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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

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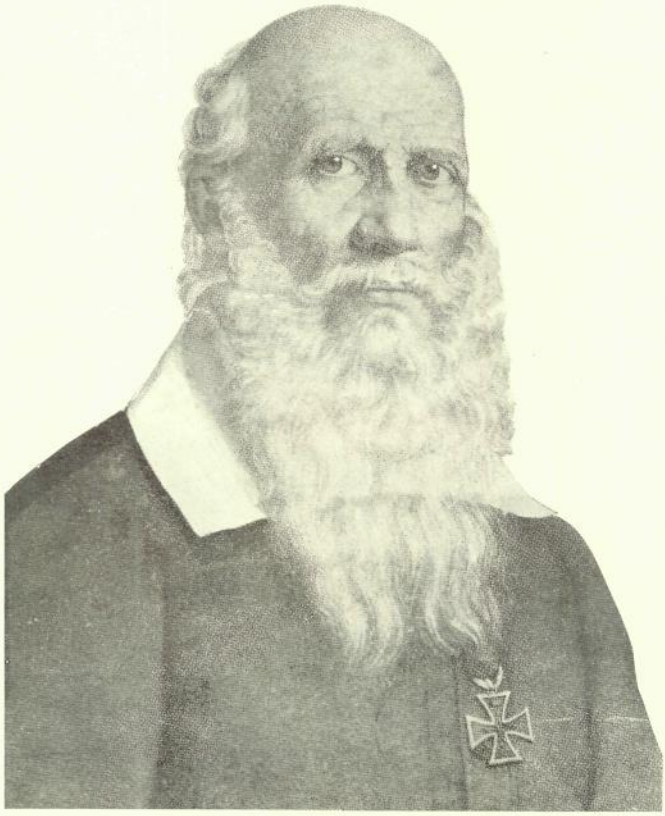

FATHER JAHN
Friedrich Ludwig Jahn

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THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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

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CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF THE TURNERS

ROBERT WILD

It is not possible to understand the history of the turner organizations in our state without a brief reference to their historical backgrounds.

Turnerism had its root in implacable hatred of oppression, in flaming patriotism and love of liberty.

Napoleon I, a modern *divus Caesar,* imposed a catechism which required children to be taught that he was created on earth in the image of God, that to honor and serve him was to honor and serve God himself, and that failure to do so led to eternal damnation. After the battle of Jena in 1806, Germany was practically a vassal state. In Napoleon's army, in the Moscow campaign, were included one hundred and ninety-seven thousand Germans. To Metternich Napoleon said: "I lost three hundred thousand men; hardly thirty thousand of them were Frenchmen." To a Russian he remarked: "Si vous perdez cinq Russes, je ne perds qu'un Français et quatre cochons."

When the war of liberation broke out and the nation's manhood entered the ranks as volunteers, Theodor Koerner expressed the emotion and exaltation of his people:

> Father, I honor thee.
> 'Tis not a fight for the world's golden hoard,
> Holy is what we protect with the sword.
> Hence, falling or vanquishing, praise be to thee.
> God, I submit to thee.

The proclamation of 1813 at Kalish, calling the people to arms, promised them liberty and a new national unity. The "Bundesakte" (articles of federation) in 1815 promised the establishment, in all countries of the confederation, of a

constitution with representation. The cabinet order of 1815, signed by Frederick William III, promised a general representation and the appointment of a commission to draw up a constitution. But after Waterloo these promises were forgotten and ignored. Those who styled themselves "plenipotentiaries of Providence" established their system of inaction and reaction, under which "mark-time" became the word of command in every government office. It was the era which did not come to an end until 1848, and of which at least one state minister said: "I sum up all the infamy of the last decades in the name Metternich."

The literary mouthpiece of that prince of diplomacy was Gentz. Significant not only for the period in question but also for the purposes of this essay are Gentz's words, written in 1818: "Things can not stay as they are. In the first place the gymnastic movement ('das Turnen') must be gotten out of the world. I regard it as a suppurating boil, which must be entirely removed before one can proceed to a radical cure." Within a year, Frederick William III obligingly issued his second famous cabinet order, which absolutely prohibited turning, and not long afterward all apparatus for gymnastic exercises was dismantled and removed.

The interdict was primarily aimed at Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, the founder of what that remarkable man intended and hoped would develop into a great national system of physical training. Jahn was not exempted from police surveillance until the accession of Frederick William IV. Twenty years elapsed between the interdict of the royal father and the amnesty of the royal son. Those twenty years were a time of forgotten obligations and broken promises, of rulers without faith and courtiers without honor, a time of repression and tyranny, of stupidity and persecution, of brutality and cowardice. Jahn, the leader and trainer of flaming patriotic German youth, himself, as was Theodor Koerner, a member of Luetzow's famous corps

in the campaign against the Corsican, was confined in fortresses for more than five years. Arndt was deprived of his professorship at Bonn, and Grimm and the rest of the "Seven" were driven from their chairs at Goettingen. Students of German literary history will remember that Fritz Reuter's imprisonment ruined his health and Hauff's imprisonment cut short his life. Those twenty years, however, were also the time of the ripening of political ideas and the growth of political principles, the time in which were born the men who rocked governments and swayed thrones, and which culminated in the stirring events of 1848, which have been so vividly portrayed by the pen of the greatest of our Americans of German birth, Carl Schurz.

Jahn had in 1811 established his "Turnplatz" on the Hasenheide near Berlin. His plan was to encourage bodily exercise and to foster patriotic ideals in his pupils, so that with sound minds in sound bodies, inspired with love of country and passion for freedom, they might help in the liberation of their country from foreign oppression. That was five years after the battle of Jena, five years after the execution of Palm for distributing the pamphlet, "Germany in the Depths of her Humiliation," three years after Fichte had uttered his "Addresses to the German Nation," and two years before Scharnhorst led his weeping and reluctant king to the window in the Breslau palace, to point out the troops of volunteers pouring in and to ask him whether he was now convinced that the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of his people were real.

Why was Jahn and his system of turning suppressed after 1815? Because he publicly, on the platform and in his books, reiterated the demand of the people for the constitution which had been solemnly promised them. His ideas and ideals, whose quintessence was "liberty and union," lived on in the universities and in the hearts of the peoples of distracted and discordant Germany. We see them reflected in Lieber and Schurz, in Koerner and Stallo, who in our land typify the pre-1848 strivings of a great

people aspiring to a national unity based upon constitutional freedom.

Into the struggles of 1848-1849 the German turners entered everywhere with devotion and enthusiasm, and when the disappointment and the disillusionment came at last, they went into exile. Thousands came to the United States. Naturally they brought with them the ideals and visions of their lost cause—liberty in its broadest meaning, hatred of oppression, plain living and high thinking, love of music and poetry and culture, patriotism, civic duty, and loyalty. Before long, turner organizations sprang up in the cities of the North. The followers of Jahn and the Sons of '48 were their leaders and founders. Let a few names, selected at random, suffice: Sigel and Dr. Jacobi in New York, Rapp in Philadelphia, Hecker in Cincinnati, Pfaender and Nix in New Ulm, Osterhaus and Hilgard in Belleville, Willich in Milwaukee. They and their fellows were a typical cross-section of their generation, representing every walk of life—soldiers, poets, mechanics, business men, editors, physicians, lawyers, and skilled artisans. They are but a generation removed from the present. Some of them had known Turnfather Jahn. In fact, as an illustration of how close to us Jahn is, I may state that his grandson and namesake was declared the adoptive son of the American Gymnastic Union, and was by it placed in the educational institute of John Toensfeldt of St. Louis; that subsequently, in 1885, he graduated from its normal school at Milwaukee, and that I as a boy knew him well.

The soil in which American turnerism was to flourish had been prepared for the Forty-eighters by three of their predecessors: Carl Beck,[1] Carl Follen,[2] and Franz Lieber.[3]

[1] Dr. Beck was a step-son of the famous theologian De Wette, and was therefore related to the latter's nephew, Francis Huebschmann, practicing physician in Milwaukee, member of the first constitutional convention, state senator, and surgeon of the Twenty-sixth Wisconsin Volunteers, a distinguished citizen of the state, and a representative man of his generation. Beck was educated in Berlin, Heidelberg, and Tuebingen, came to the United States in 1824, with the historian Bancroft organized a boys' school in Northampton, where he

All of them were disciples of Jahn and learned scholars, products of noble universities, children of a time which both stirred and tried the souls of men. They were the pioneers, and were followed by the great wave of intellectual emigration which the era of 1848 drove to our shores. Turnerism is really a child of 1848.

Not long after the turner societies of Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, St. Louis, Boston, and Louisville had been organized, in the years from 1848 to 1850, August Willich visited Milwaukee. Although of noble blood, by birth a Prussian, and a captain of artillery, Willich had taken a leading part in the revolution in Baden, in South Germany, and like many of his compatriots and companions in arms had come to America. He was one of the founders of the Cincinnati organization and became an intimate friend of the distinguished Stallo. Willich found that two political exiles had started a gymnastic society in Milwaukee, which had, however, soon disintegrated. His was the impulse which caused a number of young men to come together in the summer of 1853, meeting in Philipp's restaurant on Market Square, to organize the "Social Turnverein." Its birthday must be regarded as June 27, 1853, for it was on that day that a small number of Milwaukeeans, all of German birth and Forty-eighters, enrolled themselves as its first members. It continued as a voluntary association under its original name until it was incor-

established the first gymnasium in America based on Jahn's methods, and in 1826 was called to Harvard as professor of history and Latin.

[2] Dr. Follen was a graduate of Giessen, and as a youth joined his two brothers as a volunteer in the War of Liberation. He, with Beck, first taught at Northampton and then accepted the chair of church history and German at Harvard in 1826, where he established the second gymnasium in this country, according to Jahn's principles.

[3] Dr. Lieber, like Beck a pupil of Jahn's school on the Hasenheide, was like Follen a young volunteer in the struggle against Napoleon, and was grievously wounded in the Waterloo campaign. He studied at Jena, joined the expedition of the Philhellenes, gained the friendship of the historian Niebuhr, and eventually came to America in 1827. His first contribution to the training of American youth and manhood was the promotion of gymnastics and the establishment of a swimming school in Boston, in which John Quincy Adams showed a keen interest. His subsequent eminent career as scholar and publicist is a part of our national history.

porated by chapter 53, *Private and Local Laws of 1855*, section 1 of which reads as follows:

> Hans Boebel, George Tyre, Joseph Kluppak, Henry Buckelmueller, Henry Wild, Samuel Waegle, Ulrich Wagner, William Noss, Otto Post, George Logemann, Julius Rohn, Michael Fiess and William Frankfurth, who have united themselves into an association for the purpose of teaching and learning gymnastics and for cultivating and improving the faculties of the body as well as of the mind by gymnastic exercises, and by establishing and sustaining a reading room and a library, and for other similar purposes, and their associates, are hereby created a body politic and corporate, located in the City of Milwaukee, and known by the name of "The Milwaukee Gymnastic Association," or in German "Der Turnverein Milwaukee."

In the course of the following years, several other turner societies were organized in Milwaukee. The society in Madison was founded in 1855; among the earliest members were Ott, the brothers Sauthoff, Schmedemann, Suhr, and Veerhusen. In the same year Fond du Lac, La Crosse, and Racine each founded a turnverein, and soon similar organizations sprang up in Mequon, Plymouth, New Holstein, Mayville, Appleton, Oshkosh, Kenosha, Green Bay, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, Wausau, Princeton, Oconto, Watertown, Monroe, Hartford, and Beaver Dam. At first gymnastic instruction was given by those who had acquired its rudiments and principles in the fatherland. Before long the younger men, who had come here as youths, or who had been born here, undertook the teaching and training of the first juvenile classes. Eventually a large number of exceptional amateurs were active in this work, giving time, energy, and enthusiasm to what they rightly regarded as an activity of the most important pedagogical value. Finally, with the establishment at Milwaukee in 1875 of the "Turnlehrerseminar" (normal school of gymnastics) classes of trained teachers were graduated regularly, which were to furnish every society in the state with competent leadership and instruction.

The national organization, the "Nord-Amerikanischer

Turnerbund" N. A. Gymnastic Union) was organized as early as 1850, and comprised all of the local societies then in existence. As the local units increased in numbers, they were organized into districts. For example, the units in the various cities of Wisconsin constituted the District of Wisconsin, and as such sent delegations to the national conventions, which were held quadrennially.

From the very beginning the Turnerbund proclaimed as its fundamental principles the necessity of bringing up men and women strong in body, mind, and morals; the recognition of the harmonious education of body and mind as one of the most important prerequisites for perfecting and preserving a true democracy; the duty of each constituent organization to maintain both juvenile and adult classes for the purpose of pursuing courses of physical culture based on rational principles, and to further the intellectual and moral welfare of young and old by maintaining libraries and reading rooms, and by providing instructive lectures and debates in history, political science, civil government, and social and economic theories and systems.

The Turnerbund also early recognized the need for a normal school of gymnastics. The national convention held in the summer of 1860 at Rochester, New York, levied a weekly capitation-tax for that purpose, and the first course was opened in that city early in 1861. But the time was out of joint. The Civil War was at hand. Lincoln issued his mighty call to arms, and the Turnerbund sent forth, under the national flag, the flower of its membership, thousands and thousands of young men skilled in the use of arms and prepared for the hardships of battle and marching by years of strenuous physical training. More than sixty per cent of its total membership enlisted in the army. Its financial resources were taxed to the utmost in aiding the families of soldiers, in providing for the widows and the orphans of the dead, and in mitigating the sufferings of the wounded. Higher duties cancelled the Bund's obligations toward its normal school, for the time being, but it was re-

organized in 1868. The earliest courses were given in New York. The institute was then removed to Chicago, whence after the great fire of 1871 it was retransferred to New York. From 1875 to 1888 the school was maintained in the hall of the Milwaukee Turnverein, under the able directorship of George Brosius, the Jahn of America, himself a veteran of the Civil War, a winning personality, a handsome man of distinguished bearing and carriage, an ideal teacher of youth, a cavalier and a gentleman, who is still affectionately remembered by his thousands of pupils within and without Wisconsin, and who died not long ago, rich in years and honors. For two years thereafter the school was conducted temporarily in Indianapolis, and at the end of this transitional period it was given a home under its own roof, in an attractive and adequately equipped building adjoining that of the present University School, on Broadway, in Milwaukee. In 1907 the Gymnastic Union resolved to enlarge the course to one of full academic dignity, and for that purpose erected and equipped its present normal college in Indianapolis, with a distinguished staff of instructors training its students not only in gymnastics, fencing, and swimming, but also in languages, music, literature, hygiene, anatomy, physiology, and pedagogy, and granting to its graduates the baccalaureate degree.

Sprung from seed sown by German liberals, the American turners could not be anything but freedom-loving and patriotic. From the beginning they stood for the rights and the liberty of man; they wanted the shackles off everywhere, they demanded a chainless body and a fetterless brain. Literally they fought for free speech, free thought, and free men. Their second national convention proclaimed allegiance to the platform of the Free Soil party and pledged every member to its support. In 1855, under the presidency of Carl F. Bauer, subsequently the editor of the Milwaukee *Herold,* they declared their determined opposition to both slavery and slavery extension, as un-

worthy of a republic and as contrary to the principles of liberty. Under Franz Sigel, the turners of St. Louis captured Camp Jackson and saved Missouri for the Union. Winston Churchill's *The Crisis* has given us a graphic picture of this episode. From Milwaukee a company of young turners went to St. Louis "to fight mit Sigel," and among them were my father's and my mother's youngest brothers, and Bernhard Eiring, who still survives. In Baltimore, the only place where the stars and stripes fluttered in the breeze was on the flagstaff of the turner-hall. Lincoln's bodyguard at his inauguration consisted of sharpshooters of the Washington Turnverein and their brethren from Baltimore. On April 17, 1861, Judge Stallo[4] delivered his stirring address in the Cincinnati Turnverein, and before the meeting closed a full regiment had been enrolled—the Ninth Ohio, organized and trained by Willich, who has been heretofore referred to in connection with the founding of the Milwaukee Turnverein. Willich subsequently commanded the Thirty-second Indiana, a sister-regiment of the Ninth Ohio. Hecker organized the Twenty-fourth and the Eighty-second Illinois, Weber organized his turners into the Twentieth New York, Osterhaus did the same in the case of the Twelfth Missouri, Schimmelpfennig with the Seventy-fourth Pennsylvania, and Pfaender with the Second Minnesota. Captain Blandowski, fencing master of the St. Louis turners, was one of the first to fall in the capture of Camp Jackson and the arsenal. Turners participated everywhere from the beginning to the end of the war: the first victims were John Ricks and Martin Ohl, of the Washington turners, and the man who led the army into Richmond was General Weitzel, who as a youth had been active as a turner in Cincinnati. Wisconsin turners likewise did their full duty

[4] John Bernhard Stallo (1822-1900), distinguished linguist, scientist, and jurist, came to America in 1838. He was a professor of ancient languages before beginning the practice of law in 1847 at Cincinnati. In 1885 he was appointed by Cleveland minister to Italy, and after Harrison's election he resigned, but lived at Florence, engaged in philosophic and scientific studies and in authorship until his death.—Editor.

as men and patriots. They were particularly conspicuous in the Fifth, the Ninth, and the Twenty-sixth regiments. Huchting and Helm of Madison joined the First Wisconsin Infantry, two of the Sauthoffs joined the First Wisconsin Artillery.[5] The Milwaukee society organized Company C, the Turner Company, of the Fifth; Baumbach commanded the Twenty-fourth in the Battle above the Clouds; Brosius served in the Ninth; Boebel lost a leg while leading the Twenty-sixth at Gettysburg; Fink and Doerflinger, both of the Twenty-sixth, were severely wounded at Chancellorsville; Domschke, later the editor of the *Herold,* and Wallber, both officers in the Twenty-sixth, were prisoners in Libby; Anneke, under whom Schurz had served in 1848, was colonel of the Thirty-fourth; Koch, the architect, was a topographical engineer on General Sheridan's staff; Maerklin, the poet, with Boebel one of the founders of the society, served in the Thirty-fourth Wisconsin. These well-known names are cited as types of turner-soldiers everywhere, and are selected at random. For a full treatment of the subject, I refer the reader to Rosengarten's *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States,* and to Kaufmann's *Die Deutschen im Am. Buergerkriege.* One of the most beautiful and impressive lessons in patriotism for the pupils who have attended the turning-school of the Milwaukee society is the commemorative marble tablet on its wall, on which are perpetuated the names of its members who fell in the Civil War—forgotten heroes in nameless, sunken graves in Virginia, Missouri, Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas.

