thought of John Hancock—glad to find no silk stocking gentry here—real bone and sinew—In fact there was no more association between democrats and Whigs than between angels and devils!! (Tremendous applause)—Must whip them out—put shoulders to the wheel (three times repeated)—Transmit to future generations—Great flourish beyond my powers of description, and took his seat." On completing his account of the convention, Arnold compares, or, rather, contrasts, it with the Whig convention, and comments: "If there be anything to rejoice at in the respectability and character of a party, I believe we are at liberty to rejoice. And I know your sentiments agree with mine on this subject." Here is a bit of the Whig psychology which helps to explain the alignment of the foreign voter with the Democracy.

The "canal strip," as it was called, was a belt of land ten miles wide extending from Milwaukee to Rock River. The even-numbered sections in that strip were put on the market after the canal grant had been made, at the prescribed enhanced price of $2.50 per acre, and with no preëmption rights in settlers on such lands. The lands, on that account, were not bought freely by settlers, any more than were those of the odd-numbered sections granted to the canal company. A number of pieces had been occupied by squatters before the grant was made, and these settlers considered themselves aggrieved. They petitioned the territorial council, which in turn memorialized Congress in behalf of the squatters, urging that preëmption rights be extended to them and also the privilege of buying at the minimum land office price of $1.25. Nothing was done, the lands did not settle up fully, and the few farmers on the "strip" were compelled to bear the burden of all improvements in the way of schools and roads. Finally, it became clear that the canal company was really interested in developing its water power at Milwaukee and that no canal would be built through the strip. Then came the forfeiture of the grant, the donation of the odd-numbered sections to the state, and the problem of the status of those who had purchased in the even-numbered sections. The territorial government, trustee for the canal company, now cared for the settlers who purchased in the odd-numbered sections, but those on the even-numbered sections (bought of the government or merely "occupied" on the faith that the lands would ultimately be sold for $1.25 per acre and that settlers might exercise the preëmption rights) remained in a state of uncertainty. Several classes of cases had arisen: (1) Those who had bought their lands and paid $2.50, if still in possession, should receive a refund. But, in case they had sold, should the refund go to the then holder? (2) Those who occupied the lands after the canal grant had

lapsed. Would they now be permitted to purchase at a minimum price, or would speculators be permitted to come in and bid against them? (3) Those who bought claims of the original squatters, improved them and were living on them. Would these be permitted to purchase at $1.25 and obtain clear title, or would the original occupier be accorded that right to their exclusion? There were variations of these several cases, and possibly other types of cases.

An excellent illustration of the complicated situation which Mr. Tweedy was expected to untangle, in a proposed preëmption law for these lands, is in the letter of Rufus Parks, one of the settlers on the canal strip. Mr. Parks wrote from Summit, Waukesha County, March 17, 1848:

> The pre-emption law that we want is very simple. It should be like the old one, in operation when I was in office, it should be to the actual settler on the land, he should be a head of a family, or over twenty-one years of age, and reside upon the identical quarter section which he claims by pre-emption, and in his *own right* and *not* in the *right* of another, this covers the whole ground, it prevents tenants and hired men from taking pre-emption on other peopels [sic] farms and protects the *actual settler*, it is not to be expected that a pre-emption is to meet every case, and more particularly it is not expected to meet the cases of those speculators in the public Lands who do *not live* upon their farms, their money must be their protection, but for us who have spent our all upon our farms and live upon them, and labour on them for our daily bread and can barely raise two hundred Dollars to pay for a quarter section, we expect the protection of the Law.
>
> Now to give you some light into the manner in which these things have been managed, I will give you the history of my own claim, it consists of a quarter section or 160 acres.
>
> Daniel Wells of Milwaukee first made the claim, and sold it to Delos Taft, Foster *jumped* it from Taft, and Foster swore it out of market which brings it into what is called the affidavit lands, Foster then sold it to Finley, and Fisk jumped it from Finley, they had a claim trial about it and the settlers gave it to Fisk on the ground that no improvements had ever been made on it. Fisk built a frame house and barn on the place fenced the whole and cleared and croped some sixty or seventy acres on it, and I purchased it of Fisk for six hundred and fifty Dollars since which I have made an addition to the house, added to the fencing and clearing built another house on the premises in which my hired man lives so that I have *two good* dwelling houses, on the premises, *either* of which is good enough for my family, a good frame barn and other out houses the whole is under good fence together with crop fences forty

acres of winter wheat in the ground, and forty or fifty acres of Land ready for spring crops, this property has cost me two years hard labor and fifteen hundred Dollars in money and Fisk and myself have been *five* years in undisturbed occupation, now during all this time Foster has spent his time in trade in Ohio and has sold out all his farms in this country three in number I think and having nothing for the settlers to protect he claims to bid on my farm, but if any man thinks that he can steal away the home of myself my wife and children without a fight he mistakes his customer badly. I have worked hard enough and submitted to privation enough for a home and I want the Law to give it to me, and if you cannot make a pre-emption that will meet such cases you had better make none, but leave us to protect ourselves I suppose you understand those affidavits.

The President you know is the officer authorized to order Lands to be sold. Of course when he orders a sale he can stop that sale either in toto or in part. When President Van Buren ordered these even sections into market strong petitions were sent to him to have him stop the sale, which he refused to do but he wrote to the Register and Receiver of the Land Office that if any one made affidavit that they had improvements on any land and did not wish it sold the Register and Receiver were ordered not to offer it. No discretion was left with the Register and Receiver either as to quantity, or amt of improvements, and affidavits were freely made and no questions asked, in numerous cases covering tracts of Land that the foot of the white man had never pressed except to make the government survey or to chase the deer, most of these have been long since abandoned, and others have made valuable and extensive improvements upon them, and now after years have passed away and others have made the property valuable they like to trump up some old claim as an excuse to bid in hopes to be bought off.

On the subject of a preëmption law in general, Wyman Spooner of Elkhorn made the sage suggestion that the right to hold such a claim for only one year was of doubtful utility to a poor settler. He was generally unable to raise any money crop the first year, and he would be subject to many expenses. Then, when the time came to pay for his land the speculator and loan shark would be watching and would either have him enter it in their name, or agree to pay a rate of interest which amounted to confiscation of the land. Why, he asks, cannot the government give the settler two years, or even three years, in which to pay for his land?

There is much definite information about speculation through the medium of military land warrants. A number of

Tweedy's correspondents are anxious to buy such warrants or to act as agents for owners who want them placed on lands. The Mexican War warrants were in the market, which centered at Washington, and the delegate was utilized as a kind of warrant broker. One of his Milwaukee associates handled an appreciable quantity of such scrip sent him by Tweedy. The warrants were purchased in Washington at a considerable reduction from the price current in the West. This man, T. L. O., wrote long letters about the business. In one he reports that Mr. F. of Sheboygan has located forty thousand acres in Sheboygan County with warrants bought at New Orleans at about $90 to $100. The rumor about the price paid was probably wrong, for in Washington they cost $125 to $130. T. L. O. was cautious about using such as Tweedy sent him. He employed an experienced man to find good locations, which were scarce, no first-rate government land being available south and east of Fond du Lac County. A few warrants he simply sold in the open market at an advance of about $10. But he had a plan which, if it could be carried out on a considerable scale, would make them yield a better margin. This was to employ a surveyor and locator to select good lands, to buy these with the warrants, and then have some other agent, or the same agent, place immigrants upon the lands, selling to these immigrants at the land office price of $1.25 per acre for cash if they had it, and if not, on easy terms at a good rate of interest, the land being the security. He says that was the plan followed by Mr. F. of Sheboygan.

While some warrants were placed on lands which it was deemed advantageous to hold till the price should be several dollars per acre, it would seem that quick and sure returns was the policy favored by speculators in that kind of paper. The spread between the cost of a warrant at $125 and the land office value of the quarter-section of land the warrant would buy was $75. A part of this was

consumed in interest, delivery expenses, and the cost of employing surveyors and other agents. But if the business were large, the pro rata expense would be less, and probably it was not uncommon during the period of most rapid immigration for the speculator to realize $25 to $50 profit on the warrants handled. At the same time the settler, if he dealt with an honest warrant broker, received free of cost the service of the locator, and if he wanted an entire uniform quarter-section he was at no disadvantage. But it often was an advantage to select land in a different form from that of the regular quarter-section, and for this class of cases $200 cash was worth more than a warrant. To be sure, if the speculator had secured the entire section or several contiguous sections, he could sell in any form desired by purchasers.

The "hated rival" may sometimes prove useful to a man. So apparently thought Moses M. Strong when he appealed to Tweedy (who had defeated him for the delegacy) to look after a land office matter for him. The land, of which he enclosed a neatly executed plat, lay high up on the Wisconsin River where the town of Plover now is. Two citizens of Fort Atkinson had invented a new *bee-house*, of which a model had been forwarded to the patent office without eliciting any response. Would the delegate see the patent office? He did. A Mr. Hugunin of Southport (Kenosha—soil prolific in mechanical inventions) had invented a car-coupler. It was so cleverly devised, with springs, apparently, that if the engine or forward car should run off the track and start down the embankment the thing would automatically uncouple from the car behind, which would thus be left safe and sound on the track. Would the delegate have a coupler made, after the model, and induce the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to try it? We do not know whether he did or not. Two Indians of the Stockbridge nation, John W. Quinney and Austin Quinney, are

going to Washington to see what can be done to settle the long-standing dispute between the "citizen and Indian parties" in their nation. Henry S. Baird, of Green Bay, wants the delegate to smooth the way for these emissaries of peace. Daniel Whitney, however, who also notices the mission, seems doubtful about the advisability of the visit. Between two such potentates, what is a mere delegate to do? Milo Jones of Fort Atkinson is so deeply interested in acquiring for the benefit of the schools of the town certain riparian lands along the shores of Lake Koshkonong, that he writes a series of letters on the subject. And D. R. Burt of Grant County wants an appropriation of $10,000 for the improvement of the Grant River slough in order to make a harbor for the promising town of Potosi on the Mississippi. He, Ebenezer Brigham, and several others want mail routes opened between described places, or they want contracts made for the mail on routes already authorized.

William S. Hamilton, who was suffering from a cough which troubled him for many weeks, believed himself nearing the grave unless he should go to some milder climate. A year later he went to California and in 1850 died there. In two letters Hamilton urges Tweedy to call on his mother, Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, in Washington and announce himself as her son's friend from Wisconsin. It would be a great pleasure to her and would cost the delegate but little trouble. Mr. W. Chase comments on the second constitutional convention: "We have a much better body to do business assembled this time than the last, & one that does not patronize the drinking and gambling houses as part of the last did."

Hans Crocker, in one of his jovial moods, described the gaieties in Milwaukee during the winter of 1841: "We had a great treat on Wednesday—quite a large party of ladies and gentlemen tho the rain poured in torrents the whole evening. The music—3 Germans, is infinitely better than we have ever had & equal to any I have heard in a ball room."