Only a brief and succinct mention can here be made of the political reforms for which the turners have stood and for which they fought, both as members of political organizations and as sturdy independents. A glance at their principles and platforms shows them as students of political

[5] When the first company of "ninety-day men" entrained at Madison for the war, they were escorted to the station by the Madison Turnverein.—Editor.

science and government, of a high order. Above all, while they habitually used the German language, loved German letters and art, supported the German theater, sang German songs, and kept up German customs, they were at all times and under all circumstances Americans from crown to toe and in every fibre of their being. It was a fundamental requirement that every turner had to be a citizen, and it was a condition of admission to membership that each applicant was obliged to become naturalized as speedily as possible. Americanization was for them no problem at all. They either inherited, or acquired as quickly and as easily as breathing, the great moral and political traditions of the Republic. They vouched for their patriotism, in peace and war, in thought and deed, with all they had and all they were, with their lives, their fortunes, and their honor. They were firm believers in democratic government and in the sovereignty of the people. They were advocates of the initiative, referendum, and recall. They emphasized especially among their platform principles the following: direct popular election of president and senators; the duty of the state to improve the social and economic welfare of the people; protection of the masses against the exploitation of capital; factory inspection; prohibition of child labor; abolition of monopolies, land grants, and subsidies; progressive income and inheritance taxation; tariff and civil service reform; international arbitration. Verily upon their principles a political platform could be built even today upon which every enlightened, forward-looking citizen could take a conscientious stand. And they did all this in a spirit of absolute unselfishness. No one looked upon the mere office-seeker with greater contempt then did they. They acted from motives of the highest idealism, the purest patriotism, the finest loyalty, the deepest love of country and of state. "Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days."

"We have gained that personal liberty of which the German turners once dreamed. We have done our duty in that direction. That part of our program is fulfilled and it remains for us to find a new field for our energies. How would it be if we would work with all our might to introduce physical training into the public schools of this country? We could not conceive a more beautiful gift than this to bestow upon the American people. It seems to me that this should be a worthy enterprise, for whosoever has conquered the youth has gained the future."

Thus spoke Dr. Starkloff in the convention of 1880, in his address as president of the Turnerbund. The quoted words are characteristic and significant. They are the high-water mark of the strivings of the turners in the field of rational education. The University, the best of the high schools, and even many graded schools are today equipped with gymnasiums and gymnastic apparatus. More and more do educators recognize and advocate physical training as an essential and obligatory part of the curriculum. This is a consummation for which great credit is due to the disciples of Jahn. Said Dr. Edward M. Hartwell in 1898 in his report to the United States Commissioner of Education:

"Neither the colleges nor the athletic organizations of the country have earned the right to speak with authority on the question of what constitutes a well-ordered and practical system of physical training for elementary and secondary schools. Therefore, the more or less successful introduction of school gymnastics, since 1884, by the cities of Chicago, Kansas City, Cleveland, Denver, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Paul, San Francisco, and Boston, through the action of their respective school boards, has been chiefly due to the zeal and insistence of the advocates of the German and Swedish systems of gymnastics, who were prepared to speak with knowledge and to act with intelligence. In every city named above, excepting Boston, German free and light gymnastics have been

adopted, and the directors of physical education are graduates of the Seminary or Normal School of the North American Turnerbund. In Boston, Worcester, Cambridge, and a considerable number of other cities in Massachusetts and New England, Swedish gymnastics have been introduced more or less completely into the public schools. Mixed systems of an eclectic character are in vogue in the schools of Brooklyn, Washington, New York, and Providence. The promotion of gymnastic teaching in the public schools has ever been one of the cherished aims of the Turnerbund."

The turners never lost sight of the aesthetic. They aimed not only at strength of muscle but also at agility, elegance, and beauty. To one who has observed large classes of boys and girls, sensibly and prettily attired, go through calisthenic exercises or through drills with dumb-bells or Indian clubs, the sight remains as an impressive memory. When on a summer day in 1893, at the national "turnfest" in Milwaukee, and again at the Chicago World's Fair, four thousand active turners, in neat and natty uniforms, placed in long, straight rows and tiers on a wide and open field under the bending sky, performed mass exercises with nickel-plated wands, the impression they made was deep and lasting. Nor will any one who has attended a celebration or exhibition of a turner society be likely to forget the sheer art of the tableaus and living pictures there produced; for example, the Laocoön, the Apollo Belvedere, the Discus Thrower, the equestrian Marcus Aurelius, or the imperial Augustus. In fact, it is not too much to say that one felt a breeze as if from out the antique world, caught an intimation of the grace and freedom, the strength and beauty of classic Hellas, and recognized the deep meaning of Juvenal's prayer: "Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano."

Omitting any reference to the solemn and imposing ceremonies which marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization of the Wisconsin district and those which

marked the semi-centennial of the Milwaukee Turnverein, mention is necessary of the outstanding carnival or mardi-gras celebrations, because of their beauty and artistry.

In 1882, a splendid pageant was given in the old exposition building, where the auditorium now stands. Harlequins and flower girls and Prince Carneval mounted on Pegasus led the procession, followed by floats representing earth, water, fire, and air, Atlantis, the Inca of Peru, Montezuma and his Aztecs, the *Santa Maria* of Columbus, Cortes and his "conquistadores," the *Mayflower,* a throned Germania, and at the end Washington, accompanied by Lafayette, Steuben, and Muhlenberg. The next year Semiramis and Babylon were staged, with the unfinished tower of Babel in the background, the palace with massive walls and terraces. Before the queen passed a huge allegorical procession, the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans, and finally the ancient Germans. It was wonderfully beautiful. In 1886 the hall was transformed into Memphis, the ceiling an azure sky, to the right the waters of the Nile, in the distance a riverboat with bird-like sails, to the left the ruins of a temple, on the stage the palace of the Pharaohs. In 1887 the hall became a Fingal's Cave, with basaltic columns, stalactites, stalagmites, grottoes, and caverns, and dripping waters. And in 1888 "Roma et Germania" was portrayed—the eternal city on the Tiber, the Forum, Bacchanalia, the triumphal entry of the Imperator, and then almost in the twinkling of an eye the temples and palaces and columns and statues disappeared and in their place rose a forest primeval, in the background a silver rivulet, a hut, amid giant oaks and underbrush. The scenes of Tacitus rose before the eye, the dance, the sword game, the vow of vengeance, the approach of Varus and his legions, Herman and his skin-clad warriors, the battle of the Teutoburg forest, the Roman catastrophe. The pageant was indescribably impressive and magnificent, unforgettable for its scenic beauty, massive effect, and grandeur of conception and execution.

Not to physical training and development alone did the turners devote their energy, their enthusiasm, and their idealism. They recognized the value of music and poetry, of literature and the drama. Each society had a singing organization, a dramatic section. In the old days of greater simplicity but also of greater personal dignity, when movies and funnies and jazz and radio and talking-machines were not, they created for themselves the joy and the exaltation which art and music and literature afford the sons of men.

P. V. Deuster, remembered as a journalist, member of Congress and consul-general, Albert Wallber and Hans Boebel, both of whom I have already mentioned, and Henry Huhn, editor of the *Turnzeitung* and a veteran of the battles in Missouri, were prominent in the dramatic section. In the pageant at the semi-centennial celebration of the Milwaukee society, Mr. Huhn, although over seventy, took the leading part. I remember vividly how on one occasion in 1900 Mr. Boebel, then an old man, declaimed in stirring tones Marquis Posa's immortal speech in Schiller's "Don Carlos," in which occur the lines: "Ich kann nicht Fuerstendiener sein. Geben Sie Gedankenfreiheit."

Among the poets who were leading members of turner societies, mention should be made particularly of Theodor Haering of Green Bay, Carl de Haas of Fond du Lac, Hans Forkmann of Mayville, Conrad Krez of Sheboygan, Rudolph Puchner of New Holstein, Anton Thormaehlen, Mathilde Anneke, wife of Colonel Anneke, Henricus vom See, E. A. Zuendt, Edmund Maerklin, Otto Soubron, and Henry Lienhard of Milwaukee. Favorably and personally known in our state were also H. H. Fick of Cincinnati, Casper Butz of Chicago, Conrad Nies of St. Louis, F. C. Castelhun of San Francisco, and Robert Nix of Indianapolis. Among the educators prominently active were Professor Rosenstengel of the University, Professor Karl Knortz of Oshkosh, and Dr. C. H. Dorner, Directors Peter Engelmann and Emil Dapprich, Dr. Leo Stern, Professor

Bernhard Abrams, and Principal D. C. Luening of Milwaukee. Editors of ability, courage, and leadership were Bauer, Domschke, Luedicke, Boppe, Huhn, and Fritz. Mr. Fritz was the father of one of the circuit judges of Milwaukee, had served as state senator, and was a leader among men. Luedicke was a gentleman of fine poetic temperament and an orator of rare distinction. Boppe, notwithstanding his harsh Swiss pronunciation, was through his learning, his vigor, his intellectuality, his transparent sincerity, and his compelling eloquence, one of the most powerful orators I have ever heard.

For more than half a century the Milwaukee Turnverein gave splendid Sunday concerts to its members. If John Oestreicher had devoted himself professionally, after proper training, to concert or oratorio or even opera work, competent critics say he would have been a leading lyric tenor in his generation. When I first went to Madison as a student, my dear friend Professor Frankenburger, of the department of rhetoric and oratory, asked me: "Is that little man with the great name still conducting his turner-hall concerts?" He was referring to Christopher Bach, who still abides with us, and "Bach" spells not only his own music, but also that of Johann Sebastian Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, and Wagner.

Such, then, are a few glimpses into the history of an organization which, without exaggeration, may well be said to have made a genuine, original, and lasting contribution to the education, citizenship, idealism, social progress, political reform, and culture of our state. It is a part of the "Kulturgeschichte" of Wisconsin. These pages, inadequate as they are, may at least serve to rescue from oblivion some of the leading facts of the history of a movement whose constituent members were tall and sun-crowned men.

NOTE: I have relied on: Oncken, "Revolution, Kaiserreich u. Befreiungskriege"; Mueller, "Politische Geschichte der neuesten Zeit"; Klein, "1848—Der Vorkampf"; Treitschke, "Deutsche Geschichte," vol. 5; Brunner, "Friedrich Ludwig Jahn"; Schurz, "Reminiscences," vol.

1; Perry, "Life of Lieber"; Gustave Koerner, "Memoirs"; Schem, "Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon," articles on Beck, Follen, Lieber, Turnwesen; Stallo, "Reden, Abhandlungen u. Briefe"; Gollmer, "Namensliste der Turner Pioniere"; the numbers of the "Amerikanischer Turner Kalendar" from 1880 to 1901; printed proceedings and reports of state and national turner conventions; Metzner's "History of the North American Gymnastic Union"; a collection of pamphlets, addresses, and reminiscences by Boppe, Huhn, Doerflinger, Brosius, Judge Wallber, and Stempfel; conversations with turner pioneers, including my father, who was one of the founders of the Turnverein Milwaukee; and my personal knowledge and recollections since boyhood.

THE EPIC OF A PLAIN YANKEE FAMILY

JOSEPH SCHAFER

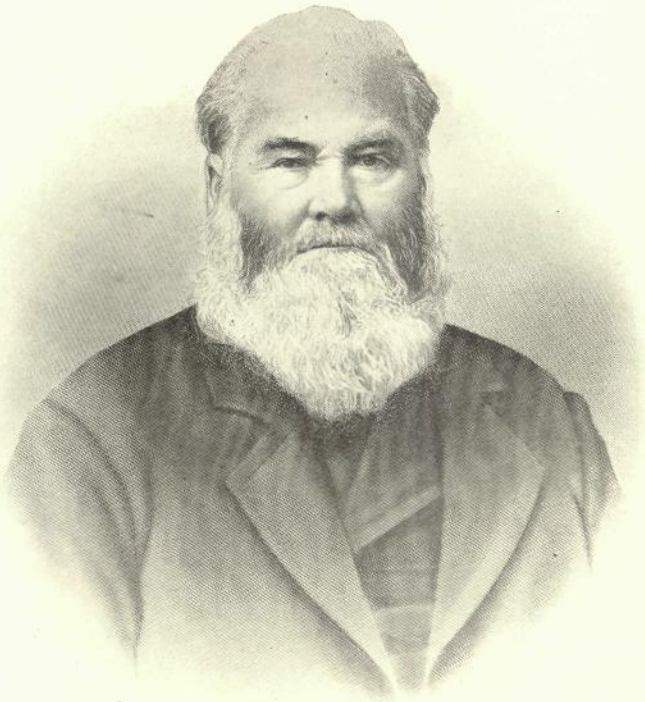
I. THE HOWARDS, CHURCHES, AND PORTERS

One who travels south on Howell Avenue, Milwaukee, will have passed near the end of the car-line an impressive brick farmhouse standing twenty or thirty rods west of the street at an angle of the old orchard, which is still outlined by some acres of decayed fruit trees. All of the land in the vicinity and about the brick house has been surveyed into city lots, with the lines of which the house does not correspond; some building is taking place on the plot, and the old house—which looks like the forsaken mansion of a one-time wealthy yeoman—is now[1] about to be torn down.

The special interest attaching to the building in question, of which the cut herewith presented is a good picture, lies in the fact that it housed until lately a uniquely complete body of correspondence illustrating the history of the family to which its owner belonged. That correspondence, consisting of several thousand letters, together with business papers of the usual types, is now safely deposited in the State Historical Library, having been presented to the Society by the most recent owner of the estate, Mr. Leon Howard, of Milwaukee.

The letters themselves show that the brick house, a massive edifice containing fourteen rooms, some of them very large, was built in 1857 by James Corydon Howard, who owned the land about it and who figured at that time as a substantial citizen and prosperous farmer of the town of Lake, Milwaukee County. Mr. Howard wrote while the new house was going up, that his family were still living in

[1] September 28, 1925.



JAMES CORYDON HOWARD

RESIDENCE OF JAMES CORYDON HOWARD
Erected 1857

the old pioneer log house, built in 1836 when he came as a new settler to the woods of Wisconsin from St. Lawrence County, New York. "The old log house," he said humorously, "is nearly of age and I will have to give it its time." In fact, however, delays occasioned by the panic of 1857 and 1858 retarded the work, and the Howard family did not actually occupy the brick house till 1859. As a dwelling, it is therefore just sixty-six years old—and it will be permitted to grow no older, despite its excellent state of preservation, because times and circumstances have decreed its destruction.

While Mr. Howard lived there, he was accustomed to describe his home as being located "four miles due south of the center of the city [Milwaukee] on the Howel road." At present the city embraces his town of Lake farm. In his lifetime there was a town hall for the town of Lake near the northeastern angle of his property. Now the town hall features as a fire house for the protection of this suburb against conflagrations. Directly opposite stands an ample garage, the uses of which the old pioneer would not understand.

The letters which came from the Howard house relate to the events of every single year that passed between the date of the family's arrival in Wisconsin Territory, 1836, and Mr. Howard's death at the end of 1880.[2] There is also a considerable bulk of correspondence dating from 1881, in regard to the settlement of the estate. That, however, is only a part of the story which these letters disclose; for James Corydon Howard was a miser where written documents were concerned. There is a letter of his to his wife, dated Trent (Upper Canada), August 23, 1833, three years prior to their emigration to Wisconsin, in which he says: "I want you to lay up and preserve all my old letters which were scattered among my papers that they be not lost." In that earlier group we identify one letter which had been

[2] He died in October, 1880.

written to his mother, Elenor Church Howard, by James Howard, his father, in midsummer 1813; there is another sheet which contains two distinct letters addressed to James Corydon Howard February 13, 1820, the one being from his mother, the other from his sister Elen; and there is an important business paper dating from the third of August, 1818. These are the earliest documents in the collection.

In 1813 James Howard's family was living in Brattleboro, Vermont. But he writes June 25 from Rossie, a place near the southern end of Black Lake, on the Oswegatchie River in St. Lawrence County, New York. In view of the fighting which had been going on in that region, particularly at Ogdensburg and Sackett's Harbor, it is natural that the writer of the letter should make mention of the war. "Don't give yourself any uneasiness," he says, "about my being obliged to join the army for there is no enemy near here and if there was I would not join it. I have nothing new to write concerning the battle at Sackets Harbor but I learn since that the number of the British kil'd was very considerable more than what I stated it is said that there was rising of 150 men killed. . . . Your objection to writing to me so often will not answer for I would freely pay a dollar every week to have the pleasure of reading a letter from one on whome all my happiness depends. The news I have this day received from you gives me inexpresable satisfaction. Money could not give me the comfort that such intelegence does. I realy wish you to write every fortnite and not think of the expense for that is nothing but be assured this is ye last season that I am so far from you while we live I can't have time to write half what I want to for Ezra is waiting to carry it to the office and my business hurries for I have forty men to see to and keep to work and it keeps me very busy. . . . I am my deares beloved Elen your most affectionate husband and best friend. James Howard.

"N. B. Please to excuse this hurried mess and give my

love to our dear little children and parents and all friends and write write often."

One of the children referred to was doubtless James Corydon, who in 1870 gave the census-taker Vermont as his birthplace. James Howard and his wife are said to have been natives of Massachusetts and New Hampshire respectively. Concerning the parents mentioned in the postscript, nothing is revealed by the correspondence, but it is clear that the generation to which they belong dates from before the Revolution. James Howard himself died in 1860, full of years. He was probably born in the 1780's, and the town of Temple, near Lowell, Massachusetts, is referred to very definitely as the ancestral home. Members of the family were left in that neighborhood as late as the 1850's. Two of James Howard's brothers, Nathaniel and Phineas, died in Massachusetts in 1853—or possibly in 1852.[3] Nathaniel seems to have been a physician, or at least was interested in medical matters. He had children living in 1845, both at Lowell and in and near Boston;[4] and there was living near Boston in 1851 a daughter of another brother of James Howard, whose name was William.[5] That the Massachusetts circle of relatives was fairly numerous is evidenced by a letter of February 10, 1855, written from Temple, which was then a place of only about five hundred inhabitants. The writer, William H. Howard, who resided "on the old homestead," names twenty-two who are Howards, including the children of an uncle, Joseph, referred to as if he were no longer living. Then there is a long list of Holts, who were apparently connected through

[3] Letter of Mrs. Dean S. Howard, March 17, 1853, brings the news to J. C. Howard, and adds: "Father [James Howard] I think, is the only surviving one of the family."

[4] Letter of Dean S. Howard, December 17, 1845. It mentions "Cousin Horace" at Lowell "doing very well"; Cousin "Nat" was keeping a fancy dry-goods store in Boston—doing well. The husband of "Mary" had a good farm within eight miles of Boston. The name was Turner. No mention of Uncle Phineas.

[5] A letter from Dean S. Howard, dated March 1, 1851, tells of visits with the eastern uncles and cousins. This letter indicates that another uncle, "William," was the father of the "Cousin Mary" married to a Mr. Turner at or near Boston. Again there is no mention of Phineas.

James Howard's mother. "Old Grandma'am Abiel Holt," he says, "died in October last, aged 103 years and 80 odd days. I will endeavor to name all [Holts] now in town [Temple] 70 years old and over." The count amounted to nineteen. "Many farms," continues this historian, "have become disinhabited."[6]

There must have been yet another brother of James Howard, who, however, died early, leaving several children. In a letter written by George C. Howard, from Churchville, New York, March 22, 1842, he declares he lost his father when two years of age and was separated from his mother at five years old. The story of his life as a "bound" boy, while living with a poor and drunken farmer in the mountainous section of Vermont, is pathetic. "Part of the time," he says, "I suffered for food and clothing, especially the year after the cold season 1817, when rye was $2.00 and $2.50 per bushel and everything else in proportion. There were weeks and weeks that winter when we had nothing but potatoes and turnips with a little salt." From other statements it would seem as if the boy must have been about ten years of age at that time, which would indicate that his father's death occurred eight years earlier, or about 1809. This George C. Howard gained an education after attaining his majority and became a physician. His home was twelve miles from Rochester. He had a brother who was a "rolling stone," moving from place to place.

The town of Churchville, where George C. Howard lived, was founded in 1808 by Captain Samuel Church, who built the first sawmill that year and followed it with a grist mill. Later his activities included also a woolen mill and he was much interested in timber land.[7] We have no certain indication of relationship between this Samuel Church and

[6] The names are James Walton, wife, and sister, Jesse Spoffard, John Ball and wife, Anna Parkhurst, Elisha Child's widow, James Heald's widow, Elias Boynton, Nathan Colburn and wife, Nathaniel Edwards, Nathan Wheeler, Joshua Parker and wife, Seth Blood and wife, Francis Cragin's widow. The letter is apparently written to James Howard, but there is no address.

[7] Etta A. Emens, *Captain Samuel Church, of Churchville* (Rochester, N. Y., 1920), 27-29.

the Church family to which Mrs. James Howard belonged. But the characteristics of the latter Churches run so directly parallel to his that a connection can almost be assumed. Like Samuel Church, the nephews of Mrs. Elenor Howard were addicted to tools and machinery. They built grist mills, sawmills, chair factories; they later (several of them) operated a woolen mill; they were always concerned with timber and water power.[8]

The probability seems to be that Elenor Church Howard was either a daughter or a sister, probably the latter, of that Daniel W. Church who was adjutant of Captain Forsyth's Company at Ogdensburg during the attack on that town and its capture by the British February 22, 1813. In that engagement Adjutant Church is said to have been in charge of one of the brass six-pounders.[9] The same D. W. Church (presumably) had built for David Parish the stone store at Ogdensburg behind which the British took shelter successfully from the American fire, and in 1810 he took a gang of men down lake and up river to Rossie, where he built the first sawmill.

The land about the head of Black Lake, and the "Ox-Bow" of Oswegatchie River, had been purchased by David Parish, an industrialist of Philadelphia, from Gouverneur Morris, who at one time owned a large share of the soil of St. Lawrence County. The sawmill was built for Parish, a grist mill and other works following. The show of iron in the neighborhood being favorable, Parish moved in 1813 for the erection of a blast furnace; and it was on that work, said to have been the first blast furnace in northern New York, that he employed James Howard, with a crew of forty men, during that summer. Two stacks were raised, thirty-two feet square at the base and thirty-two feet high.

[8] The Howard papers present several of the Church brothers as owners of a mill property known as Church's Mills at Rossie. This property they had bought of James Howard. They also had a sawmill in Lewis County and a woolen mill to which J. C. Howard sent some of his Milwaukee County wool.

[9] Gates Curtis, ed., *Our County and Its People: A Memorial Record of St. Lawrence County, New York* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1894), 148-149.

Iron mining soon began and one of the stacks was put into operation in 1817. From that time until 1867 the making of iron was periodically followed with vigor, and a large aggregate of the metal was smelted in this furnace and its more pretentious successors.[10]

We do not know when James Howard removed his family from Brattleboro to Rossie. But the activities attendant upon the opening of the iron mines probably induced him to settle there promptly. At all events, an indenture among the Howard papers is proof that he bought the mill property of David Parish July 31, 1818. He was, however, far too active and enterprising a man to settle down to the quiet life of a country miller, and so soon as the records become available, in the collections made by his son, James Corydon, we find him engaged on contract jobs similar to the one that brought him to St. Lawrence County during the war. In June, 1826, when this file begins, he resumes his activity with a party of men on some public work connected with the canal at Fulton, the falls of Oswego River, on which he had been employed the autumn previous.[11] They were building a dam (or perhaps a lock), working under the general orders of one of the canal commissioners.[12] The work went forward satisfactorily, the party being favored "with low water, high spirits, good health, weather, etc."[13] That dam was to be finished in October. Yet, Mr. Howard and his son Dean were in Fulton building a dam the following year, having remained through the winter. One can readily imagine how a man with the dynamic force which James Howard exhibited on many known occasions, might have been caught up in the canal building furor that began about 1817 and lasted, with intermissions, until about 1840.

The dam at Fulton—or perhaps we should say, dams

[10] Curtis, 588, 589.
[11] Dean S. Howard to J. C. Howard, June 8, 1826.
[12] Dean S. Howard to J. C. Howard, June 8, 1826; also July 28, 1826.
[13] Dean S. Howard to J. C. Howard, August 16, 1826.

at Fulton—lasted the Howards till November, 1827. Thereafter they dickered about the building of a bridge, and there was also a mill to build and other jobs in the offing. For, said one of them, Mr. Hubbard, their principal employer was "calculating to get a manufacturing company on here to occupy the whole water frontage at this place and manufacture everything that is made anywhere in the world. I expect to sell him my lot on the occasion."[14] They were building a dam again in July, 1828.[15] They were engaged upon still another job later in the year, in connection with which they suffered a severe misfortune by a large section of the nearly completed dam going out under pressure of high water.[16] However, since the commissioner sent word to "do the dam if it costs $10,000 more than it has," they probably suffered no serious financial losses.[17]

In the midst of the activities of 1828, Elenor Church Howard died, leaving several young children in the care of the father and the two elder brothers—Corydon, who was at the home in Rossie, and Dean S., who was usually with his father on the job. The elder Howard was described as having the character which enabled him to be both father and mother to them.[18]

A few months later, March, 1829, James Corydon Howard was married at Gouverneur, St. Lawrence County, to Sophronia Porter, daughter of Israel Porter.[19] This marriage was strictly within the traditions of the Howard-Church connection. For the Porters, too, were a mechanical family, Israel being the owner of the mill at Gouverneur, and his sons, I. W. [Washington] and John

[14] Dean S. Howard, January 28, 1828.

[15] James Howard, Fulton, July 6, 1828.

[16] James Howard, Fulton, September 15, 1828, and D. S. Howard, November 25, 1828.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Dean S. Howard, December 22, 1828.

[19] A document of 1839 in the form of a transcript of the marriage certificate of James Corydon Howard and Sophronia Howard.

B., being millwrights with a turn for sawmilling. Both of these sons, as well as the father, had the pioneer spirit and are important to our story as the vanguard of the family movement to Wisconsin Territory a few years later. John B. Porter spent portions of the years 1832 and 1833 in western Illinois, looking up particularly the bounty land tract in St. Clair County on the Mississippi, and considered it "a country worth coming to." He was careful to note the wages of a good millwright, which he found to be $2.50 to $3.00 per day. The mills were mostly "drove by steam or cattle." He described Illinois as a good grain country, corn growing from ten to fifteen feet in height, a good "stalk" [stock] country, all kinds of livestock flourishing with little attention, though plenty of hay could be cut on the prairies; and he believed it a healthy country.[20]

The correspondence of this young man reveals in a striking way his capacity for intellectual improvement. The letter cited above—dated December 3, 1832—is a miserable scrawl, full of the grossest errors in spelling, like "phirst" for "first," "werth" for "worth," "pleas" for "please," etc., etc. At the close he asks his brother-in-law, J. C. Howard, to correct his mistakes—a task which we may suppose was not ungrateful to that self-confident and somewhat pedantic relative. One month elapsed before the reply came, and then, just one month later, on February 3, John B. Porter wrote another letter, which would almost pass as a model of epistolary perfection. "The very flattering manner in which you were pleased to notice my last poor communication," he says, "gratifies me very much; and the corrections which you were kind enough to make, in my orthography and in fact the whole grammatical arrangement, I hope will prove of use to me. Believe me Brother, it is only from our friends that we can expect our little (or great, supposing us capable of committing great ones) errors are to be pointed out to us, 'tis only from them

[20] Letter of December 3, 1832.

that we would kindly receive the necessary advice. I also hope with you that your unworthy Brother 'may yet become a sound and good man.' You flatter me too much I fear when you infer from my poor letters, that nature has been so favourable to me as to have given me originally 'a good mind, and that by cultivation I may yet become a useful and ornamental member of society' (human, I presume you mean). I also concur with you in the propriety and advantage of a close attention to reading, particularly the word of God, and good histories, scientific standard books, and literary periodicals, which advice I have carried into effect in some degree and I hope not entirely without profit. The knowledge of our own language, the English, is taught here in the west on an improved plan, and a pretty correct general knowledge may be attained in thirty days. The method is entirely new and is the invention of one of our *Yankees,* who will apply for a pattent to the present Congress. He is also going to apply for a pattent for an improved mode of teaching penmanship. He says he can teach a man of ordinary parts, not only to speak and write the language well in thirty days but also to write a good hand during the same period; and I am inclined to believe him as I have only gone *twenty* days to him and have improved very much: at least I think so; and as my teacher advises me to criticise every letter that I receive, and as you are my Brother I will try first if I can find any errors in yours. Now for it." He pointed out thirteen slight mistakes and stopped, wondering if he had made any "bulls" in the process.

The letter is exceedingly neat, clear, and interesting. He tells of an advantageous opportunity to work in New Orleans during the winter, which, on reflection, he declined; explains the high price of whisky about which Howard had inquired, gives information about prices of products and their markets, etc. "But if you come here," he adds, "come calculating on making you a farm immediately. You can for one hundred dollars get 80 acres of land on the prairie

that will make you 50 Bushels of corn per acre, of an average crop year, or say 30 Bushels of wheat. Perhaps you would be better pleased if you were to come and see for yourself. If you come, come to Cleveland, Ohio, thence to Cincinnati; thence to Louisville, Ky., thence to St. Louis, Missouri, thence to Lebanon, Illinois, 20 miles east of St. Louis. You can come all the way from Sacketts Harbour by water, which will be the cheapest and most expeditious way of travelling. For three hundred and twenty dollars you can enter 80 acres of land, buy rails, fence forty of it and plow it up ready for putting in a crop. Which crop, if wheat, will more than pay for land, rails, plowing, seed wheat, putting in the ground, cutting and threshing. Calculate for yourself and you will be convinced. . . . Never was a time since the country was settled that it improved faster than now. Men of capital are settling in. . . . On the subject of common schools, the U. S. have appropriated every 16th section of land in the state but as yet no common schools are established, but good schools are in operation over the country."

At the close of the year 1833 Washington Porter and his wife made their way from Gouverneur, New York, to the highland of Ohio near the portage of the Ohio Canal, spending the winter in the town of Wadsworth, Medina County. There John B. Porter joined them, coming "up the lakes."[21] Washington's letter describing their trip, the Ohio country, etc., seen with the eager eyes and brain of an adventurous young immigrant, would be worthy of transcription.

The Porters continued to live at Wadsworth till the spring of 1836, engaged mostly in sawmilling. But, in the fall of 1835 they made a tour of inspection to Michigan and Wisconsin, finding near the western shore of Lake Michigan the "promised land" for which they had been seeking. On that journey the father, Israel Porter, made one of the

[21] I. W. Porter to Israel Porter, December 15, 1833. Presumably he came "down" the lakes from Chicago, though the point is not made clear.

party. "We found a country west of Lake Michigan," writes Washington, "that is good enough for me and I think it is good enough for any of my relatives. however let them go and judge for themselves. it has every appearance of a healthy country in my opinion and well watered with rivers, brooks and springs, and good water power together with a rich soil and plenty of good timber for fencing and sawing such as black walnut, butternut, oak of 4 or 5 kinds, white ash, Basswood &c, with elegant groves of sugar maple and plenty of first rate limestone and limestone soil (paupaws and spicewood I guess though I did not see the latter) there is the best chance there for cattle of any new country I ever saw they get as fat there in the woods or prairies as in the best of clover pastures at the east and a better wheat and potato country (I think) cannot be found and has every appearance of being good for corn, first rate for turnips and onions and a healthy country for sheep undoubtedly. As for Michigan I think less of it than I did before I saw it. . . . I am making all calculations for starting to the promised land as soon as the wether in the spring will warrant a safe passage up the lakes probably as soon as the first of May next. I have been buying provisions to take with me and have got them stored at New Portage ready to send down to Cleveland when the canal opens, Provisions of all kinds are uncommon high here this season pork is worth from $5 to $6 per hundred fresh and scarce at that, wheat is worth 8 to 9 shillings, corn 4, oats 2⅙, butter from 12½ to 16 cts, cheese 6 to 8 cts &c., cows $15 to $25 I have also got a set of sawmill irons—all but the castings, ready to swim the Lakes, the castings I calculate to get at Cleveland on my way. . . .[22] It now seems like spring and I am anxiously waiting the opening of navigation. Now is your time, Corydon, there is a fine opening for settlers and if you ever intend to go west the sooner the quicker, for they will flock in there next season like doves

[22] He is said to have erected the first sawmill in Waukesha County, in the town of Pewaukee, doubtless using the irons here mentioned.

to their windows. We learn from father's letter that Jephtha has concluded to go west next season if so tell him to go ahead and I think he will go right."[23] We have not the details of the emigration of the Washington Porters to Milwaukee, but when the Howards reached there in late summer, 1836, they found their way smoothed by the fact that the Porters had made tentative selections of land at several points and permitted the Howards to settle on one of their selected tracts. The Porters, about a quarter-century later, sold out and returned to the East, settling, however, not in New York State but in New Jersey. Meantime, representatives of that family went to California during the gold rush, and ten years later others started for Pike's Peak but swerved off to California also. There are several interesting letters from these argonauts.

Before taking up the story of the transfer of the J. C. Howard family to the west shore of Lake Michigan, a word must be said about another member of the family, who never went west to live, yet who figures more prominently in the correspondence than any of the other relatives and who had a more significant career than the others. This was a younger brother of James Corydon, who in his youth was referred to as "Sam" or "Samuel," but later was invariably called "Dean." There were three sisters who attained maturity—Elen, or Ellen, who married Royal Tyler Church, her cousin; Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Turnbull; and Mary, wife of John Guest. All continued to reside in New York and all corresponded with James Corydon at Milwaukee. But Dean S., his only brother, was a

[23] Letter of February 21, 1836. Jephtha was another brother. He went to Wisconsin and settled near the others. About the time that the above letter was written, there came to J. C. Howard a copy of a letter written from Allensville, Cotton Township, Switzerland County, Indiana. It gives a vivid picture of conditions near the Ohio River in the rich alluvial lands, describes the market based on river trade with New Orleans, which absorbed an "immense sight" of beef and pork, at fair prices; also baled hay, etc. The excellence of the timber is lauded, also the productivity of the soil and especially the length of the working season and mildness of the winters as contrasted with New York winters. The Howards when they had planned to emigrate had before them several alternatives, roughly indicated by the names of the states Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

constant and frequent correspondent from the year 1826 until the date of his brother's death.

Moreover, Dean was an interesting type, as these letters prove. The winter of 1825 and '26 he spent at Potsdam Academy, St. Lawrence County, his sister Ellen being in attendance during the same period. Dean's account of a school "ruction" which occurred in the spring of 1826 is spirited, and throws some light on the methods in vogue one hundred years ago of dealing with rather mature young men in such institutions. "The Rev. Mr. Banks," he said, "has not recovered so as to take the charge of the academy therefore the trustees have seen fit to place an instructor over us who is like unto a roaring lion and a ranging bear, see Prov. XXVIII. Chap. 15. he has caused such a revolt that there were but six male students left on Saturday last all the rest have withdrawn from the Academy." What occasioned all this was "a man came along with a learned goat and exhibited him in the village" and a number of the students went to see him, one of whom did not find the principal in order to secure his previous consent. He then refused an excuse, called the trustees, who compelled the delinquent to read a humiliating confession, etc. But the other men students drew up a respectful petition asking that he be not compelled to read the confession. This angered the trustees, who expelled the boy they suspected of drafting the petition, whereupon Dean induced practically all who had signed it to strike. "When they thot I was not to be drove the rong way any more than a hog is the right and they found by my influence there were a number kept back they finaly came and told me if I would go back and do as well as I had done they presumed that things would be strait again."[24]

In the fall of 1826 Dean accompanied his father to Fulton, in which neighborhood he worked, at various construction jobs, almost continuously until the close of the year

[24] Letter of May 1, 1826.

1829. Sometimes he was engaged upon jobs independently of his father. For example, in 1827, when he was still a minor, a contract was offered him, his father being away. He was evidently regarded as a highly skilled man, for his wages when on the force which built dams were from $2.50 to $3.00 per day. At this time he began to reveal his gift for invention by devising a pump to lift the water out of a lock-pit when "everybody said it could not be done." He intended to return to the academy in the fall of 1827, but did not do so. However, they had a debating society at Fulton to which all the best people, including lawyers, doctors, etc., belonged, and this he participated in with eagerness, discussing such questions as: "Which opens the greatest field for eloquence, the pulpit or the bar?"[25] That winter, as an interim job, he built a pail factory and began making pails. He was interested in the politics of 1828, siding with Adams and excoriating the Anti-Masons; and in 1827 he took up a collection among their people for the Greeks, raising about $26.00. He showed his zeal in the cause by urging his brother to use his influence in the same behalf around home.

In October, 1829, Dean went to Lyonsdale, Lewis County, New York, to build a mill for Esquire [Lyman] Lyon, the patriarch of the place and head of a rather noted family. The work went on through the summer of 1830 and had, as one result, the marriage of Dean Howard and Ann Lyon. This connection seemed to elevate Dean into the ranks of a near aristocracy, from the viewpoint of the rest of the Howard family. It likewise opened out to him business opportunities of which he took full advantage. For a period of some ten or twelve years he executed construction contracts in company with his brother-in-law, Lyman Rasselas Lyon. They operated in 1832, '33, and '34 on the River Trent in Upper Canada, building harbor works, bridges, etc., for the Canadian government. We

[25] Letter of January 26, 1828.

next hear of them at Monroe, Michigan, engaged on a canal and a harbor. They worked at Sackett's Harbor. They were bidders for a job of harbor work for the government at Michigan City, Indiana, in 1837; and in the following year they took a contract for $291,000 at La Salle, Illinois, in connection with the Lake Michigan and Illinois Canal.

Much of the work which the company undertook involved dredging, and there is much said in Dean's letters about the construction of dredges. That phase of his activities assumed a new importance in the early 1850's when he invented a new type of dredging machine, which seemed to sweep the country and to capture a large proportion of the government contracts.[26] In 1853-54 he was building four such machines at one and the same time, namely: one for the harbor at Baltimore, one at Oswego for Lake Ontario, one at Erie, Pennsylvania, for Lake Erie, and one at Chicago for Lake Michigan. The financial considerations involved amounted up well toward—perhaps over—$100,000.