JOSEPH SCHAFER

COMMUNICATIONS

Mrs. Ada Pratt Kimberley has called our attention to an error on page 124 of the September, 1924, issue of this magazine. In place of being called the Wisconsin Daughters' little "grandmother," she was often referred to as their little "godmother."

One of the Society's members is desirous of obtaining one copy each of numbers 1 and 3 of volume 4 of this magazine (September, 1920, and March, 1921). Since the Society has no extra copies of these issues, will any of our readers who can supply them kindly communicate with Charles H. Leavitt, 999 Cleveland Avenue, Portland, Oregon.

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

During the quarter ending January 10, 1925, there were nineteen additions to the membership of the State Historical Society. Five persons enrolled as life members: O. F. De Longe, Madison; Frank F. Fowle, Chicago; Alexander J. Horlick, Racine; Theodore Kronshage, Milwaukee; A. L. Nussbaum, Madison.

Twelve persons became annual members, as follows: Mrs. Margaret H. Abels, Madison; John P. Hammarlund, Janesville; Robert M. King, Hinsdale, Ill.; Oliver M. Layton, Fond du Lac; Stoddard H. Martin, Milwaukee; Robert G. Miner, La Crosse; Mrs. H. G. B. Nixon, Hartland; H. E. Pratt, Plainfield; Edward Seybold, Wauwatosa; Rev. Charles Stehling, Fond du Lac; D. D. Sutherland, Fond du Lac; George G. Wright, Milwaukee.

The Milwaukee County School of Agriculture, Milwaukee, and St. Agnes Convent High School, Fond du Lac, are now Wisconsin school members.

Mr. E. E. Pantzer, Sheboygan, previously an annual member, has become a life member.

Mr. Harry E. Cole, of Baraboo, for many years a curator of this Society, and recently first vice-president, automatically became president, under the Society's constitution, upon the retirement from that office, in last October, of Judge E. Ray Stevens.

The annual address before the Society, which could not be given at the time of the annual meeting in October, was delivered on the evening of January 15 in the Assembly chamber at the State Capitol. The Society welcomed on that occasion Dr. Frederick Jackson Turner, late of Cambridge, Massachusetts, now of Madison and North Hancock, Maine, one of the most eminent of its members and former curators. The address forms the leading article of this number of the magazine.

Upon the initiative of the Minnesota Historical Society, it has been arranged to hold on June 17 and 18 a cooperative field meeting of the two state historical societies at the neighboring towns of Winona and La Crosse. A committee of our Society headed by Curator Albert H. Sanford, of La Crosse, is working on the local features of the meeting, and it is hoped that we shall have a program of such interest that many of our members will desire to attend, especially those in the western part of the state. It is planned to have talks on Minnesota history in Wisconsin, and a Wisconsin program at Winona. An excursion to Trempealeau and the site of the old French post at that place will probably be arranged. All members and friends of the Society are cordially invited to be present.

ACQUISITIONS

The three important gifts received during the past quarter are the Tweedy papers, the Burmeister papers, and the Dr. Joseph A. Paxson diary. The first of these is described in the preceding editorial. The collection of Charles Burmeister was given by his daughter, Laura Burmeister, of Los Angeles. It is concerned with the history of the merchant marine of the Great Lakes, and particularly with that of Lake Michigan, for Captain Burmeister was a native of Manitowoc County, and both there and at Frankfort, Michigan, was the owner of lake craft. He was interested in the history of shipping and collected lists of both schooners and steamboats that navigated the lakes in the early nineteenth century. Among the papers are a list of lakes captains with the boats they commanded; a list of side-wheel steamboats with the place of building and the number of tons capacity; a diary of a trip on the lakes in 1880; and an Ottawa Indian trade vocabulary. There are also some items of local history for Door County, and an autobiography of Byron Burmeister, who died in 1922.

Dr. Joseph A. Paxson was reservation physician for the Winnebago Indians in Nebraska, sent there from Philadelphia by the Society of Friends. His diary for the winter of 1869-70, together with some letters written during the same time, has been given to the Society by his son, Professor F. L. Paxson, of the University. Dr. Paxson in these papers gives the only first-hand information we possess of the Winnebago tribesmen in this period; his diary also throws light on the Indian policy of Grant's administration, and on the relations between the officials of the reservations and the chiefs. To illustrate the diary Professor Paxson also gave the Society photographs of several Winnebago chiefs, taken during the winter of his father's sojourn with the tribe.

NECROLOGY

We regret to chronicle the death at Washington, D. C., on October 26 last, of Major General William G. Haan, leader of the Red Arrow (Thirty-second) Division during the World War. It will be remembered that General Haan delivered the annual address before the Society on October 23, 1919, and that he has shown a deep interest in our prosperity. His portrait, donated by the veterans of his command, is in our museum, and was unveiled a year ago in January. General Haan was not well enough to be present on that occasion, but sent Mrs. Haan as his representative. At the funeral, which took place in Washington on October 29, the state was represented by Adjutant General Ralph M. Immel, Colonel George F. O'Connell, and Colonel Paul B. Clemens, the latter of whom served as one of the bearers. The state National Guard was represented by Lieutenant-Colonel Gilbert E. Seaman and Lieutenant-Colonel Edgar N. Caldwell. The city of Milwaukee, where General Haan had established his home, held a memorial service for him at the City Hall on Armistice Day.