The years last mentioned represent perhaps the heyday of Dean Howard's career. He had been a member of the New York legislature, which doubtless proved an advantage in the way of promoting canal projects; but he had also suffered great losses occasionally, being reduced for a time in the early 1840's to virtual poverty. His dredging invention appears to have given him the most solid prosperity he had yet enjoyed. But, in an evil hour, he accepted a contract offered by the state of Texas to dig the canal at Corpus Christi. In 1856 he went down to that country with his family and there he employed all the means he could raise, believing the contract would make him wealthy. He was to receive a royalty on all freight passing through the canal during a stated period, and in

[26] D. S. Howard's dredging machine is described in the first article of the 1855 volume of the *Franklin Institute Journal*. Diagrams accompany the article.

addition, sixteen sections of land for each mile of the canal after he had kept it open for eighteen months. The prospect looked roseate, but the war came, tying up everything he possessed, even marooning his son-in-law in that country. Dean was so poor that his brother in Milwaukee sent him an urgent invitation to bring his family and live with him on the farm, for he had enough to feed all of them. However, Dean obtained some temporary government employment, inspecting the repair of ordnance (this was during the war) and later—in 1866—he bought for a song an old estate near Richmond, Virginia, where he continued to make his home till after his brother's death. But he was never quiescent. He was always engaged on some project, either of invention or of construction. We find him, for example, operating in Nicaragua, and at the same time preparing to construct the canal at Houghton, Michigan; he was planning inventions for exhibit at the Centennial, and he started his son, Lyman D. Howard, in a machine shop in Richmond.

The Dean Howard letters in this collection constitute a running commentary on the several types of industrial activity with which he was intimately associated for more than fifty years. They are usually brief—the hurried notes of a very busy man—and consequently leave much unsaid which one would like to know. But his occupations being such as rarely receive illustration of an epistolary sort, these letters, equivalent in bulk to a stout printed volume, possess prospectively considerable value to the historian of American industry.

(To be continued)

WILLIAM PENN LYON[1]

CLARA LYON HAYES

II. SOLDIER AND CIRCUIT JUDGE

When the news of the battle and disaster at Bull Run came, a war meeting of the citizens of Racine, Wisconsin, was held and was largely attended. Racine's company of three-months' men was in the battle and had been seriously crippled by the loss of many of its members. At this meeting a fund was subscribed to aid in the fitting out of additional troops, and a resolution was adopted proclaiming it the duty of the city to furnish another company of volunteers. A partial company being formed also in Walworth County, those who had enlisted there came to Racine and joined the local organization, so the quota was speedily filled. Mr. Lyon was elected captain of the company, which thus recruited and organized tendered its services to the governor and was accepted; its officers, elected by the recruits, were commissioned, and the company was ordered to proceed to Camp Randall at Madison to join the Eighth Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, widely known as the Eagle Regiment, then in process of formation at that place.

The company proceeded to Madison without delay, and in August, 1861, was mustered into the service of the United States as Company K, Eighth Wisconsin Volunteers. After remaining a few weeks at Camp Randall under instruction, the regiment was ordered to St. Louis. They campaigned during the next year in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. They were in the battle of Farmington, Missouri, in October, 1861, and all through

[1] The first installment of this biography appeared in the September issue of this magazine.

the campaign which resulted in the capture of Corinth, Mississippi, during the following winter and spring. Early in August, 1862, Captain Lyon was commissioned colonel of the Thirteenth Wisconsin Volunteers, but owing to a serious illness was unable to assume command of the regiment until two months later at Fort Henry on the Tennessee River. He remained in that regiment until the close of the war, returning home in September, 1865. They campaigned mostly in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Texas.

Selections from Mr. Lyon's letters to Mrs. Lyon during the period of the Civil War have been published by Mrs. Lyon in a volume entitled *Reminiscences of the Civil War.* The following extracts are taken from that work: "I assure you that I have an abiding faith that I shall return to you well and sound, our lives made all the happier by the consciousness that I have discharged my duty to my country in the hour of her peril." And: "I have never regretted that I entered the service; and had I not done so, with my present views of duty, I should volunteer tomorrow. The idea of personal danger which haunts you so much does not distrub me at all. You must be brave. You must be a brave true woman for, remember, you are a soldier's wife. Let us be willing to peril all if necessary in the discharge of our duty."

Strange indeed would it have been had Mrs. Lyon not shown her distress at her husband's peril. Her son William Penn Lyon Junior (II), born August 23, 1861, was but three weeks old when Captain Lyon left home. How well she afterward followed her husband's advice was shown during the slow-moving period of the war, when for several months in each year she was with her husband in the South and lived the soldier's life with all its privations. Her sympathy and kindness to the "boys" won from them their eternal gratitude and affection, and she was looked upon by them as a real "mother of the regiment." After the war was over the home in Racine, and later the one in

Madison, was a Mecca for both officers and men of the regiment, and no place was so attractive to the "boys" when brides were to be taken on the honeymoon as the residence of their dear old commander and his gracious wife.

Like all spirited soldiers, Captain Lyon for a time chafed at the delay in getting into a regular battle. In letter after letter occurs the same note of impatience. "There has been a battle and a victory at Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River," he writes from Cairo, February 9, 1862. "We were only left because we had not our blue uniforms. . . . The boys were much disappointed." Again, a week later: "We are in a post of honor which, except as it keeps us out of battle would be deemed very desirable, but we want a hand in. . . . I tell you when I see our wounded and maimed soldiers it makes me feel as though I wanted one chance at the authors of all this misery and suffering. I don't believe that I have any apprehension of being hurt."

Company K finally had its wish gratified and the boys had their first taste of real war. Captain Lyon wrote to Mrs. Lyon on May 10, 1862, from their camp near Farmington: "At last we have been under fire and have come out unscathed. I succeeded in 'keeping cool' throughout, thus satisfying my superior officers and the expectations of my men. I can not say that I lost the sense of personal danger, and I know that I did not lose the apprehension of danger to my men during the battle; yet I had nerve and self-command and that is all I expected."

It is a sore temptation, most difficult to resist, to copy page after page of these fascinating letters. Here is one that gives us a cheerier side of army life:

"July 28, 1862. So you fear my good spirits are assumed. *Nary a bit of it.* With an appetite that enables me to eat two rations, with physical vigor that keeps me free from an ache or a pain and lets me sleep on the hard earth as soundly and sweetly as I ever did on the softest bed, with a tolerably good looking, middle aged wife and two cute children 'up north,' with a consciousness of doing

my duty and an increasing habitual reliance upon the protection of Divine Providence, why shouldn't I be in good spirits? . . . History doesn't tell of so successful a campaign as ours has been since the first of February. Some reverses were to be expected, but no Government ever conducted a war on so large a scale with so few reverses as has ours. . . . Where the army of the Union goes, *there slavery ceases forever.* It is astonishing how soon the blacks have learned this, and they are flocking in considerable numbers already into our lines."

To illustrate the kindly feeling between Captain Lyon and the men of Company K, the following extract from a speech of Captain Lyon's, delivered at Geneva, Wisconsin, at the reunion of Company K, Eighth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, is inserted. This speech was delivered several years after the close of the war:

"I must now be pardoned if I make a few remarks personal to myself. When in September, 1861, we organized Company K at Racine, you selected me as your commanding officer. I occupied that position one year, when I was assigned to another field of duty, after which I saw you no more as a company. The first year of his service is certainly the most trying in many respects in a soldier's experience. But during the time I was associated with you I received invariably from every member of the company the most kind and considerate treatment and every reasonable evidence of your respect and affection. I regard that year of service as the most memorable year of my life, crowded as it was with events never to be forgotten. I parted from you with emotions of profound sorrow, and I watched your future career with intense interest, rejoicing with you in spirit in your successes and sorrowing with you in your afflictions. I never again expect to be associated with a body of men on earth that I love more deeply, and I shall carry with me to my grave a grateful remembrance of all

your kindness. From the depths of my heart I thank you and honor you."

On the ninth day of August, 1862, Captain Lyon was field officer of the day and, on account of the sickness of so many of the officers, was obliged to do double duty. The heat was fearful and he became very much exhausted. This was the beginning of a severe illness. He was discharged from the hospital the first week in September and soon left for Racine, where he remained three weeks. He had received on the very day he was taken sick a commission as colonel of the Thirteenth Regiment, but he did not join the organization until after the first of October. Then he quickly became immersed in the new duties and promptly gained the confidence of both officers and men. Nearly the entire regiment had been recruited from Rock County and neighboring areas. Colonel Lyon was proud of the men. "A large number," he writes, "are either graduates from or students in Milton College. Company K, commanded by Captain Norcross, a graduate of the State University, is composed largely of members of this class. I feel honored to be assigned to the command of such men."[2] Colonel Lyon, in addition to his duties as colonel of the regiment, was made commandant of the post at Fort Henry, which made his "round of duties ceaseless." Yet so happy was he in his relations with the men and officers, that no amount of labor seemed burdensome.

Early in February, 1863, the regiment took part in a fight at Fort Donelson, which proved a victory. The colonel wrote: "The regiment was never in battle before, but every man fought like a veteran." Mrs. Lyon had joined the colonel about the middle of December. She was to experience many new sensations during the winter, some of which were recorded in her diary. She found her husband living in a tent, and she wrote in her diary:

"I can't say that I like sleeping out of doors. My first

[2] Letter dated Fort Henry, Oct. 8, 1862.

experience was rather unpleasant. The tent post was one of the bed posts. The wind blew quite hard that night and we rocked about as we would in a boat in a gale, but we have remedied that. It seems so noisy living in a tent, and so exposed—only a thin cloth between you and the outside world. I think I should prefer a log cabin; but William enjoys this so much, he wonders that I should not. We have a little stove and are quite comfortable."

The Thirteenth Regiment was moved to Fort Donelson the first week of March. Mrs. Lyon was left at Fort Henry with two or three other officers' wives, with the expectation that they would go home, but after waiting two days for a boat, fearing guerrillas and the strange men who appeared in the camp, they followed the regiment to Fort Donelson, traveling in the wagons that had been sent back for baggage. Colonel Lyon was given charge of the post at Fort Donelson and had a large force under his direct command. It was a position of great responsibility, involving intense labor; but such are the exigencies of war, that hardly had he put matters in a posture of security at Donelson, when he was ordered to Stevenson, Alabama, to relieve the regiment doing provost guard duty there. Colonel Lyon was in command of that post till the latter part of October, and then was ordered to Nashville, where the regiment spent the winter of 1863-64 in comparative quiet, permitting both officers and men a period of much needed rest. In April he once more took command at Stevenson, occupying quarters recently vacated by General Hooker. Colonel Lyon explained to the home folks that General Granger, his brigade commander, was not accounted a "fighting general," though a very fine executive. In consequence, the units under his command were not sent to the battle line, but were employed in protecting communication lines, by keeping the enemy from crossing the Tennessee River. The Thirteenth held the post of honor in that service, being more exposed to attack than any other unit of the brigade.

The summer of 1864 was more wearing on the colonel

of the Thirteenth Wisconsin than any portion of his previous service had been. For Colonel Lyon combined with military duties of a very laborious kind, a variety of activities which were administrative in character, due to the complete breakdown of government in the occupied area. "As there is no civil law or courts," he writes, "I am judge, jury, arbitrator and guardian for the whole country."[3] He was obliged to make difficult and dangerous journeys through the mountains escorted by a few Union guards, to move troops by forced marches from one position to another on a long line; at one time he had charge of the section of railroad from Huntsville to Stevenson with all troops on it. Sometimes, what with incessant, grilling labor, anxiety, and loss of sleep he was on the point of nervous exhaustion, yet his constitution had about it so much resiliency that he came through the ordeal with practically unimpaired health. The circumstances attending the removal from Huntsville are described in his letter of November 25, 1864:

"This is the last letter I expect to write from Huntsville for some time. We are evacuating this line; I have been very hard at work since we got the order. We march to Stevenson. The citizens here, loyal and disloyal, express much regret that we are to leave. Many of the loyal people, including hundreds of colored folks, are leaving or will leave with us. This evacuating is a terrible job. Our brigade is ordered to garrison Stevenson, and whether the tide of battle is to surge that way time will determine."

But the colonel was mistaken about his future relations with Huntsville, for General Granger sent him back to that place at the end of December, and there he was to spend the last winter of the war. It was at Huntsville he received by telegram on March 18, 1865, the announcement from Janesville, Wisconsin, of his nomination for the office of circuit judge. The whole matter was a surprise to the colonel. His opponent being Judge David Noggle, who

[3] Letter dated Claysville, Alabama, July 11, 1864.

was sitting judge and a very popular political character, there seemed hardly a possibility of Colonel Lyon's election. Yet, on canvassing the matter, he concluded a defeat would not hurt him seriously and he therefore accepted the nomination. It was characteristic of the man that he did not permit the Thirteenth to vote on the judicial office. "They would all have voted for me," he wrote, "but I did not care to swell my vote with that of my own regiment." No one was more surprised than the Colonel himself when the news of his election reached him on the seventeenth of April at his post of duty. Mrs. Lyon had joined her husband in Tennessee, and her diary supplements the Colonel's letter of the same date. She says: "I never saw William so nonplussed. I am so happy that I can hardly contain myself, for now William can leave the service honorably and come home."

He, however, remained in the army, joining his regiment (after a short furlough spent in Racine) at Green Lake, Texas. His time of service expired September 25, 1865, but he was mustered out on September 11, happy in the thought of soon rejoining his wife and family at home, happy also in the contemplation of the new field of service which so unexpectedly had opened out to him.

There are many testimonials to Colonel Lyon's distinguished service in the War for the Union. Perhaps the words of Brother Joseph Dutton would be representative. He says: "In the serious affairs of military life Colonel Lyon was dignified, cool and undisturbed, giving a good example of courage. For us who were the younger members of the regiment he was a tower of strength, inspiring great confidence." Others speak of his extraordinary devotion to the men under his charge, which endeared him to all and made him, through life, the "beloved Colonel." While ready for any service to which his superiors might assign him, Colonel Lyon was too solicitous for the welfare of his soldiers to hazard their lives by insisting on a fighting opportunity which did not clearly fall

within the lines of his duty. This conservative military disposition—one which comports admirably with his Quaker antecedents—coupled with extraordinary gifts as administrator, made him one of the favorite post commanders of the war. That type of service brought him less renown than might have been gained on the fighting fronts, but who shall say if its real importance was less. The government recognized Colonel Lyon's worth when, on October 26, 1865, he was brevetted brigadier general of volunteers "for gallant and meritorious service."

We must now salute the military officer as he retires to the pursuits of peace, and make our obeisance to the judge. In *The Story of a Great Court* the late Chief Justice Winslow relates the history of the election of Colonel Lyon to the office of circuit judge of the First Circuit of Wisconsin:

"David Noggle, a man of strong natural abilities but limited education, had been circuit judge of the first circuit (then composed of Racine, Kenosha, Walworth, Rock, and Green Counties) since his appointment by Governor Randall in July, 1858. He had made some very determined and bitter enemies both among the bar and the people. There were charges of dishonesty and unworthy methods openly made against him when the spring of 1865 approached, at which time the election of a successor was due. No attempt will be made here to determine the question of the truth or the falsity of these charges. Judge Noggle was a forceful and ambitious man; he was fully determined to succeed himself; he caused his nomination papers to be circulated among the bar in the winter of 1865 as he held court in the various counties of his circuit. The bar generally do not wish to actively antagonize a judge before whom their cases are about to be tried; whether from this cause or not Judge Noggle's 'petitions' were generally signed by the bar of his circuit. Only a few refused to sign. The late Chief Justice Cassoday told the writer that he himself refused to sign. It seemed for a time that there was to be no oppo-

sition to Judge Noggle; his machine seemed to be perfect and he had the prestige of being 'in.' But there were men who had deep sense of personal wrong (whether justifiably or not is not material here) against Judge Noggle, and they were willing to go through the

> Patient search and vigil long
> Of him who treasures up a wrong

if thereby they might defeat him. Among these was William H. Tripp of Rock County, who had been a member of the Assembly in 1857. To him more than to any one else is due the credit of launching Judge Lyon upon a judicial career. He first suggested the name of Lyon as a candidate and he was mainly responsible for the calling by a self-constituted committee of an independent judicial convention, which met at Elkhorn, Walworth County, March 17, 1865.

"In numbers the convention was ludicrously small; there were eleven gentlemen present from Rock County (John R. Bennett and John Winans of the Janesville bar being among them), seven from Walworth County, one from Racine (Colonel Lyon's home county), one from Green County, and none at all from Kenosha. Lack of numbers, however, did not dismay the gentlemen who made up the convention. What they lacked in numbers they made up in determination. They promptly nominated Colonel Lyon, appointed a committee of notification, and a committee to prepare and distribute a campaign address, and adjourned. . . . The audacity of the move at first provoked mirth and ridicule on the part of Judge Noggle's adherents. Practically all of the newspapers of the circuit, even including those in Colonel Lyon's home county were committed to the support of Judge Noggle; the bar had generally signed his call; supervisors, jurors and other prominent men had almost universally signed it, and it seemed little less than madness to undertake such a campaign.

"But there was no dismay in the camp of the insurgents. Colonel Lyon accepted the nomination in a modest and graceful letter; the committee prepared and gave forth an address to the people libelous in every line if not true, which was sent all over the circuit and published in the local papers.

"It will thus be seen that the campaign was bitter, but still the advantage seemed to be with Judge Noggle, who had his earnest friends as well as his earnest enemies. When the votes were counted, however, it was found that Colonel Lyon had received a decisive majority even without the soldier vote. The newly elected Judge returned to Wisconsin after the acceptance of his resignation from the army about the first of October, 1865. Judge Noggle having resigned before the expiration of his term of office, Judge Lyon was appointed to fill the vacancy, and he commenced his judicial duties December 1, 1865. From this time until his appointment to the supreme bench, his duties upon the circuit bench kept him fully occupied. The circuit was then large and he had little time between terms. It is only justice to say that he made almost an ideal trial judge. Calm, fair, gentle in manner but firm and strong of determination when occasion required, his court ran easily and without apparent effort, but always with the consciousness that there was a master hand at the helm. Every lawyer had and felt that he had fair treatment, that he had been allowed to present his case, and that it had received the best attention which judge and jury were able to give it. He became endeared to the hearts of the people of the circuit as few men have been either before or since, and there was universal regret to part with him when he was translated to the supreme bench."

In after years on looking back upon this eventful period of his life, Judge Lyon spoke of his surprise upon receiving the telegram announcing his nomination, and of his decision to decline it. He showed his officers the telegram, however, and was again greatly surprised to find that they

thought he should accept the nomination. While they admitted that he would be defeated, they urged that it would do him no harm and that it was better at such elections to have a contest. It would lead to a closer scanning of the qualities and fitness of the candidates. One of his captains, John T. Fish, afterwards an eminent attorney of Racine and Milwaukee, was to go north the next day on leave of absence. As Colonel Lyon had great confidence in his discretion, he placed the whole matter in his hands, with instructions to investigate the state of things and use his best judgment in accepting or declining the nomination. He favored acceptance, and the result reflected credit upon his political judgment.

The First Judicial Circuit in 1865 was one of the largest and busiest circuits in the state. It consisted then of Racine, Kenosha, Walworth, Rock, and Green counties; later the circuit was made smaller, but not during the term of office of Judge Lyon. Through all the six years following there were few holidays or vacations, but this made them appreciated all the more for they were occasions of rejoicing to his family. Moving from one county to another to hold the sessions of court furnished some variety, and lightened the burden somewhat; but notwithstanding this the nervous strain was great. There was no lower court with which he could divide his labors; the whole load rested on one pair of shoulders. After four years of active, out-of-door life, having daily vigorous bodily exercise, the quiet, sedentary indoor routine was very trying at times, even though he loved his work and felt it was well worth all of himself that he so faithfully and devotedly put into it. What greater service could he offer his fellowmen than this?

The effect of his Quaker training was evidenced by his fairness on the bench; he was very conscientious in all his decisions, doing his utmost to get at the facts in the case. While by nature he was sympathetic with the oppressed and tender toward the weak ones, his sense of justice kept

him well balanced. When he discovered deceit and subterfuge and treachery, no tongue could be more outspoken and scathing in its denunciation than his. He had the moral strength to set aside his personal opinion in order to weigh fairly the evidence of both sides of a case, but when his opinion had become conviction he stood by it. His self-control was unusual, and no feature betrayed his inner feeling if he wished to conceal it.

While, therefore, he fulfilled our ideal of the judicial officer, he was more to the community than merely "the Judge." The influence upon him of the faith of his mother remained with him through all the changes of his life; yet, had there not been in his nature settled principles and fixed purposes which caused him to take advantage of every help toward a successful career, the seed which his mother had sown would never have come to fruition. Necessity and ambition combined to supply an effective spur to action. He was not wanting in enthusiasm or in vision, and he kept to the course which, away back in his boyhood, he had mapped out for himself. He was loyal to his friends and loved them devotedly; he was easily wounded through his affections. Love for his friends and his family, his country and his party, were strong characteristics in his nature; their interest was his interest, and no sacrifice on his part was too great to shield or support those that he loved. Democratic in principle and inclination, he never forgot that he had been poor and in humble station, or that all men were his brothers. He loved a good story and told it well; his sense of humor was keen; he was always quick with the apt and ready word; he was an easy and entertaining after-dinner speaker, unafraid of that popular bugbear the impromptu speech. His political talks were logical and convincing, full of fire and life. His speeches for memorial and other occasions were often gems in thought and style.

It is related of him that during the trial before him in Kenosha of a certain bitterly contested case, the lawyers became greatly heated over some point. In fact, they were

mad enough to fight, and rushed at each other to settle the question in primitive fashion. The Judge rapped on his desk for order and quietly observed, "The Court objects emphatically to the members of the bar indulging in any amusement in which the Court cannot join."

As in the case of his military activities, Judge Lyon's home letters written from the county seats of the First Circuit constitute so many apertures through which we are permitted to look in upon court, jury, and attorneys; to inspect the calendars of cases and estimate the duration of the terms of court in the several counties. At Janesville, four months after assuming his judicial functions, Judge Lyon found a calendar of nearly two hundred cases. There was an unexpectedly long calendar at Monroe in September, 1866. But for this he enjoyed some compensation in the fact that the Elkhorn calendar was very short. While the attorneys argued a case he wrote a cheerful letter from that place to Mrs. Lyon.

Janesville was the hard place on the circuit. Judge Lyon wrote February 24, 1867: "We are getting along very well with the business, but I shall be entirely unable to clear the calendar. There is work enough on it to last a month and perhaps longer. Today I am very weary and did not go to church. I feel as though I must have a day of perfect rest. I am not even looking over any cases, only writing to you and thinking of home and the dear ones and wishing I were there. I fear that I shall be compelled to work here during my whole summer vacation if I ever get to the bottom of this calendar." Somewhat more than a month later he writes from Janesville again: "Am at work like *blazes*. Run court till ten or eleven every night. . . . I have worked very late every night and am very tired, but I am well." Again, December 4, 1867, he writes from Janesville: "Found a large calendar, 160 cases, but it melts away quite rapidly, unusually so for this county. . . . Cannot tell yet whether I will come home Christmas or New Years; it depends upon the state of the calendar. Piles of work

and seldom get to bed before eleven or twelve o'clock. I hear arguments evenings. I write this while the attorneys are arguing a case to the jury." He did not, as a matter of fact, get home. January second he writes: "I worked all day on the 'petroleum' case. I have just mailed an opinion to the clerk, beating both parties."

In the spring of 1868 two justices were to be elected to the Supreme Court. The legislature had increased the salary of the justices from $2,500 to $3,500, and Chief Justice Dixon had resigned his office and had been reappointed by the Governor the same day in order to receive the increased salary. He was severely criticized for his action and was in great danger, the politicians thought, of being defeated on this account at the election. At the Republican convention he was renominated, but the names of Judge Lyon and Judge Joseph T. Mills were also placed in nomination for the chief-justiceship. Judge Dixon, however, received a majority of the votes cast and was reëlected.

It was hard for Judge Lyon to keep clear of politics, much as he desired to do so. At the earnest solicitation of his friends, he was induced in 1870 to accept the Republican nomination for Congressman from the First Congressional District. He hesitated because there was little hope of success, but his friends insisted that his reputation was so established that defeat would not injure him in any way, so he finally consented to allow his name to be used. Alexander Mitchell of Milwaukee was the nominee of the Democratic party and was elected. The campaign brought Judge Lyon into close relations with the national Republican organization. His files contain letters from both James G. Blaine and James A. Garfield. The latter made two speeches in Judge Lyon's district in the interest of his candidacy.

(To be continued)

SOME OF OUR PIONEERS[1]

ELLIS B. USHER

When the old English poet Pope, wrote: "The proper study of mankind is man," he may not have anticipated the vogue of the "human interest story" of today. But the doings of men make materials for history. There would be a barren field for historical societies if men had not long been busy furnishing the records upon which to predicate the values of the past and forecast achievements of the future. Every age has been symbolized by some towering human character, from Pericles to Lincoln, from Confucius to Martin Luther. I shall endeavor to utilize this interest in men in a narrower field, and I hope to suggest the importance of a line of investigation that concerns future, as well as past and contemporaneous, achievements in America.

It is quite generally accepted among students of character, that nothing is more important in the preparation of a leader of men than that he should choose his grandmothers with the greatest discrimination. Having begun thus correctly and achieved results that are a credit to him, it is the duty of those who follow to preserve the record of his life and its example, for the personal history of our early settlers is the background of every American community. Who were our pioneers? Whence came they? It is important for this and every other community to preserve the record while there is yet time. Pioneers were seldom commonplace people. Individually or collectively they were men and women of courage and capacity. One way to keep later generations up to the mark is to see that they remember their

[1] A paper read at the historical meeting in La Crosse, held at the State Normal School, Saturday, October 10, 1925.

predecessors with respect and affection. Examination of the record often leads one to interesting, curious, and sometimes amusing knowledge of family history and antecedents.

It so happened that just as the invitation to this meeting reached me, I had been studying a religious row that had divided the ancestors of Mrs. Usher and myself, about two hundred and ninety years ago. It was rather ancient to warm over, and as it ended in victory for my side, I could easily be generous, and forgiving.

In "Old" Newbury, Massachusetts, we each had relatives of sturdy opinions. The pastor of the First Church, who was settled there about 1635, had two nephews as his assistants. He was the Reverend Thomas Parker. The nephews were the Reverends James Noyes and John Woodbridge, all college-bred Englishmen. These men thought it their proper duty to govern the church, and they spelled "govern" with a capital *G*. In opposition to this autocratic theory of church government was the Congregational, or democratic host, led by my maternal ancestor, Edward Woodman. The Reverend John Woodbridge was Mrs. Usher's progenitor. The contest was so animated that it attracted the efforts of church conferences, and of the great preachers of the time, Cotton Mather, John Eliot, and others, as peacemakers. It lasted for twenty-seven long years, going meanwhile three times to the General Court of Massachusetts colony, for religion and politics went hand in hand in those days.

And this long-drawn difficulty was contagious. The First Church of Hartford, Connecticut, divided over a similar controversy, and the settlements at Springfield, Longmeadow, Hatfield, and Hadley resulted. Two streets in Springfield, "Bliss" and "Margaret," still stand to the honor of one of Mrs. Usher's sturdy grandmothers, Margaret Bliss, who went there from Hartford. Woodbridges moved from Old Newbury to Connecticut, and there intermarried with Mrs. Usher's maternal ancestors, the Partridges, one of whom, Colonel Samuel, was long known

in local circles as one of the three "gods of the Connecticut valley."

Old Newbury sent settlers to populate Woodbridge, New Jersey, among them descendants of John Pike, a shoemaker, one of my forbears. He had a New Jersey descendant, Zebulon Montgomery Pike, who, as a lieutenant in the United States service, came up the Mississippi in the fall of 1805 to see what President Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase amounted to. He passed this prairie in September. He calls it "Le Cross" in his report, published in 1810. This was the first allusion to this site to appear in print. A later exploration in the West is remembered by Pike's Peak, which was his discovery. He became a brigadier general, and died in battle during the War of 1812. The name Pike recurred here again, for a few years, in the early sixties, when another descendant of the Newbury shoemaker, an engineer, lived here. Some of the older boys and girls will remember his daughter Virginia as a schoolmate and an unusually attractive person.

There was another name among the early settlers of Old Newbury that moved West, first to Vermont, next to St. Lawrence County, New York, and then became fixed here, for a time, when Nathan Myrick, a youth six feet four in his stockings, located in the fall of 1841 on Barron's Island and opened trade with the Indians. He owned and laid out the first townsite on this prairie, and built the first sawmill in this vicinity. He was a county commissioner when Crawford County spread from the Wisconsin River to Lake Superior. In February, 1842, he built his first log cabin at the foot of State Street. His earliest account books are in the Wisconsin Historical Library. One contains a list of his Barron's Island stock of goods; another, coming down to 1846, when he sold out and went to St. Paul, is full of the names of his early customers along Black River. Nathan Myrick was a descendant of Elder Brewster and Stephen Hopkins of the *Mayflower,* and of Con-

stant Southworth, whose mother became the second wife of Governor Bradford.

Another familiar name found early in Old Newbury was Coleman. Thomas was among her first settlers of 1635, and later, with Coffins, Pikes, Starbucks, and others—some of them my forbears—led the enterprise to purchase the island of Nantucket. Robert Usher, my ancestor, came to this country in 1635, and was in Connecticut by 1636. One of the witnesses to his will, executed in Stamford, Connecticut, on September 21, 1669, was John Holley, whose descendants and namesakes in La Crosse are now in the third generation. Robert Usher's sons were reared by his brother Hezekiah, the first bookseller of Boston. One son returned to Connecticut and his descendants began to move West, to central New York, in 1760, thence to Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin. As early as 1840 there were four brothers of this stock in Lafayette County, and another family in Dane County, Wisconsin. John P. Usher, of Lincoln's cabinet, and Admiral Nathaniel Usher, who was in charge of the Brooklyn navy yard during the World War, came from this New York stock.

My grandfather, who was born in Medford, Massachusetts, and his brother went the other way and became lumbermen in Maine. Roland G. Usher, professor of history at Washington University, St. Louis, belongs to my branch of the family, and he and his brother, Professor Abbott P. Usher, of Harvard, save us from the rear rank among scholars.

My father, Isaac L. Usher, was in Iowa in time to be a sub-contractor on the first twenty miles of railroad grade west of the Mississippi. I was there. Today there are five great railway systems traversing this country between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. I, thus, illustrate the youth of the great West. We are still a long way from being grown up, either in years or in progress.

Owing to the early lumbering on Black River, which was dominated largely by Maine men—Washburn, the

Coburns, and others—foremen and crews were, in majority, from New England, as a few names taken at random suggest: Weston, Holway, Tarbox, Hodge, Hilton, Gile, Crosby, Pettibone, Hixon, Colman, and Withee. To these contingents were added a small number from Pennsylvania who had learned their trade on the Susquehanna—the McKinleys among the earliest. New England names were numerous among the early settlers of the towns of Onalaska, Farmington, and Hamilton. Gile was a Newbury name, also Pettingill, Bradbury, Emery, Chase, Couch, Atkinson, Bailey, Adams, and Lewis. But further details would mean a historical study, and I am only gossiping.

It will be more interesting to remind people of La Crosse that one of their honored citizens, Dr. Wendell A. Anderson, got his "Wendell" by the same rights of descent from Jacob Wendell, as did Oliver Wendell Holmes and Wendell Phillips, and that the poem "The Wonderful One Hoss Shay" was inspired by a chaise presented by Boston relatives to Lucy Smith, granddaughter of Parson Peter Thatcher Smith, a famous pioneer preacher of Maine. Our Doctor picked Lucy for a grandmother, and as her mother had been a Wendell, Dr. Holmes made the "shay" famous.

There was a Garland in Newbury, and as the La Crosse County Garlands came from Maine, our own literary fame probably harks back to Newbury.

I, too, was fortunate in selecting a great-grandmother—Mary Gorham. She brought me four *Mayflower* ancestors, and my mother, through Mary and her husband, the Reverend Paul Coffin, was akin to many in Newbury and to almost everybody in Nantucket. Mother's home was in Buxton, Maine, but the spell of Old Newbury and Nantucket hovered over her, and assigned her to be educated in the first class of the first Normal School of America, which was established in Lexington, Massachusetts, by Horace Mann, then superintendent of the public schools of the state and an enthusiast in promoting public education. The man chosen to be the head of this school was found in

Nantucket, and "Father" Peirce, as his pupils all affectionately spoke of him, made for his school a remarkable reputation—greater, I sometimes felt, than was comfortable, for mother took a careful interest in the Onalaska schools, doubtless much more to my mental improvement than to my temporary exaltation of soul, and it took some years for me to fully appreciate her intelligent and affectionate zeal in my behalf.

Henry I. Bliss, Mrs. Usher's father, came to La Crosse with the location in 1856 of the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad. William R. Sill, the chief engineer, was from Connecticut, as was Mr. Bliss, his assistant, and both finished their lives here. Mr. Bliss was a graduate of Yale and an honor man in what is, I believe, still known as "the famous class of '53." Andrew D. White, Wayne McVeagh, President Northrop of the University of Minnesota, Judge Shiras, and other men of national fame were members of that class. Thomas Bliss was one of the first settlers of Hartford. He was the husband of Margaret, already mentioned.

This, you see, is largely gossip, but it may serve to suggest that a more careful handling would entitle it to assist history. I have, perhaps, given you an overdose of my own family affairs. If so I trust that I may be excused on the ground that I could not talk about other families with the same knowledge, freedom, or accuracy. If some of my old La Crosse friends had been near at hand to verify, or admit, things that I think I know about them, I might have had more illustrations, and some better ones; but I dared not venture too much into the affairs of old neighbors without permission. If I have impressed you with the value of carefully studying personal history as material necessary to adequate chronicles of a community, I have done all that I hoped, and I trust the suggestions may not be unworthy of this gathering of pioneers, students, and specialists in the history of the upper Mississippi valley. I have wandered about over a large field in my endeavor to suggest the great

progress in the comparatively brief history of this country. To make such progress possible demanded men and women of spirit, vision, courage, and great purpose.

I have not attempted to glorify individuals, but you may do so, for in your cemetery lies Cadwallader Colden Washburn, the ablest member of a remarkable family. He represented this district in the national House of Representatives in the stirring days of the Civil War. His brother Elihu sat with him, representing the Galena, Illinois, district; a third brother, Israel, represented their native state, Maine. Later, William D., a younger brother, was a United States senator for Minnesota. These men were of the blood of the Pilgrim fathers.

In selecting Old Newbury as a starting point for this paper, I was influenced by the names of the principal personages who figure in it as early historical characters of the upper Mississippi valley, and of La Crosse—Lieutenant Pike and Nathan Myrick. Newbury was an important outpost of early New England civilization, and among its pioneers were a number of well educated and exceptional men and women. Dr. Dwight in his New England travels of 1796 wrote of Newbury that "The houses taken collectively, make a better appearance than any town in New England. Many of them are particularly handsome." The town was a busy center of trade with the Indians and of ocean commerce. It also proved to be a fountain of American literature, for it was the early home of the three families of Longfellow, Lowell, and Whittier, each of which produced a great New England poet.

The late George William Curtis once said: "The *Mayflower* brought seed, not a harvest." How that seed has yielded in three centuries! The landing of that little vessel barred despotism from this hemisphere. Today, from pole to pole, there is not a crowned head.

Another striking fact in the comparatively short history of the United States is, that our national flag which was adopted one hundred and seven years ago is now the

oldest flag in the world which floats as the emblem of a first-class power and has remained unaltered since its adoption. The only older national banners in the universe are those of the small Swiss republic and the little kingdom of Denmark.

Please do me the kindness to believe that this paper is merely an attempt at broad suggestion in behalf of the study of local and family history as a necessity for correct understanding of our rapid national development. Properly handled, such materials contribute important elements to the perfect story of each locality, and ultimately weave into the larger fabric of the nation. I am merely suggesting anew the importance of the commandment which says: "Honor thy Father and thy Mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee!"

MORE NAPOLEONIC SOLDIERS BURIED IN WISCONSIN

ALBERT O. BARTON

In the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* of March, 1921, were given such accounts as the writer had been able to gather of three reputed Waterloo soldiers, named Pauli, Neumeyer, and Claus, said to be buried in the Catholic cemetery at Roxbury, Dane County. In the same article was given an account of a Polish immigrant in Wisconsin, Zumbola Zuwasky, who claimed to have served under Napoleon.

In the following number of the magazine (June, 1921) H. E. Cole of Baraboo added the names of two other Napoleonic soldiers, who are buried in Sauk County—Michael Hirschinger and Michael Nippert—one of whom, Hirschinger, was said to have been on the Russian campaign. In the same number, William A. Roblier of Coloma added the name of Jonas Haywood, who fought under Wellington at Waterloo, and also in the same number Senator W. A. Titus of Fond du Lac revealed the fact that in the Empire Town cemetery of Fond du Lac County are buried two veterans of the Napoleonic wars—William Stewart, a Scotchman, and John Airhart, a German, who fought in opposing armies in Spain, later in life became neighbors and friends in Wisconsin, and now sleep in the same cemetery. Following are brief notices of a number of other veterans of the Napoleonic wars buried in Wisconsin, whose names have been brought to light:

In the Evergreen Cemetery at Manitowoc are buried two German soldiers who fought against Napoleon and whose descendants were to become prominently connected with the state government of Wisconsin—Christoph Salomon, father of Edward Salomon, Wisconsin Civil War governor; and Frederick William Baensch, grandfather of Judge Emil Baensch of Manitowoc, former lieutenant-governor of Wisconsin. Of Christoph Salomon, Mr. H. George Schuette of Manitowoc writes:

"Christoph Salomon was born in Saxony, Germany, October 11, 1786. He emigrated to America in 1856, locating in Manitowoc,

Wisconsin, where he died in 1872, aged eighty-six years, and lies buried in Evergreen Cemetery.