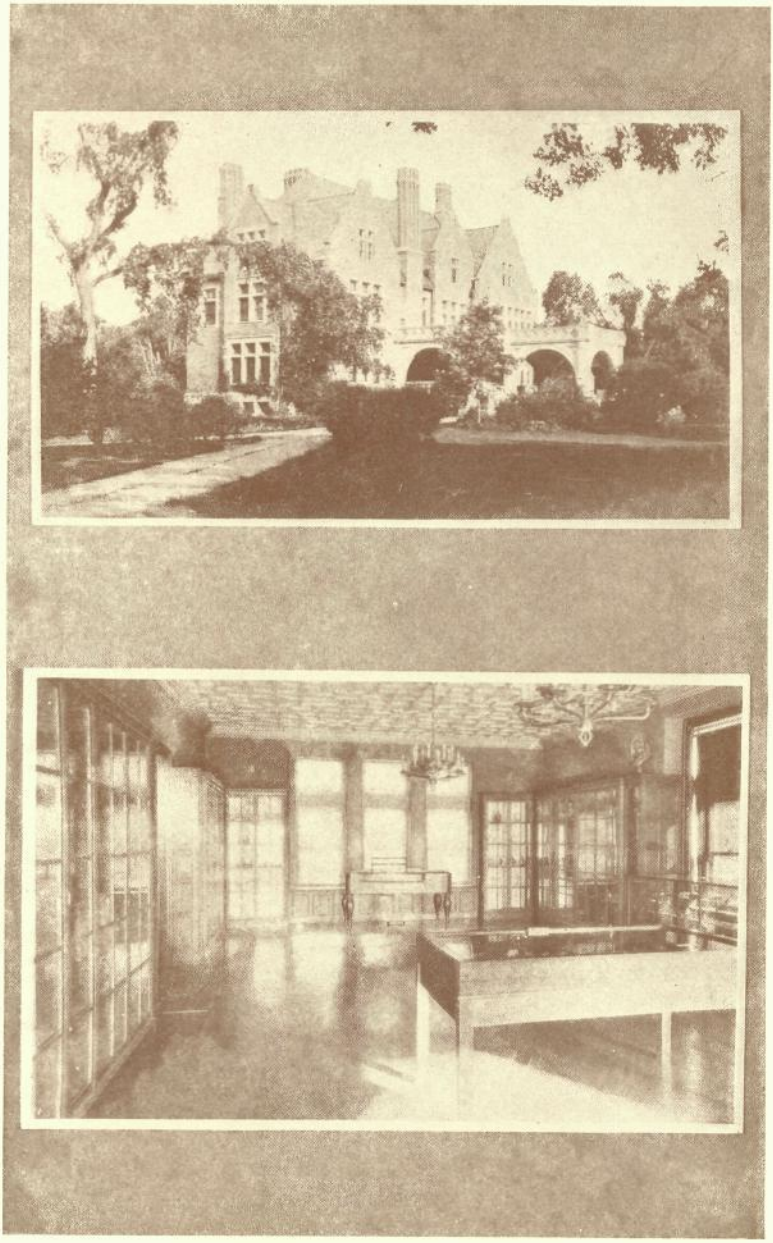
Dr. Samuel Plantz, president for thirty years of Lawrence College, died suddenly November 14, at Sturgeon Bay. Although a native of

New York, Dr. Plantz grew up on a farm in Rock County of our state. He wrote a historical sketch of the college whose interests he did so much to further, for the December, 1922, number of this magazine. His death at the age of sixty-five is a loss to the educational interests of Wisconsin.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The opening of the historical museum at the Sawyer Foundation of Oshkosh, which occurred November 8 and 9, was a notable event for the history-loving people of Fox River valley. The city council, to whom the question of the use of the building was referred, very wisely determined last April to permit the Winnebago County Historical Society to prepare for these beautiful rooms a permanent exhibit of the relics of Indian occupation, of pioneer industries, and of all materials significant in the life of the community. The historical and archeological society has amply and wisely met the trust reposed in it. Not only are the archeological and the natural history sections large and representative, but the committee has also secured a department of domestic art, another of costumes, and one of ceramics. Several fine paintings and pieces of statuary grace the halls; and the early maps of Oshkosh and vicinity, the pictures of the city in its pioneer stages, will teach the youth of the city much of their forerunners' mode of life. The Winnebago County Historical and Archeological Society is very much alive, and constantly contributing to the growth of historical interest. Its fifth anniversary was celebrated early in December, when the reports by its secretary, Arthur Kannenberg, and by Ralph N. Buckstaff, secretary of the museum board, reviewed the society's activities. The occasion was completed by a delightful talk on Italy by Mrs. G. A. C. Comstock. The marker erected in June at the old payground reads: Indian Payground 1826-1828 Annuity payments in Money and Winter Supplies were made in this vicinity to the Menominee Indians, by the United States Government.

The Fond du Lac County Historical Society, whose organization we chronicled last year, held its first anniversary at the Community House in Fond du Lac on January 2, President C. L. Hill of Rosendale in the chair. The officers of 1924 were re-elected for 1925. The first paper presented was by Mrs. H. M. Ridgeway of Rosendale, on "Kitchen Firesides, Pewter, and Hallmarks," in which she gave a most interesting account of the utensils used by our ancestors and their makers. The eighth in descent from Captain Miles Standish, Mrs. Ridgeway is familiar with the domestic art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and made the subject of deep interest to her listeners. President Hill was asked by the committee to describe the beginnings of the dairying industry in Fond du Lac County, where some of the earliest and most successful experiments in breeding and in cheese making were made. He gave Chester Hazen credit for pioneering work in the latter industry, and detailed the history of several herds of purebreds that have been developed in his county. B. J. Gilbert, who came to Wis-



VIEWS OF THE OSHKOSH PUBLIC MUSEUM, SAWYER FOUNDATION

consin as a boy with a family of pioneers, gave his memories of early modes of travel and experiences *en route*. Attractive music and discussion of plans for the summer meeting completed an enjoyable and profitable afternoon.