"His four sons, who came here previously, in 1851, were Governor Edward Salomon, governor of Wisconsin 1862-1864; General Fred Salomon, Wisconsin; Colonel Eberhardt Salomon, Missouri; and Sergeant William Salomon, Manitowoc—the last three serving in the Union army during the Civil War. The Salomon family had a military career, the father and three sons being soldiers.

"Christoph Salomon was a sergeant major in the Thirtieth Infantry Regiment in the Prussian army. During the French régime in Germany in 1812, when the German nation was subjugated, Salomon's regiment was forced to join Napoleon's campaign into Russia, and he often related the terrible condition of the soldiers in this disastrous retreat from Moscow, when the survivors of the great army had dwindled to a few famished divisions. Christoph Salomon remained in the army and fought in many battles, for and against Napoleon, and was wounded in the battle of Waterloo, from which wound he suffered till his end. He was later decorated with three medals—one from the Prussian government in 1816, for distinguished bravery at the battle of Ligny and Wavra; an Iron Cross in 1819 for exceptional service rendered during his army career; and a St. Georgian medal from the Russian government—all these medals attesting his military service.

"He was a man of sterling character and loyal to his adopted country, and very proud that he possessed four able and stalwart sons to serve the republic, one as Wisconsin's war governor, and the other three as officers in the Union army; and often he regretted that he was too old to serve himself.

"In 1869, he and his devoted wife Dorothea celebrated their golden wedding, a notable event in Manitowoc at the time. This rare celebration was attended by all their children and grandchildren, and was a joyful event on the memory of which they feasted in their declining years.

"Christoph Salomon was the grandfather of Mrs. August Schuette, whose maiden name was Hedwig Hottlemann and who is still a citizen of Manitowoc (March 5, 1924)."

Judge Baensch has contributed the following on his grandfather:

"Frederick William Baensch was born at Bentschen in the province of Posen, a city lying midway between Berlin and the city

of Posen. His ancestors originally came from Silesia, being of the Protestant refugees who fled from Silesia to Posen on account of the persecution at or about the time of the Thirty Years War. He was a shoemaker by trade. He served in the Prussian army against Napoleon, and was awarded a medal. After the war he settled down in Barmen. There he married Wilhelmine Van Der Heydt, a member of a well-known Holland family. The couple had one son, August Baensch, who was given a thorough education as a merchant. In 1848 the couple emigrated to Manitowoc, Wisconsin, where the son opened a store, the father assisting. Frederick William Baensch died at Manitowoc, July 24, 1854. His widow survived until December 20, 1880. Both are buried in the Evergreen Cemetery at Manitowoc."

In the files of the State Historical Society is a manuscript entitled "Door County Reminiscences," written by the late Captain Charles Burmeister, formerly of Manitowoc, in which occurs the following reference to his grandfather, Ferdinand Horn, early resident of the settlement known as "Horn's Pier" and of interest in connection with this subject:

"On the third ridge or the ridge directly back of where the old store formerly stood, lie buried the remains of Grandfather Horn. He was 88 years old. He was a native of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, where he followed loom weaving, farming, also brewing. In 1812 when Napoleon marched to Russia on the campaign which ended so disastrously to the French army, Grandfather Horn had French soldiers quartered with him. They ate up his cattle, chickens and left him as bare as a church contribution box. He saw Bonaparte pass his house on horseback one rainy evening; it was very muddy and the Emperor and his aides passed in a slow walk. Napoleon had on a green overcoat plentifully splashed with clay and mud, his head bent downward and forward as if in deep thought, looking neither right or left. The party rode to the castle where they made their headquarters for the night. All the villagers' houses were filled with soldiers, and besides this they were encamped around the city—their camp fires illuminating the heavens all around. The Russians were also quartered there later on, and Grandfather Horn spoke highly in their praise as better satisfied with the provisions furnished them by the inhabitants; he mentioned one curious trait —that the Russians would bathe in the ice-cold water of the river with the thermometer at freezing point."

In a cemetery at LeRoy, Dodge County, is buried Jacob Greiner, of whom his granddaughter, Mrs. Louis Ziegler of Mayville, writes:

"Jacob Greiner was born in 1791 in Arnsdorf, Landgericht Landan, Bavaria, and fought under Napoleon, taking part in his disastrous campaign into Russia, and being one of the few survivors of that terrible drive. His accounts of the terrible privations and sufferings on this expedition were very thrilling and he took pride in rehearsing them to friends. He was decorated with iron crosses by Napoleon himself and it was his wish that these be buried with him. He died in 1878 at LeRoy, Wisconsin, and is buried in St. Andrews Cemetery there. He had seven children, of whom one daughter, Mrs. George Freuchtl of Wausau, is still (1921) living."

One English soldier at Waterloo, Robert Legg, is buried in Milwaukee. Concerning him, John G. Gregory has furnished the following facts:

"Robert Legg was born January 1, 1796, in England. He was buried at Forest Home Cemetery, Milwaukee, on the thirteenth of August, 1876, his death having occurred on the twelfth. His remains now repose in Lot 4, Block 16, Section 23, Forest Home Cemetery. The cause of his death, as given in the records of the cemetery, was old age. I knew him as a neighbor from 1864 till he passed away. When he came to this country I do not know, but often I have heard him say that he went with the army when a mere boy and was a page in Wellington's tent at the battle of Waterloo. When I knew him he had retired from occupation, but in the early directories he is usually entered as a gardener, sometimes as a laborer. He was survived by his wife, Maria Legg, French by birth, who died in 1878, and by an adopted daughter, who married a man named Peter Wood. Both she and her husband died many years ago."

A veteran of the Napoleonic wars buried in Sheboygan County is Francis Wilmot, whose grave is in the Ada cemetery. His tombstone shows that he was born February 7, 1796, and died July 24, 1886. He claimed to have been a soldier for six years and to have fought under Napoleon at Leipsic and Waterloo, at which latter place he was taken prisoner. He came to Wisconsin in an early day. His service is amply attested by his surviving relatives.

In the Home Cemetery, town of Mount Morris, Waushara County, is buried Gardner Campbell of the Scotch clan of Campbell, who died in the town of Spring Water, Waushara County, Sep-

tember 24, 1856, and served in the English army for ten years, participating in the battle of Waterloo and later seeing service in India. He came to America in 1850 with his wife (Agnes Murray Campbell), three sons, and one daughter, and it is related that it took them eleven weeks to cross the ocean in a sailing vessel. They bought government land in Waushara County and lived there till his death. Among his adventures in India of which he was found of telling was that of being pelted with cocoanuts by monkeys while marching over forest roads.

One of his sons, Major Henry Campbell, was a Civil War veteran, serving in the First Wisconsin Cavalry for three years. After being city purchasing agent for Milwaukee for a number of years he was appointed treasurer of the National Soldiers' Home in Milwaukee in 1915, serving until 1920. He died January 25, 1921, aged seventy-eight.

Among Norwegian soldiers of the Napoleonic wars, one at least is buried in Wisconsin—Gjermund Hansen. He was born in 1786 and served in the Norwegian army in defense of Norway during the period preceding Norwegian independence in 1814. Mr. Hansen and his family came to America and settled on a farm near Clinton, Rock County, Wisconsin, in 1840. He died the same year and now sleeps in an unmarked grave in the dooryard of the Newhouse farmhouse near Clinton. He is said to have been the first Norwegian immigrant buried on Wisconsin soil. After his death the family moved to Primrose, Dane County, taking the name of Jackson, and two of his sons became prominent as early school teachers and Civil War soldiers. One of them, Captain George Jackson, so far as known, is still living in Chicago.

Julius Herman Vogel, a German immigrant and pioneer buried in Manitowoc County, is said to have served in the German army against Napoleon.

Christian Frederick Stredy (Stroede), an early resident of Milwaukee, in his younger years served as an officer in the German armies, both for and against Napoleon. Little of an exact nature, however, is known of his services, and even the medals and trophies which he brought with him to America, and one of which, legend says, was bestowed upon him by Napoleon himself, long since disappeared. He was born in Treptau, Germany, February 6, 1780, and is said to have served first under Napoleon. Later he was an officer in the German army against Napoleon and participated in

the battle of Waterloo. For this service he was awarded the Iron Cross. With his family he came to Milwaukee in 1840 and died there during the cholera epidemic in 1851 or 1852. He was buried in the Greenhagen Cemetery, then on Chestnut Street, Milwaukee, and which extended from Sheridan Lane west to Fourteenth Street. This was a well-known Lutheran cemetery. It has long been obliterated by the city's growth.

His son, Charles Stredy, long a prominent hardware merchant, was only nineteen or twenty years of age when his father died. He and his two sisters, Mrs. John Koepsell and Mrs. Zierach, are now dead. Mrs. Charles E. Brown of Madison is a daughter of Charles Stredy. The elder Stredy often told his children about the great emperor's campaigns in Germany and other lands, and as children they often played with his war medals won in the service. He was a gallant and brave soldier, and much respected by his neighbors.

According to the late George W. Wing, a Bohemian soldier named B. Shimondel, who had served in the Austrian army against Napoleon, is buried in the Catholic cemetery at Kewaunee, Wisconsin. Among the souvenirs of his service which he had preserved was a French payroll dated 1813. He was still living in 1892 at the reputed age of one hundred years.

Likewise, according to the *Wisconsin Domesday Book*, the old Evangelical cemetery in the town of Brookfield, Waukesha County, holds the remains of a Napoleonic soldier—Michael Loebs (afterwards Leps), who was born in 1789 and who is reputed to have served under Napoleon at Waterloo. The French settlements at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien probably had among their numbers more than one man who had seen service under Napoleon, and in volume five of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* a reference is made to one Henry Boyer, who was a French teacher in Prairie du Chien in the forties and fifties and who is described as an old French soldier of Napoleon's armies.

The *Collections* of the Wisconsin State Historical Society of the period of the early eighties contain notices of the deaths in that time of a number of veterans of the Napoleonic period, who had later come to Wisconsin. Among such were the following:

Victor Charron, a French soldier who fought under the Eagles of the first Napoleon, died at an advanced age September 21, 1879,

at Manawa, Waupaca County, where he lived with a married daughter.

William Stewart died at the Home of the Friendless, Fond du Lac, February 26, 1879, in his ninetieth year. He belonged to a distinguished Scotch family and served fourteen years in the British army. He was an officer under Wellington at Waterloo, where he was wounded. He subsequently served eight years in the army of this country. He was among the earliest mail carriers between Fort Dearborn, now Chicago, and Milwaukee. (See also *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, June, 1921).

Jacob Gesalle, or as called in this country, Jacob Sell, died at Waupaca, February 12, 1880, in his ninety-sixth year. He was an old French veteran, born near Strasburg, France, January 10, 1785, serving in many battles under the great Napoleon, including Waterloo and some of those of the Austrian and Russian campaigns, sharing in the terrible winter retreat of the French army from Moscow. He came to this country in 1831, and resided in Waupaca County over twenty-five years.

John G. Dickhoff died in Calamus, Dodge County, February 15, 1880, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He was a Waterloo veteran of Blucher's command. At the age of seventy-four he cut one hundred cords of wood on a contract.

Bartholomaeus Cramer died in Milwaukee March 14, 1880, aged ninety years. He was a native of the Prussian-Rhine province, and at the age of sixteen entered the army of Napoleon, serving seven years and participating in the disastrous Russian campaign. In 1813 he joined the Prussian army. He emigrated to this country in 1817, settling in Milwaukee in 1846.

William Ott died in Watertown March 24, 1881, aged ninety-one years and twenty-one days. He was a native of Germany and served under Napoleon in the great battles of Leipsic and Waterloo. He settled in Wisconsin in 1844. He and his wife celebrated their diamond wedding of sixty years.

Christian Shafer died at Mineral Point March 7, 1882, at the venerable age of ninety-six. He was personally acquainted with the first Napoleon, with whom he served in several campaigns terminating at the battle of Waterloo, where he received a slight wound.

That two other soldiers of Napoleonic wars once lived in Rock County is indicated in a communication from Miss Jannette R. Burlingham of Shullsburg, as follows:

"Another French soldier of the Napoleonic wars is buried in or near Afton, Rock County, Wisconsin, whose name I have been unable to learn. When my brother was a young lad, this old Frenchman used to teach the boys to fence, using laths as foils. After they had become a little skilled in the art, the old soldier would let several of the lads come at him with their lath foils, and to their great admiration never let one touch him, parrying them with great skill. Perhaps some reader will be able to learn the name and burial place of this man, and though his name was once familiar in our locality, it has been forgotten these many years.

"Another veteran of the Napoleonic wars once lived in Hanover, Rock County, by the name of John Wilhelmy. His wife Catherine was a camp woman or vivandière, and participated in the hardships of an army life."

In the list of Old-World veterans herewith presented, many are credited with having been on the Russian campaign and more with having been at Waterloo. It is probable that in more than one instance this is incorrect. It would be natural on the part of descendants of these veterans to associate them with campaigns and battles which these surviving soldiers had described, whether participating in them or not, and particularly such vivid episodes as the Russian retreat and the final struggle at Waterloo. That a considerable number were present at Waterloo is, however, quite probable.

There are doubtless many other soldiers of the Napoleonic wars buried in Wisconsin cemeteries in the German, French, Polish, and Belgian settlements in and about Green Bay, Kewaunee, Sheboygan, and Milwaukee. Any one who may be able to add any names to the list herewith presented is urged to do so, together with such other pertinent facts or traditions as may be obtainable.

DOCUMENTS

JOURNAL OF SALMON STEBBINS 1837-1838[1]

EDITOR'S NOTE: We preface the diary of Salmon Stebbins with a letter dated Falmouth, Maine, August, 1887, which gives O. F. Dana's impression of this pioneer circuit rider.

You ask me for a contribution from my early recollections of Methodism at Southport. I find very few remaining. But there is one impression that has pursued me through life and seems absolutely ineffaceable. It is the impression that the power and genius of the Rev. Mr. Stebbins made upon me the first time I ever heard him speak.

In the fall of 1838 I accompanied my father on a visit to his children then living at Southport—and to the newly made grave of his daughter Mrs. Chas. Durkee. Religious exercises were conducted on Sunday in a log school house, different denominations occupying it in turn as occasion might offer. One Sunday it was told me that the Presiding Elder, a Mr. Stebbins, was expected to preach and I was requested to go, rather to help make up an audience than for any satisfaction I should derive, for I was informed rather apologetically as I thought that the man was something of an oddity. I was then fresh from an Orthodox University and from listening to the discourses of one of

[1] Salmon Stebbins was born in Plainfield, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, July 18, 1795. There and at New Grantham he spent his childhood and youth, obtaining only such education as the district schools afforded. In 1814 he removed to Sheldon, Vermont, where he was for a time a lumberman, running timber on Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence. The next year he taught school in Herkimer County, New York, then in 1820 returned to Sheldon where he became a local preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Two years later he became a regular itinerant, preaching on circuits in Vermont and northern New York, until his removal West, described in the accompanying diary. After retirement from active service his later life was spent in Kenosha County, where he died at Bristol, July 27, 1882. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, 485, for an obituary. We are fortunate in being able to reproduce this diary from the original now belonging to one of his descendants.

the greatest thinkers of his day, the Rev. Dr. Marsh and I was disposed to have little respect for the intellectual calibre of Methodist preachers in general We had been seated but a short time when I saw through the open door the arrival of the expected preacher I think his headquarters were at Green Bay. Perhaps they might be truthfully said to be in the saddle for he had to traverse great distances and follow Indian trails. He bestrode an ungroomed mustang and had ridden far that morning. Hitching his horse he walked abstractedly into the house and taking position behind a plain table, immediately commenced the services At first glance he seemed rather an ungainly person I well remember that his pantaloons bent over the knees from long riding in the saddle reached scarcely to the top of his boots as he stood before us. His hair was long and neglected. Some of the audience were evidently embarrassed at his appearance But there was no embarrassment upon his part. It seemed as though he was as unconscious of the presence of human beings as if he were still pursuing his way through the forest and meditating his discourse One look into his solumn countenance and the first word from that wonderful voice arrested my attention The simple announcement of his text—'I delight in the law of God' struck upon me like a triumphant bugle blast and for nearly an hour there seemed crowding for utterance a succession of the sublimest thoughts that the soul of man can conceive or the heart sustain Never in my life had I been so surprised, so exercised so exhausted He seemed to master me at once and to sway me at his will. At times he was as if inspired and power was given him to strike into depths of thought and feeling to which the soul is all unused. He had a way of intensifying a thought that reminded me of the surging of the seas wave after wave for he was not content with presenting it once but as if he were still full of it and had poorly expressed what was in him he would return to it and nerve himself for a second effort and then as if still dissatisfied, he would call

in his reserves and overwhelm us with a third and last great wave that swept everything before it and burst all barriers He had a power of climax and cumulative force that was simply astounding The fertility of his brain seemed inexhaustible When he had been wrestling with his great theme and drew near some final effort I was so conscious that he was about to tax my whole powers that I almost dreaded the spiritual convulsion if I may so term it that I knew it was impossible for me to escape How I trembled in his masterful grasp If it exhausted my strength so nearly to listen what a terrible wealth of energy he must have himself expended When he had concluded his discourse and seated himself his spirit was still under such a strain that for a time he could not refrain from uttering groan after groan like a wounded lion. There was something exceedingly pathetic in this involuntary expression of the exhaustion of great strength To me this has to this day remained as the sublimest exhibition of human that I ever witnessed He was indeed a great force In my galaxy of Masters he ever stands side by side with Beethoven. I have heard him utter a single exclamation as soulstirring as the most inspired note of that most inspired musician. Yes his soul must have been beautiful for he could make one so in love with holiness—I revere him and I dearly love him.

DIARY

At the session of the Troy Annual Confe[r] holden in Troy [New York] May 27[th] 1837 I received together with Rev. J. R. Goodrich W[m] Geddis Jesse Halstead[2] and [blank in MS] Bourne a transfer

[2] James R. Goodrich, a scholarly, cultivated minister, was stationed at Milwaukee in 1837-38. His health failed, and he was obliged to leave before the year closed. In 1841, having recovered, he was appointed to Green Bay district. He left the territory in 1843, and died at Dubuque in 1886.

Jesse Halstead became one of the faithful members of Wisconsin's ministry. At the session of Illinois Conference described later in this document, Rev. Jesse Halstead was appointed to the charge at Aztalan. Evidently that included Rock River, since in September, 1837, he held the first religious service at the village of Janesville. He died in 1888 at Rockford, Illinois.

to the Illinois annual Conference to be holden in Jacksonville the 27th of Sept folloing. This event had been long sought by me from a conviction first that I might be more useful and my services were more needed at the west than in the east and second, That I could make better provision for my family in the new country without interrupting my duty to the church than I could in the east. Yet I had much searching of heart on the subject, lest I might be influenced too much by a desire of worldly gain, But when it was finally determined that I should go I set myself to prepare for my departure with all convenient speed But now another trial met me, I found from various considerations it would be best not to remove my family till spring which was exceeding painful. To be separated from them so far and so long was to me and to them most disagreeable to endure—but we had long since determined to submit to circumstances which we could not consistently controll. So having made what provision I could for them we parted with tears on tuesday the 8th of Aug [1837] about 12 Oclk and myself with Br Halstead commenced our journey in a small two horse waggon and drove to Canajoharrie and put up with my much esteemed friend the Hon D. F. Socia by whom we were kindly received [Wens 9th] We traveled through mud and rain [30m] to Br Davis Elmore's who married a sister of Mrs. S [tebbins]. We found them well and glad to receive us and our weary hearts for the night.