The Eau Claire County Historical and Old Settlers' Society held a midwinter picnic in the basement of the City Auditorium on December 6. A large attendance surprised and delighted the officers of the society, and a most enjoyable time was spent in reminiscence and comradeship. President W. W. Bartlett shared the honors with John C. Barland, one of the oldest citizens, who reread a poem prepared for a similar occasion in 1905. M. B. Hubbard was elected president, Mr. Bartlett accepting the duties of secretary. A collection of photographs of pioneers arranged by Miss Adelaide Smith added to the pleasure and interest of the occasion.

A movement is under way at Medford, sponsored by the *Star-News* of that place, to organize a historical and pioneer society for Taylor County. We hope the plans may gather headway, and result in a Taylor County Historical Society, affiliated with our Society.

The Logan Museum of Beloit College has received through the agency of Alonzo Pond a remarkable collection of relics of primitive man in Europe, among them artifacts of the Neanderthal, Magdelenian, and Aurignacian periods of development.

The Wausau Historical Library is the recipient of the fine collection of portraits of Wausau pioneers made by the late Granville D. Jones. This collection comprises nearly sixty pictures of the makers of northern Wisconsin, and will prove as the years pass a valuable source of historical interest.

LANDMARKS AND MONUMENTS

The landmarks committee of our Society, under the direction of Col. Howard Greene of Milwaukee, is making plans to mark several sites during the coming year. Funds have been collected and an inscription prepared to mark the crossing at Old Helena, where the Army in 1832 followed on the track of the fleeing Black Hawk. It is also hoped that tablets will be erected during the summer on Madeline Island to mark the sites of early French and fur trade posts; and also on the Mississippi at Trempealeau where the remains of the old French post have been located.

November 9 a tablet was unveiled by Bishop Paul P. Rhode on the site of the first Catholic Church erected in 1823 at Green Bay, on the corner of the present Adams and Chicago streets. The origin of this movement was due to the Marquette Club, and the Superintendent of our Society delivered the historical address, calling attention to the activities of the Reverend Father Richard of Detroit, who planned this

first log church, as well as to those of his predecessors, the Jesuit missionaries at De Pere.

The Madison chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution placed, November 1, a marker on the grave of Nathaniel Ames, a Revolutionary veteran who sleeps in the cemetery at Oregon. The tablet was unveiled by two great-great-grandsons of the pioneer.

The De Pere chapter of the same organization honored a "real daughter," by placing last October a memorial tablet on the grave of Mrs. Betsey Ann Newton, whose father served under General Washington.

The bronze tablet to the memory of George Stevens, founder of Stevens Point, the plans for which were noted in our September number, has been placed on the bank of the Wisconsin River. The formal dedication will occur in the spring.

A monument erected in Wildwood Cemetery, Sheboygan, last autumn commemorates "all our unknown Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines."

Memorial Day, the Appleton post of the Grand Army of the Republic will unveil a monument to the veterans of the Civil War.

Memorials for the soldiers of the late war are in certain localities taking the form of trees. At Racine the War Mothers have planted a circle of elms in Lakeside Park around a memorial boulder. From Marinette to Peshtigo extends the "Road of Remembrance," consisting of more than eight hundred trees, planted in honor of those who paid the supreme sacrifice in 1917 and 1918. The avenue will be dedicated Memorial Day.

Plans are under way by the Steuben Society of Manitowoc to commemorate the residence of the Salomon family, two of whose members were generals and one was governor of the state, during the Civil War.

The site of the first newspaper plant at Superior is to be marked by the local D. A. R.

ANNIVERSARIES

The city of Mayville in Dodge County is eighty years of age this spring. It was founded in 1845 by four Fort Atkinson searchers for water power, among whom were Chester and S. P. May, for whom the place is named. Celebration of the anniversary is being planned.

The seventh-fifth anniversary of the separation of Marathon County from Portage, and the meeting of the first county board at Big Bull Falls (now Wausau) is remarked by the local press, with suggestions for commemoration.

One of the oldest philanthropic organizations of Milwaukee, the Orphan Asylum, celebrated in January its seventy-fifth anniversary. In 1850 a severe lake storm drove on the rocks a vessel from which were rescued several small children without parents or protectors. The institution was quickly started and during its three-quarters of a century of existence has sheltered over three thousand children. Many of Milwaukee's leading women have been officers of this worthy charity.

When in March, 1923, Comrade Rood wrote for this magazine a history of the Grand Army of the Republic in Wisconsin, he stated that the Berlin post had the longest unbroken record of any in the state. This organization, now numbering but seven active members, held its fifty-eighth annual meeting last November.

One hundred Polish dwellers of Milwaukee formed in 1874 the Kosciusko Guard, which has had an honorable history as a militia unit. In the World War this company, expanded into five, became the Polish battalion of the Thirty-second Division. The half-century anniversary was celebrated last November, when one of its former commanders, Major Edward I. Slupecki, came from California to be present.

The *Port Washington Star* attained the venerable age of fifty years in the latter months of 1924. The present editor, A. D. Bolens, is a son of the founder, and learned to set type in his father's printing office.

The library at Sparta celebrated its half-century of usefulness to the public by an anniversary address prepared by Mrs. R. S. Baldwin, recounting the history of the organization. It is interesting to note that the first president of the Sparta board was Osmore Ryan Smith the father of Walter McMynn Smith and Mary Smith of Madison, both well-known librarians—the former of the State University, and the latter in charge of the Madison city library.

CHURCH ANNIVERSARIES

Three of our churches have during the three months of our observation reached the eighty-years-old mark—the Baptist at Janesville, and the Norwegian Lutheran churches at Norway Hill, Racine County, and Jefferson Prairie in Rock County. The Janesville Baptists held appropriate exercises November 23, in the third edifice the congregation has worshiped in since its founding. The Norway Hill congregation was organized in 1843, when its first meetings were held in a barn. The new brick church of today stands where the first church was built in 1845. The Jefferson Prairie church held three commemorative services September 29 last.

The Presbyterian Church of De Pere was seventy-five years of age on the first of December. Grace Lutheran Church of Milwaukee held its diamond jubilee the preceding month; during all its seventy-five years it has been presided over by but three pastors.

St. Mark's German Lutheran Church of Watertown observed in October its seventieth anniversary. The twenty-two charter members have become 1620.

Bethlehem Lutheran congregation of Pella, in Shawano County, celebrated in the last days of 1924 the sixty-fifth anniversary of its founding.

At Clintonville, a neighboring town, the St. Martin's Lutheran congregation held jubilee services in October for its fiftieth birthday.

While commemorating the Wisconsin anniversaries we are moved to note the centenary of two of our sister historical societies in other parts of North America. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec is the oldest learned society in Canada, and has published during its hundred years of useful service material of especial interest to the students of the French régime in the Northwest. The Royal Society aided in the celebration, for which an exhibit of rare maps, documents, and pictures of Quebec was arranged. The Pennsylvania Historical Society observed on December 2 the hundredth anniversary of its birth, when the Honorable Hampton L. Carson, president of the society, delivered a historical and commemorative address. Our Society received a formal invitation for this occasion.

HISTORICAL NOTES

The American Historical Association met December 27-31 at Richmond, Virginia. In addition to the historic surroundings of this place, the meeting was made notable by the presence of several eminent historians from England who contributed much to the success of the occasion. Woodrow Wilson, president, having died during the year, Charles M. Andrews, first vice-president, took the chair, and delivered the presidential address: "These Forty Years," wherein he reviewed the changes in historical methods during the forty years since the Association was organized. Professor Andrews was elected president for the ensuing year, Dana C. Munro of Princeton (formerly of Wisconsin) was chosen first vice-president, and Henry Osborn Taylor second vice-president. The next session will be at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Wisconsin has the largest resident Indian population of any state east of the Mississippi, being credited with over ten thousand descendants of the American aborigines. The larger portion are the Chippewa, who dwell on their northern reservations, and the Menominee, who still possess a considerable reservation in Shawano County. These with the Potawatomi of northeastern Wisconsin and the Winnebago of the northwest and central portions were living in this region when it was first explored by white men. In addition to these native tribes we have a number of Indians who were removed in the early nineteenth century from New York; these are the Oneida, Brothertown, and Stockbridge Indians, living in the vicinity of the Menominee and near Green Bay.

The small village of La Pointe, on Madeline Island, is the oldest settlement in the northern part of the state, and was enterprising enough to be the first community to report by a cable laid beneath Chequamegon Bay, its election returns on November 4. Eighty-four votes were cast at this village for president.

Solomon Juneau, the first mayor of Milwaukee, left his home in that city in 1852 and removed to what was then a rural neighborhood, in Dodge County, which was named Theresa for one of Juneau's daughters. There he built a large frame house overlooking Rock River, the major portion of which is still standing as a memorial to the founder of two of Wisconsin's communities. Solomon's son Narcisse, one of the most enterprising of the Juneau descendants, built a brick house at Theresa which is still intact.

A memorial was recently dedicated at St.-Germain-en-Laye, near Paris, to Emma G. Mullen of Fox Lake, who lost her life during the bombardment of Paris in 1918. Miss Mullen, who spent part of her life in Milwaukee, went to France to aid the cause of the allies and organized the credit system of the clearing-house of France and her allies. She was also an energetic worker in the Red Cross and initiated a series of lectures to promote interest in the arts during the darkest days of the war. The monument is the gift of her admiring friends on both continents.

The Reverend Olympia Brown, whose portrait we published as the frontispiece of this magazine in September, 1921, and who is recognized as one of the pioneers of the cause of woman's suffrage in Wisconsin, celebrated her ninetieth birthday in Baltimore at the home of her daughter, on January 5. A pioneer of Michigan, she came to Racine in 1878 as pastor of the Church of the Good Shepherd, which sent her a telegram of congratulations on her natal day.

We read in history of New Amsterdam, where New York now stands, but little is known of Wisconsin's New Amsterdam, in La Crosse County. However, the original records of the oldest survivor of the Holland colony that emigrated to Wisconsin in 1853 are being translated and published in the *La Crosse Tribune*, and a thrilling story of adventure they prove to be. Somewhere in the West Indies the ship on which the emigrants were crossing struck on a rock, and the captain deserted the ship and its passengers, who were finally saved after several had died of hunger and exposure. The rescued remnant at last reached La Crosse by way of New Orleans and the Mississippi River, on July 5, having embarked in Holland in February. Two members of the original body of emigrants are still living at New Amsterdam.

When Highway Number 17 was opened between Milwaukee and Sheboygan, F. A. Cannon, secretary of the Good Roads Association, published an interesting sketch of the old trails along the lake shore and early mail carriers' experiences in that region. The trip of these public servants generally occupied a month in conveying the mail from Fort

Howard at Green Bay to Chicago and return. They were obliged to carry provisions with them, and their camping places were the soft side of a log, or where the camp fire melted the snow. Congress in 1838 appropriated $15,000 to build a road from the state line of Illinois northward to Green Bay. Little was done, however, but to clear a pathway through the timber; and no wheeled vehicle could be driven north of Sheboygan for some years. Transportation was almost wholly by lake vessels in the summer, and in the winter the Canadian-French "train" was used—a rude sleigh. Such were the early transportation facilities of a region through which now runs a concrete-surfaced road of smooth perfection.