Thurs 10th Drove to Hampton village and put up with the Rev Henry Halstead a brother of my companion in travil here we were well received and kindly entertained They are a fine family and useful in the church

Fry 11th Pursued our course. Called on a Br Clute at Verona Son in law to Br Mark of Watervliet also called and took tea with Br Clark Esqr of Lenox, a most worthy and pious family. This day we met the Rev V. R. Osbon returning with his family from Michigan, disappointed and chagrined—has spent much—gained nothing and going back to spend his days in Northampton. We stopt for the night at Chitiningo and lodged with the family of a Br Holcomb, who was himself absent in Ohio

Sat 12 Started with the intention to reach Auburn but fell short five miles, took Siracuse in our [way] where we rested & refreshed ourselves & horses Put up for the night at an indifferent tavern

Sab 13 Rode into Auburn [5 m] and put up with the Rev Lorin

Grant, or his family, himself being absent. Were cordially received by his lady I preached in the morning and listened with painful delight twice in the afternoon to a young Br Cross of good talents but little grace I fear— too scholastic

Mond 14 Visited the State prison throughout with much interest. Was surprised at the order, neatness, and comfort, that everywhere appeared, which speaks well for the character of our public men as men in power. Drove forward in the afternoon an[d] called on Moses Haight, on Israel Haines and put up at Darren Barrets in the town of Seneca falls

Tues 15 Drove to Rochester [15 m] and put up at a tavern. We this day saw much effects of frost

Wens 16 Drove to Pembroke center some part of the way was muddy and bad. Put up at an indiferent tavern the keeper of which wanted 1/ for cleaning my horse

Thur 17 Arrived in Buffalow about 3 P. M. and engaged our passage to Detroit on board the New England steamboat. Shipped our horses, waggon, and bagage and sailed 9 1/2 Ock in the eve. Buffalow is neither as large nor as pleasant as I expected.

Fry 18 7 1/2 In sight of Erie in Pen Had a pleasant night. In the course of this day we stopt at Ashtabula where the Capt had a fray with a constable who came to serve a process on him used his dirk but finally surrendered and compromised some how or other.

Sat 19 Stopt also at Fairport and at Cleaveland Ohio. Stopt at Sandusky City. Had a brisk wind which rocked us nobly Stopt also at Huron and at Fort Malden in Canada. I went on shore at each [place] the last a miserable population of French, Indians and negroes. Arived at Detroit a little before sunset put up at the Western Hotel, a miserable dirty filthy house with beds of straw

Sab 20 Shewed ourselves to the priest the Rev E Thompson by whom we were most cordially received. He preached in the morning an excellent discourse on "Ye are the light of the world. In the afternoon I preached on Mat 5.29.30 and in the eve on 2 Cor 4.5 with satisfaction to myself and as far as I could judge to the edification of the congregation. I lodged with a Br Silsbury whose kind attentions as well as those of his lady won highly upon my esteem

Mon 21 After writing to my family and making other arrangements, having taken in a traviling companion by the name of

Calender we started about 11 Oclock and traveled to Plymouth Wayne Co [24 1/2 m] through bad roads and a poor country[3]

Tues 22 Drove to Ann Arbour [16 1/2 m], and having had the misfortune to collapse our elyptic springs we stopt for their repair. Called on Br Colelazier the P[residing] E[lder] of the Dis[t] an amiable man by whom we were received and treated with the urbanity and kindness of a gentleman and a Christian.

Wens 23 More trouble! just at night yesterday we found that we had left or lost Br Halsteads portmanteau Today he went back 16 miles, found them returned and near night we got ready and started on a mile when we found we had a wrong collar on one of our horses. Br H took it ran back but in vain ours could not be found. I started on afoot and when the waggon overtook me we put up at a tavern

Thur 24 Drove about five miles beyond and south west of Jacksonborough where we put up at a log tavern or dwelling. This day we passed through some good burr oak land. Called and dined with Br J. Page formerly of Sheldon Vt. Saw also Jehiel Hyde of Hyghgate Vt

Fry 25 Went to a Camp meeting at Spring Arbour where we were affectionately rec[d] by the Rev J. Kinnear pr[eacher] in charge and by those associated with him. The congregation was small to whom I preached at 11 Oclk Br Pearson of the Genissee Conf[r] after and Br J. Erkenbrack in the eve. after which several came forward for prayers 27 or 8 professed to find pardon Some considerable rant or wild fire.

Sat 26 The exercises were as usual on such occasions I preached once & Br Halstead once

Sab 27 I preached at 11 Oclk Br. Pearson at 2 P. m and I again at 5 P. m. and Br Pilcher a verry interesting and soul stirring discourse in the eve

Mon 28 Was called out of bed to preach at 5 without previous notice, but found the Lord present to help. After refreshments I was requested to conduct the closing scene, We held a love feast when many spoke feelingly of the dealing of God with them after which 30 came forward & joined society I administered holy baptism to 15 adults & 2 children and we closed the whole by

[3] The travelers were on the well-known Michigan-Chicago road, which was the established immigration route to the West. For a description, see M. M. Quaife, *Chicago's Highways* (Chicago, 1923), 38-50.

marching round the ground and taking the parting hand with many we shall meet no more till at the judgement seat of Christ. I rejoiced to meet on this ground, friends of distant places and former times viz Br & Sister Atkins of Crownpoint Br Pratt of Moriah N. Y. Brs. Pray & Williamson of Richfield N. Y. and the two Rev Bros. Erkenbracks formerly of the Oneida Conf^{r} The preachers here are principally young men of moderate talents from Ohio with considerable prejudice against the eastern preachers. But they are pious and faithful and give a good account of the success of their labours.

We went home with Br A & wife where I preached again on Mond eve

Tues 29 Started on our way and drove as far as Milton Took the forks of the Kalamazo in our way stopt at Marshal also called on Br Pray & family Were highly wellcomed found them delightfully situated in good spirits and much religeon We passed this day over much delightful burr oak land, but in the hands of speculators and held high if for sale at all.

Wens 30 Drove to Br Bonfie's in the town of Clinch 12 miles west of Kalamazoo. Found himself and family in good health and delightfully located on first rate land The country through we passed this day is excellent and the inhabitants appear contented & happy We passed through also what is called grand prairie

Thur 31 Drove to Prairie round through delightful openings & timber land. Called & visited Br Warner father & son with their family, found them contented and happy—well situated. Shall probably never see them all again.

Fry Sept 1 Drove to a Camp meeting near three rivers, where we spent the rest of the day and night. Were heartily rec^{d} by the preachers Preached once. This is within the bounds of the Indiana Conf^{r}. [Sat 2] Went to another Q[uarterly] M[eeting] at the Mouth of the Elkhart river in the town of Elkhart Indiana under the supervision of the Rev Mr Hargrove P. E. of the Laport Dis^{t} by whom we were most cordially received and treated with true christian urbanity I preached on Sat & twice on Sab Heard brother Hargrove twice Br Harrisson & Br Halstead once. This was a good meeting. Numbers were converted. Others sanctified and all edified. I was much pleased with the people could live and die with them. They have much need of experienced preachers.

Mon 4 Drove to Laport [35 m] and put up at a tavern. We

passed through Elkhart, Mishawaka, South bend and Cape prairie. A verry interesting & rich country. Surpassing every thing I have yet seen. The last is a delightful and growing village. I have strong thoughts of making it the future residence of my family.

Tues 5 Traveled 32 m and put up at a log house without chimney or bedsteads or stable for our horses. So we tied our horses to a tree and fed them with oats for want of hay, and after taking a good cup of coffee we lodged on the floor, slept soundly, awoke with the dawn The land through which we passed this day is of an indifferent quality. We passed through Michigan City; destined at no remote period to be a place of great merchantile importance, though now an unseemly unsightly, sandy, muddy place

Wens 6 Drove to Chicago via Calumet over a barren sandy or marshy country uninhabitable the most of the way. Found Br Clark[4] at home and himself and family in good health by whom we were cordially rec[d] and wellcomed to their habitation and fare, O how reviving is the countenance of a friend in a strange land! [Distance to Chicago 901 m] It not being convenient for us to remain with Br Clark nor would we be burdensome to him so we obtained board with a w[d] and lodging with a Br Rockwell a single man, for the time we should spend in the place

Sab 10 I preached once Br Clark once and in the eve we held a Missionary Meeting I preached Br Clark exhorted and took up a Collection in aid of the cause of Missions. The church in this place is in a low and distracted state[5]

Tues 12 We started for Conf[r] I rode with Br Clark in his waggon leaving my horse to recruit. Br O. F. Curtis was in company.[6] Drove to Juliett [Joliet] and put up with Br West a L[ocal] P[reacher] of excellence & worth. This is a delightful village situated on both sides of the Oplane river on beautiful prairie

[4] Rev. John Clark was sent West to take charge of Methodist Indian missions. He visited Lake Superior and Green Bay as early as 1832. In 1836 he was transferred to the Illinois Conference, and stationed at Chicago as presiding elder, his district including Green Bay and all eastern Wisconsin. In 1841 he removed to Texas to establish Methodism there; after 1845 he was once more in Troy Conference, New York; then in 1852 returned to Illinois and died two years later at Aurora. See recollections of this pioneer in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vii, 481.

[5] The first Methodist meeting house in Chicago (1834) was a log building on the north side. In 1836 it was moved on a scow and by horses to the corner of Clark and Washington streets. There it later became the "Mother church of Chicago Methodism" and the forerunner of the present temple on this site.

[6] Rev. John Clark was presiding elder, and Rev. Otis F. Curtis pastor of the Chicago church. The latter located in 1837.

lands surrounded with a rich prairie country. It is the County seat of Wills County. Here the Chicago & Ottowa Canal is to enter the Oplane and afford great facilities for mechanicial & merchantile enterprize. Br Curtis preached in the eve & I gave an exhortation to the people

Wens 13 Drove to Forky Creek [22 m] over a most delightful prairie country rich & fertile but little cultivated. Preached in the afternoon to a neighbourhood of simple hearted and united christians and put up with a Br Watkins with a numerous family and but one room to his house and that a small one, yet were we courteously & comfortably entertained

Th 14 We proceeded on our way over some good but generally bad prairie country. Crossed the Kankakee, and the Iroquois—put up at the county seat— A miserable location— A sunken Ague & fever country— Not desirable at all.

Fry 15 Proceeded to a Q.M. on Sugar Creek Mission put up at Br John Nelsons where the meeting was appointed. Found Br Wiley the preacher sick with the ague & fever A few attended on Sat to whom Br Curtis preached. On Sab about 80 came together to whom I preached in the morning & Br Crissey[7] in the afternoon. They have good land in this neighborhood but poor health.

Mon 18 We proceeded on our rout to Danville, the County seat of Vermillion Co and put up with a Br Cassady & family of much wealth and much religeon. A rare occurrence. We were kindly received, and introduced to Br Harshy pr in charge of the circuit; also to Br Roberts his colleague in verry poor health. I preached in the eve to a good congregation, with considerable freedom of thought and feeling. This is an excellent site for a town with plenty of anthracite coal in the vicinity and also water power

Tues 19 Proceeded to Sodorus' grove, over delightful prairie and put up with the proprietor, A rich careless sinner

Wens 20 Arose before the sun and pursued our way 15 1/2 miles to the next grove for breakfast over beautiful prairie. We stopt at a loghouse without windows but obtained good refreshment for ourselves and horses. After which we continued our rout to Decatur the county seat of [blank in MS] Co put up with the family of D[r] Wiley himself being absent.

Th 21 Br Clark preached in the evening. Drove on to Spring-

[7] Rev. William S. Crissey was pastor at Milwaukee in 1836-37, the predecessor of Rev. James R. Goodrich.

field the seat of the State government. A beautiful town site and village of about 2500 inhabitants. Here we are trying to build a College under the controll of the Conf^r^ though but little is as yet done for its accomplishment We remained here in the kind family of the Rev D^r^ A. McNeil till the following week in attendance on a protracted meeting of some interest there having been recently an outpouring of the spirit of grace upon the people 100 or more having been converted and brought into the church. I formed an agreeable acquaintance with Br Cruse the std [stationed] pr[eacher] and several of the members of the church.

Mon 25 Continued our journey to Jacksonville the seat of the Conf^r^. Were kindly rec^d^ by the p^r^ in ch the Rev J. T. Mitchell[8] and appointed to reside during our stay with Mr. Isaac G. Israel Esq^r^ By whom and his kind family we were received with the urbanity and kindness peculiar to the higher ranks of society in the south.

Tues 26 I tried to preach in the eve with I fear but little pleasure to myself or profit to my hearers. We have here the best church I have seen in the state, Well built and finished with taste & good style

Wens 27 The Bp Soule[9] arrived and the Conf^r^ opened at about 10 1/2 A.m. There was a verry general attendance of the members

A goodly appearing set of men though I think they will not compare for inteligence with our eastern Conferences. The Conference proceeded in the usual manner and nothing of peculiar and exciting interest occurred till after returning from church on fryday eve when we were informed that our congregation had been invaded by an armed force, exasperated, and justly too by the vile and unholy attempts of one of our old preachers the Rev Simon Peter upon the honor and chastity of a married lady the wife of Maj. Forsyth of the first respectability. Alas for us and the cause of God! We learned about 11 P.m. that they had found him and taken

[8] Rev. John T. Mitchell was a native of Virginia, whose father Rev. Samuel Mitchell organized the first class in Platteville, Wisconsin, at the home of his son-in-law John Rountree. John T. Mitchell was later presiding elder of Chicago district. See mention in *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, viii, 91-92.

[9] Bishop Joshua Soule, a native of Maine, became pastor in New York City, where he was elected in 1816 one of the agents of the Methodist Book Concern. In 1824 he was chosen bishop, and presided at conferences until 1845, when he went with the southern branch of the church. After the secession his home was at Nashville, where he died in 1867.

him to a public house Where they determined to keep him till morning.

Sat 30 After the Conf^r^ was opened it was announced that a complaint was made against the above and the circumstances in which he was placed and the terms on which he would be surrendered to Conf^r^ viz that the aggrieved and his friends be permitted to attend & witness the proceedings in his case— Whereupon a Committee of 5 were appointed to wait on the accused and the offended and bring him before the Conf^r^ which being done The Complaint & specification was read to which he plead guilty and after the evidence was presented the Conference unanimously pronounced him guilty and expelled him from the connexion and the church. His address to the conference was deeply affecting and the remarks of the Bishop overpowering. The whole Conference and the spectators were highly affected The aggrieved were fully satisfied and departed I think impressed with a just sense of the purity and integrity of the Conference and the church But what a spectacle to behold the ruined man! Who but thirty six hours before stood high in the judgement of the Conf^r^ having the app^t^ of P.E. for the ensuing year, and in the estimation of the people throughout this region of country Now fallen, ruined, forever! The disgrace of his family and reproach of the Church! What a caution to all ministers and men to avoid all temptation to the lust of the flesh![10]

Sab Oct 1^st^ This day has been highly interesting and profitable Bp Soul preached an interesting and powerful discourse on the "promises of God in Christ" Br J. F. Wright in the afternoon and Br Clark in the eve I preached in the eve in the Presbyterian Ch. [Mon 2, Tues 3] Confr pursued its usual business Conf^r^ finished the first ques having admitted near forty preachers on trial. at 2 Oclk P.M. the aniversary of the Conf^r^ Miss-Society was held. Addresses were delivered by Brs. Wigley, Brunson, Borein,[11] Clark, and two Natives. It was a season of thrilling interest the reports and collections were the best I ever witnessed. The collections for the past year encluding some unapplied appropriations of last year

[10] An entirely different version of this affair is given by Alfred T. Brunson, *Western Pioneer* (Cincinnati, 1879), ii, 88-91. According to Brunson, who was present at the time, the clergyman was not guilty, but his confession was extorted from him by fear of lynching. He was later reinstated in the ministry.

[11] Rev. Wellington Weighly, who came West with Rev. Alfred Brunson; for the latter, see *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, ii, 129-148. Rev. R. Borein was pastor at Chicago 1837-38.

amounted to [blank in MS] In the eve Br Ja^{s} Mitchell[12] preached a good discourse

Wens 4 The reports of several committees were received Two appeals heard— One sent back, the other confirmed the former decision. Br Window preached in the eve a splendid [sermon]— nothing Vanity is common to man in his best estate

Th 5 This day was fully occupied. Three sessions. Closed about 10 P.M. When the appts were read out and the Conf^{r} adjourned to meet at Alton next year.

Fry 6 Rested and visited through the day. [Sat 7] Rode to Spring field [35 m] and put up at our old home Dr A McNeil's for the Sab. Sab [8] Br Clark preached in the morning, Br Mitchell in the afternoon and myself in the eve.

Mon 9 Drove to Mackinore timbers[13] over a beautiful prairie Country with but few inhabitants

Tues 10 Drove to Crow meadow via Tremont—Washington &c Through delightful prairie

Wens 11 Rode to Ottawa on the Illinois at the junction of the Fox. Put up with Co^{l} Moore formerly of Plattsburgh N. Y. We this day passed Barbers point, Vermillion-ville &c as before most beautiful prairie with but little timber.

Th 12 Crossed the Illinois river at Ottawa, coasted up the river through Mersailles &c to Dresden. The bottoms on this river are exceeding rich and luxurient. The day was rainy and the going bad. Wet and weary

Fry 13 Passed the Dupage river and followed up the Oplain to Juliet [14 m], Where Br Clark left me and I went to Yankee settlement 5 m east for my horse and returned and put up for the night— Yankee settlement is delightful.

Sat 14 Rode through to Chicago [40 m]. Came in weary and glad to find friends and a resting place for my poor body—and what was still more reviving a letter from my dear family, Who were quite well at its date. How I desire to see them!

Tues 17 Answered the letter to my family containing a draft for 100 dollars. Wens [18] Started for my Dis^{t} in company with Br Halstead. Traveled 18 miles over a sandy road and tolerable good, the ballance of the day through timber land and going bad

[12] On James Mitchell, another son of Rev. Samuel Mitchell, see *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, viii, 92-95.

[13] The present Mackinaw in Tazewell County.