The early railroads of the state, although a great advance on the primitive methods of transportation, were themselves primitive in appliances and methods. A Juneau station agent recently found a book used by his predecessor fifty years ago, called the "wood book," giving the names and numbers of the engines in use on his road, and the amount of wood the agent would be expected to supply at his station. The average amount was about one to one and a half cords to each twenty-mile stretch. The use of coal did not become usual until after 1878.

The press of Wisconsin continues to supply its readers with historical material and reminiscences of the pioneers of several regions. The *Jefferson County Union*, of Fort Atkinson, is running a series of valuable papers containing the recollections of the Honorable L. B. Caswell, long a Congressman from Wisconsin. The *Milwaukee Journal* published November 16 an anniversary number containing several valuable historical articles—one on the pioneer press of the state; others on early social life, Milwaukee topography in the first years, etc. The occasion was the removal of the *Journal* to a new building.

MUSEUM NOTES

Among recent gifts to the State Historical Museum are an interesting pioneer American deer rifle, five and a half feet in length, presented by C. H. Colton, Los Angeles, California; rafting plugs and chains formerly used on the upper Mississippi in log rafting, given by Charles G. Weyl, Fountain City; a part of a cache of flint and quartzite implements and copper pieces found in 1922 in the town of Weston, Marathon County, and a number of rhyolite and other implements from Smoky Hill, Wood County, all presented by Dr. A. Gerend, Milladore.

Mrs. J. M. Higgins, Madison, has donated a United States Naval Academy and a United States Military Academy dress coat, the one formerly worn by her son, Lieutenant John M. Higgins, U. S. N., and the other by Lieutenant John Salsman, U. S. A., former Madison boys.

From the Catholic Woman's Club, Chicago, there has been received a four-piece set of Wedgewood ware of about the year 1880. St. John's Home, Milwaukee, has presented a powder flask, case with draughting instruments, flat-iron, tortoise shell card-case, steel bead purse, tin pencil case, and razor, all of about the year 1850.

The large collection of Chinese ethnological material which was lent to the Museum in 1910 through the agency of Christ Presbyterian Church, Madison, by its owner, the Reverend H. C. Ramsay, now of Edgar, Wisconsin, was removed from the five cases where it has been long on public display and returned to him on December 11, 1924.

A case of Potawatomi Indian material collected by Dr. Gerend among the members of this tribe in Forest and Wood counties has been installed in the annex of the Indian history room.

Sixty representatives of thirty state, county, and municipal museums in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Iowa held a meeting at the Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee, on November 17 and 18, and organized the Wisconsin Museums Conference. Mr. Laurence V. Coleman, secretary of the American Association of Museums, New York, and Professor Fay Cooper-Cole, of the department of anthropology, University of Chicago, were present and delivered the principal addresses. Mr. Arthur C. Neville, of the Green Bay Public Museum, was elected president of the conference, Willoughby M. Babcock, of the State Historical Museum at St. Paul, vice-president, and Ralph M. Buckstaff, of the Sawyer Foundation, Oshkosh, secretary-treasurer. Miss Charlotte N. Partridge, of the Layton Art Gallery, Milwaukee, was elected a member of the executive board.

Mrs. Aden T. Newman and other public-spirited citizens of Bloomer, in Chippewa County, are engaged in organizing a public museum in connection with the public library in that village. Many contributions of historical specimens are being received.

Mr. Charles F. Carr, the late well-known naturalist of New London' has in his will bequeathed to the public museum of his home town his fine natural history and historical library of two thousand volumes and a money bequest of what will probably amount to fifteen thousand dollars or more. Some years before his death he gave to the museum, which he was chiefly instrumental in organizing, his fine collection of mounted birds, collections of shells, minerals, and archeological specimens. The Reverend Francis S. Dayton is the curator of the museum, which is now quartered in the public library building. Mr. Carr was for many years a member of both the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the Wisconsin Archeological Society. He was until recent years the publisher of the *New London Times*.

The current issue of the *Wisconsin Archeologist*, published by the Wisconsin Archeological Society, contains illustrated papers by C. E. Brown, on "An Interesting Type of Flint Spearpoint" and "Delavan Lake Mounds"; by Theodore T. Brown, on "Some Curious Uses of Indian Mounds"; by Albert B. Reagan, on "The Bois Fort Chippewa"; by George B. Phillips, on "Analysis of Ancient Sinhalese Metal"; and by Alanson Skinner, on "Collecting among the Menomini" and "A Trip to the Potawatomi." The State Society is now preparing for publication a report on all of the heretofore unrecorded Wisconsin groups of Indian

mounds, camp and village sites, planting grounds, graves and cemeteries, shrines, pictograph rocks, cave shelters, and other landmarks located by its field workers since 1911 when the state archeological survey was organized. There are many hundreds of these.

Mr. Alonzo W. Pond of Janesville has returned from a six-months' trip to Europe, which he made in the interest of the Logan Museum at Beloit College. He visited nearly all of the noted archeological stations in Great Britain, Denmark, France, and Switzerland, and brought back large and fine collections of palaeolithic and neolithic implements from these countries, which will be used in connection with the course in American archeology now being given by Dr. George L. Collie at Beloit.

Some 6355 school children from Wisconsin cities visited the State Historical Museum at Madison in classes the past year. These children came from graded schools, high schools, rural schools, parochial schools, county and state normal schools, institutions for the deaf, dumb, and blind, and vocational schools. All of these were conducted through the Museum by the Museum staff. Classes from the University departments of art, education, economics, horticulture, agriculture, library work, journalism, domestic science, languages, engineering, pharmacy, and biology have come to the Museum halls for instruction. The Museum has also circulated traveling loan collections of historical materials among many state schools which were unable to send classes to its halls.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Frederick Jackson Turner ("The Significance of the Section in American History"), professor emeritus of Harvard University, read this paper at a meeting of the State Historical Society held January 15 at the Assembly Chamber, Madison.

Joseph Schafer ("Prohibition in Early Wisconsin"), our superintendent, presents in this article one phase of his study of the social history of Wisconsin.

Florence Bascom ("The University in 1874-1887"), professor of geology at Bryn Mawr College, wrote, at the request of our superintendent, her reminiscences of the time when her father, John Bascom, was president of the University.

Willard N. Parker ("Warren Downes Parker") was first assistant superintendent of public instruction of Wisconsin from 1899 to 1903, and was for twenty years, 1903-1923, editor of the *Wisconsin Journal of Education*.

Mrs. T. O. Bennett ("Mail Transportation in the Early Days") a resident of Houghton, Michigan, read this paper at a meeting of the local historical society in 1923.

Oscar H. Bauer ("Annals of a Country Tradesman") is principal of the high school at Juneau, Wisconsin.

BOOK REVIEWS

The History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893. By Frederic L. Paxson. (Boston, 1924). 598p.

In this volume Professor Paxson has brought to maturity the task he began in 1910 when he wrote *The Last American Frontier.* In that earlier volume he confined attention to the trans-Mississippi, and the period from 1830 onward. In this new volume the author sweeps into one full stream of narration the entire epic of the American westward movement from its crossing of the Appalachian barrier to the final disappearance of the frontier. Nearly one-half of the space is given to the earlier cis-Mississippi movements; and the chapters on the later frontier have been entirely rewritten and reconceived. In breadth of knowledge and handling and in depth of grasp this new volume shows an enormous advance over the earlier one. It is the work of a master of comprehension and an adept at showing the interrelationship of forces and their free interplay on the field of the West. The scholarship underlying the work is enormous, but does not obtrude its erudition more than to declare with firmness and conviction the writer's conclusions. Chief of these, possibly, is that stated in the preface that "the frontier with its continuous influence is the most American thing in all America."

That Professor Paxson has written the definitive history of the frontier or the westward movement, he himself would be the last to assert. That protean and remarkable phenomenon we call the frontier presents itself under as many aspects as the great region of country over which it sweeps, and its history will be seen in as many lights as subjective observers may choose. But Professor Paxson gives the American public in this volume a standard history of the West, which will bear the test of time and use and, we venture to believe, will grow increasingly valuable as it is employed and mastered. We heartily recommend it to Wisconsin readers, and to all who love the history of the land wherein we dwell.

America of the Fifties: Letters of Fredrika Bremer. Selected and edited by Adolph B. Benson. Published by the American-Scandinavian Foundation (New York, 1924). 340p.

In attempting to compress the thirteen hundred pages of the first edition of Miss Bremer's letters, a known classic of American travel, into one-third the space, in order to meet the exigencies of our less leisurely age, Mr. Benson has been obliged to omit or curtail some of the most charming passages. In the preface the editor states that "the selections here reproduced as *America of the Fifties* have been revised and normal-

ized from the original. They are believed to be representative of the *Letters* as a whole." Just what "normalized" means in this connection we do not know, but if it is euphonistic for "improved," we are compelled to differ with the editor. Granted the necessity of shortening Miss Bremer's lovely book of 1853, called *Homes of the New World*, would it not have been more in accord with modern editorship to have cited some portions entire, and to have indicated in brackets the portions abbreviated, or "normalized"? However, if this volume fulfils its purpose of making modern Americans familiar with the ideas and opinions of one of our most appreciative and delightful foreign visitors, it will not have been issued in vain; and those who in this curtailed form become acquainted with Miss Bremer, will no doubt wish to know her better and at greater length in the letters, with their spontaneity and freshness, as she herself wrote them.

Miss Bremer's visit to America in 1849 and 1850 was in the nature of a triumphal tour. Her reputation had preceded her, and she was received not only hospitably but with a cordiality that sometimes became embarrassing. From New York City, where the traffic was even then so great that she writes of Broadway "when crossing it I think merely of getting to the other side," she visited the Hudson, where she met Washington Irving and some of our women novelists. Thence to Boston, where she made the acquaintance of Emerson, Lowell, Longfellow, Alcott, and other lights of our literary firmament. Her shrewd and kindly comments on these men and authors make delightful reading even after three-quarters of a century. Our principal interest, however, is in Miss Bremer's impressions of the West. Here Mr. Benson's excisions are so disastrous that we get little of the flavor of her report. Read, for instance, what he has left of her visit to the Swedish colony on Pine Lake, and the account as Miss Hansen gives it in the September number of our magazine, and realize the losses we sustain in this edition. As for the visit to Madison, it is emasculated beyond recognition, and gives no hint of the charm of the original. The same is true to a large extent of the account of Chicago.

The volume we have here is attractively printed and bound, and the illustrations add much to its worth, being from original sketches from Miss Bremer's own hand. The book is truly a classic and worthy of more than one reproduction, and many perusals by modern Americans.

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