Put up with the family of Br Shield Th [19] Drove to Br Porter's near the state line through some very good prairie country. I tarried here for a week bought a claim to a section & half of excellent land prairie & timber as a location for my family and having secured a crop of potatoes on the premises—also preached twice and formed a society of 10 members and leaving all in the hands of God I started on and drove to a Br Kelloggs.[14] [Th 26] Stopt at Southport a village of some promise at the mouth of Pike Creek

Fry 27 Rode through to Oak creek mostly timber land and some of it of a good quality to Br Oliver Ravsons

Sat 28 Rode to Millwaukee put up with Br J. K. Lowrey, Found the society all in peace and in a good state of religious enjoyment.

Preached on the Sab [29] Morn, afternoon and eve with pleasure and I trust profit to myself and others. A fine growing place of much promise.

Tues 31 Pursued my way to Washington City[15] at the mouth of Sac creek through a heavy timbered country; Some of it of a superior quality for farming purposes, but much of it to low, and some of it too stony for improvement. Forded Cherry Creek & Millwaukee river the last swiming deep to my horse; Wet my baggage some and myself also; rode 3 1/2 miles in my wet state, but found friends and fire and hearty cheer with my beloved friend and brother the Rev. J. R. Barnes, formerly of Lowell Mass.

Wens Nov 1 Rose early and pursued my course up ["down" is written above in the MS] the lake shore without semblance of road sometimes in the water up to the sides of my horse then in the woods so thick that with difficulty I could push my horse through, sometimes up bluffs so steep that I was compelled to hold fast to my horse with both hands, then down steeps where I was compelled to dismount and let my horse litterally slide down; Twice I was compelled to unload and carry my baggage ahead and then return and help through with my horse Finally swam my horse through the Sheboygan river near its mouth and crossed myself in a skiff which came to my assistance and arrived weary enough to Br Morris Fur-

[14] At Kellogg's Corners or Sylvania in Racine County, where several Kellogg brothers had removed from Connecticut the preceding year. *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, vii, 476.

[15] Now Port Washington.

mons[16] by whom I was kindly received but could get no grain for my poor horse. Attended a prayer meeting in the eve and rejoiced to find a few determined still to cleave unto the Lord.

Th 2 Started in season but spent an hour or more in finding the proper trail which I pursued vigorously as the roughness of the way would permit, through much good and some poor land without seeing a human being till near night when I came upon two indian wigwams where I attempted to enquire but could neither understand nor be understood by them—so I pursued my way till darkness overtook me when too late to prepare for night and too dark to go forward I halted and tying my horse to a tree I hastily collected what fuel I could with my hands, built a fire by one log and laid me down by another, after committing my safekeeping to Him who never sleeps—I slept some—Woke some—and finally wore the night away—God was with me

Fry 3 Started as soon as I could see the trail and about 9 A.M. reached the Manatoowoc river at the rapids and mills I crossed in a boat and stopt with the principel man of the place who kindly refreshed myself and horse and gave me refreshments for the rest of the day and night. So I left in hopes still to reach Green bay by tomorrow at 12 noon I traviled till night when I lit upon an old lodge of boughs where I built a fire collected wood, replenished the ground of my camp with fresh hemlock boughs—dryed my clothes wet by plunging through the sloughs, I fed my horse the grain he had brought, prayed to my Allmighty protector and laid me down, twenty miles from any inteligent being as I suppose, and slept finely through the night having traveled I suppose about 30 miles.

Sat 4 Started with the earliest dawn and after loosing and regaining my way I pushed forward as well as I could through a most unpleasent road and disagreeable rain, all day till 4 P. M. before I reached my destination where I was well and kindly received by the Rev Br Nichols and his kind family[17]

Sab 5 Preached both morning & afternoon to a small congregation the weather being unfavourable and no notice having been

[16] This name was probably Firman. A Mrs. Firmin was member in 1836 of the first Methodist class in Milwaukee; and a widow Firmin with her son Benjamin was living at Sheboygan in 1842.

[17] Rev. Philip W. Nichols was first Methodist minister at Green Bay, appointed by the Illinois Conference. In 1838 he left the work in Wisconsin.

received of my appointment, I fear the church is not as prosperous here as in some other places or as it might be.

Wens 8 Rode to Oneida-West In[d] mission in company with Br Poe, the missionary of that place.[18] Passed through the first settlement Where the P Episcopalions have a mission, and where through the unholy influence of the Priest[19] a school house erected by the Br J. Clark was demolished. The materials are now rebuilding for a dwelling—Thank God, "the house of Saul is waxing weaker while the house of David or the cause of true religion is advancing Numbers are coming out in religion and joining our church. They are becoming impatient for a school in this part of the nation, and I am resolved that they shall be supplied as soon as a suitable teacher can be obtained. We arrived at the Mission-house late in the afternoon and found the family, consisting of Mrs. Poe and Mrs. Potter (the teacher) in tolerable health & spirits.

Thurs 9 Visited several families of the natives. Was delighted to witness their improvement in circumstances. They are opening farms, building houses and barns, and some have raised enough the past season for their comfortable support till another harvest. Their piety is equally good

Fry 10 Examined the school, and was well pleased with its condition and the attainments of the schollars. Mrs. Potter is highly qualified for her employment and delighted with it

Sat 11 Q Meeting came on—preached for the first time through an interpreter, on Eph 2.1.2.

Sab 12 We held a love feast. They spoke with feeling Tears told for the sincerity of their hearts. Preached on Col 3.12.14 After which we administered the Lord's supper to most solemn and weeping communicants— A verry interesting sight! While in this mission I visited frequently an aged disciple of 88 years in his last sickness & death— Which happened on Sab eve. He gave evidence of being truly a christian and died we trust as the christian dieth in peace and glorious hope. So falls the ripe fruit of Missionary labours, to be gathered at the resurrection of the just. The name of the above was Hendrick Smith

Mon 13 Attended a counsel of the natives to consult on the

[18] On the Methodist mission for the Oneida Indians, see Wis. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 1911, 152-159. Rev. Daniel Poe was missionary to the Indians at the time of this visit.

[19] Eleazar Williams was the Episcopal missionary for the Oneida. See sketch in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xx, 284.

affairs of the miss. They want a blacksmith in the nation, and one they must have if a suitable one can be found. Rode back to Green bay

Tues 14 Rode out to visit the Rev Ge° White former preacher at this place.[20] Found himself and family in good health & prospering in the business of life.

Returned the next day [Wens 15]

Sat 18 Visited the P. E. Miss School under the superintendance of the Rev. Mr. Brown, I should judge an excellent evangelical man. They have now in the school 36 native schollars. The plan of their school I think a good one. Their schollars bound to them for a space of time not less than five years, for whom they provide in all things.[21]

Sab 19 Q M at the bay. A good Love feast though but few attended. I preached both *Morn* & *eve* with some satisfaction to myself and others. But we have great need of a revival of the work of God.

Mon 20 Started on my tour, through mud and rain and traveled till 2 P.m. and put up at a tavern there being no other place of entertainment within 18 miles.

Tues 21 Pursued my way through mud and snow, by a way partly cut out & but partly bridged, to the Stockbridge mission under the supervision of the Rev Mr Marsh of the Presbyterian church, by whom I was kindly received and entertained for the night.[22] Here I found our sister Mudget (a teacher brought to this country by our Missionary society) in the mazes of Cal[vinism].

Wens 22 Rode to the Brothertown settlement, called Deaneburgh, and visited the school under the instruction of Sister Lee, Was pleased with the school and also with Miss Lee.[23] She possesses much of the Missionary spirit Preached in the afternoon and again the next day a funeral discourse on the occasion of six of their nation who were drowned a short time previous. It was a solemn mournful season.

[20] George White was sent in 1834 by the Oneida Conference, New York, as minister to the Indians; he located in 1837. In later life he was a clerk in one of the departments at Washington.

[21] For Rev. Daniel Brown and the mission school at Green Bay, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, 412-476.

[22] For Rev. Cutting Marsh and his mission to the Stockbridge Indians, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xv, 25-204.

[23] Deaneburgh was the present Brothertown, Calumet County. The missionary Ethelinda Lee was from Vermont.

Thur 24 Proceeded to Fon du lac [16 m] through the worst rode I have yet traveled. Hazzardous to my horse and myself, by reasons of snow, water, & mud Put up at a tavern, where I paid for my accomodations three dollars.

Sat 25 I pursued my way [26 m] and put up at night at the first house and that without inhabitant, yet with those who started with me in the morning and a party of soldiers from the fort and three men who were at work near by, we had a company of 17 to eat and lodge in a cabin about 18 ft square

Sab 26 Being under the necessity of traviling I started with the dawn, and traviled 16 m to the first house where I found friends with whom I dined and prayed, and then rode down to fort Winnebago and was kindly received and courteously entertained by Surgeon Foot, and lady of the P. E. Church.[24] On Monday [27] having called on several of the officers of the garrison I again mounted my horse and rode 13 m and put up at a most loathsome tavern house.

Tues 28 Started on my way and rode to Madison [30 m] my poor beast not having had a morsel of grain since the evening before, was hardly able to perform and I am quite certain glad of the privilege of shelling a little corn at night I preached in the evening to a verry interested and interesting congregation[25]

Wens 29 Rode to Jefferson [County] or Aztalan, through an interesting and rich prairie and burr oak country without inhabitant for more than 30 m together. Saw some remains of ancient works, but for what purpose they were raised I could not discover.

Th 30 I visited what is called the ancient city or Aztalan That there has been in former times an area of about 15 acres regularly walled in with brick can not be doubted while various mounds in the rear probably contain the remains of numbers of its former inhabitants, a subject well worth the investigation of the curious and the antequarian. I put up with Br Brayton[26]

Q Meeting came on. The congregation on Sat [Dec 2] amounted to 12 besides the preachers We had a good time

[24] For Dr. Lyman C. Foot of Fort Winnebago, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, 77.

[25] The first Methodist service held at the capital, which had been commenced the preceding spring.

[26] On the Braytons of Aztalan, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, 422. The antiquities at Aztalan have recently been explored by Dr. S. A. Barrett of the Milwaukee Museum. See *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, vi, 114.

Sab 3 We had a good Love feast though but few attended There were about fifty at the public meeting and 13 beside the preachers at the sacrament. On the whole it was a profitable meeting

Mon 4 Rode 10 m to Fort Covington [Atkinson] put up with a Mr [Dwight] Foster. This is a good location & pleasant

Tues 5 Rode to Cornish prairie [20 m] through mostly burr oak openings principally of an excellent quality. Passed Hart prairie beautiful but not first rate land. Put up with Br Cornish whom I have known for 16 years[27] Formerly of Fairfield Vt An excellent family, but the mother is gone to her reward a few weeks since

Wens 6 Rode forward over excellent burr oak land to Meachams prairie, Dined with a Br Potter[28] Went on crossed Spring prairie to put up with a Br J. McLaughton found when within 100 rods of his house I must go about three miles to get there the branch of the fox river I had to cross being to deep to ford.

Thur 7 Rode on through openings of the poorer quality after crossing the Fox river at the lower forks till we reached pleasant prairie, a beautiful tract of country put up with Br Debershee a thriving farmer[29]

Fry 8 Rode through Southport [Kenosha] and home to north prairie Ill having been absent about 7 weeks and traviled 535 miles through the worst of roads and often the most unpleasant weather. But to the praise of God be it recorded I have enjoyed the best of health, and a good sense of the Divine favour.

Sab 10 Preached on my own diggings to my neighbors Spent the week in the neighborhood and [Sab 17] preached again at home and in the eve at a tavern about three miles distant

Fry 22 Commenced my second tour round the Des[t] [district]. My horse lame and illy able to perform Rode to Southport where the Q.M. is to be held and put up with the Rev Br Demming

Sat 23 Preached to a small congregation & attended prayer meeting in the eve. Sab. Morn Love feast pretty well attended—some feeling—but little attention is paid to our rules on the subject concerning which I made remarks & requested that hereafter they

[27] The Cornish family were pioneers of La Grange township, Walworth County. Heart Prairie is in the same town.

[28] For Maj. Jesse Meacham, see *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, vi, 83. John F. Potter lived at East Troy.

[29] S. S. Derbyshire was living at Pleasant Prairie in 1850.

be fully observed which gave some offence but I cannot help it. I am pledged "not to mend our rules but to keep them." The public service was well attended and solemn. Between 30 & 40 communicants Preached again in the eve for the temperance cause and organized a society. They had been obtaining signatures to the pledge for some two weeks previous which with those obtained at the meeting amounted to more than 100 in a village containing but about 200 inhabitants. A good beginning.

Mon 25 Rode to the rapids on Root river & preached a Christmas sermon in the eve with much enjoyment and good effect. The next day went to Ra[c]ine and preached again in the eve. The day following rode to Oak creek and preached in the eve

Th 28 Rode to Milwaukee and was gladly rec[d] by my esteemed brothe[r] the Rev J. R. Goodrich and his excellent wife Br G. complains that his lungs are likely to fail him. He is quite popular with the people. Not having rec[d] my letter delaying the Q. M. they had held it in my absence.

[Fry 29, Sab 31, Jan 1, 1838] Preached at a private house to a small congregation. I preached in the morn Br G in the afternoon and myself again in the eve. We held a watchnight, which was well attended and profitable. One found pardon and another was reclaimed

On Monday eve I preached again

Tues 2 I pursued my journey. The going exceeding bad in consequence of a thaw which has continued several days. The streams without bridges were difficult to cross. Got my baggage wet and got wet myself in crossing pigeon Creek[30] and when I reached Cedar river late in the afternoon I found it so swollen by the rains and the ice so bad that I thought it prudent to defer making an attempt to cross till morning. So I made the best arrangement I could and passed the night on the bank, Amid a powerful rain attended with thunder and lightening truly sublime.

Wens 3 I arose with the dawn and finding it impossible to pass over and not knowing of any inhabitants near I concluded to retrace my steps, but when I reached the pigeon I found that also had overflowed all the country round about. Not knowing of any inhabitants between those streams I began to think that the alternative was before me to drown or starve having ate nothing since the day before at noon; but recollecting a slight trail that crossed

[30] Now Mequon (feather) Creek.

my path half way between the two streams, I concluded to return and follow that After pursuing it about two miles I came to inhabitants and also friends. A Mr Isaac Bigelow & family late from Novascotia recd me cordially and administered to all my wants with cheerfulness. Here I remained till Sat following. Found & visited two other families in the neighbourhood and heard of a third. So I perceive the Missionary like the pedlar can rarely go wrong so he find inhabitants and meet them in the spirit of his work.

Sat 6 I again sallied forth and succeeded in fording the river & several other streams and reached Sac Ville late in the afternoon where I found and was heartily recd by my much esteemed Br Barns with whom I tarried at Washington City when round before. He has removed to this place and is the sole inhabitant of the whole ville.

Sab 7 Here I am shut out from all participation in the public services of the church. No inhabitants near to form even the praying circle. How solitary! How infelicitous! I wonder how any man; more a christian and most a Minister can regard it as a duty so to live, or here to stay. I am here yet [Mon 8]. The ice is moving majestically along. The river full banks [The Milwaukee] Toward eve the ice stopt and I hope by leaving my horse behind I shall be able to cross in the morning.

Tues 9 Crossed the river on two bords & passed on about 40 rods when I found the river which had been impeded in its course by the ice had found its way across and run before me for thirty rods or more. A[f]ter trying in vain to find a passage and wading up to my hips in water breaking the ice before me, I finally gave over and returned. My clothes frozen upon me and concluded of necessity to wait another day, for the way to open.

Wens 10 The ice being sufficiently strong I took my horse crossed over and continued my rout to Sheboygan which I reached in the eve. Found Br Frink the Missionary and the friends generally well.[31] They did not expect me before nor even now.

Th 11 Started in company with Br Frink for Manatoowoc. We traveled hard but faild in getting through, so we encamped in the woods and enjoyed the privilege of sleeping upon the snow before

[31] Rev. H. W. Frink was a pioneer itinerant of Wisconsin, having arrived November, 1836, at Green Bay in a sailing vessel. By the Illinois Conference he was stationed at Sheboygan; in 1838 he was on the Aztalan circuit. He continued his ministry for many years, after retirement living at Burnett Junction, his last charge.

a large fire While the full moon rode over us in her silver charriot through an unclouded sky. A grand and delightful scenery.

Fry 12 We started long before day and reached Manatoowoc about 9 A.m. Where we refreshed ourselves & horses till 11 Oclk when leaving Br F I traveled on about 20 m kindled my fire, built my lodge and laid me down and slept soundly under the protection of my Heavenly Father

Sat 13 I started long before day & urging my poor lame horse on before me I reached Green bay about 2 P.m. unexpected by the friends on account of the recent rains. We had a good Q. M. I preached twice on Sab [14] and twice on Mond. On tues eve we had prayer meeting. The services were well attended The people were quite excited I hope good will result

Wens 17 Went to Onida west. Found the mission in a distracted state The Preacher & the teacher had fallen out with each other, the teacher having left the mission family was bording with the natives and suffering of course verry much. I spent much and earnest time in endeavoring to effect a reconciliation but in vain. The brethren from the bay came to my assistance and we jointly labored but all in vain. By and with the advice of the official brethren at the bay I directed the Pr to leave and take the Sheboygan Miss, but this he refused after he had agreed to do so if thought best. So the matter remains. The school discont[d] — the teacher boarded out at the bay

Sab 21 Our Q. M. at the Miss was tolerably well attended and profitable. On Sab eve I returned to the bay. On Tues [23] I started on my return and came about 9 m to the last residence from the bay where I tied my horse without to the logs and obtained a bed for myself within where I remained till towards morning when I started and driving my horse before me I traveled through to Manatoowoc a little after dark. Wearied in the extreem, My horse cannot go.

Th 25 Changed horses with my host before day and started forward, traveled hard and reached Sheboygan before dark, gave out and preached in the eve to the greatest part of the people of the place

Fry 26 Rode on to Sac Ville to Br Barnes

Sat 27 Returned to Milwaukee. Found all well and prospering except Br G who is complaining much of the failing of his lungs. I preached afternoon & eve [Sab 28] Mon & Tues remained in

town visiting and labouring to excite attention to the establishment of a litterary institution in this place. Wens, Rested in town.

Th Feb 1 Rode to Mequanago within the bound of the Aztalan Miss. Put up with Br Simon Jones & family with whom I was acquainted 15 years ago in Waterbury Vt They are still faithful to the grace given. What recollections & reflections arise from this meeting.

Fry 2 Rode forward to Br [Reuben] Griffins [East Troy] where the Q M is to be held

Sat 3 Q M came on. I preached in the afternoon and attended prayer meeting in the eve. The great head of the church was with us

Sab 4 A Most delightful season in love feast about 20 present. Spoke with feeling We had a good congregation through the day. About 25 Communicants.

Mon 5 Rode to Root river rapids. Remained in this neighbourhood through the week

Sat 10 Q M at Racine a small congregation and a cold house.

Sab 11 A good love feast A large congregation for preaching in the ball room of the tavern. A good attention and a solemn time. About 50 communicants. Rode to Southport after meeting.

Mon 12 Returned to my old home Br Porters North prairie Ill With gratitude to God. Tomorrow I hope to start my long & tedious journey to my family

Tues 13 Commenced my journey and reached Chicago [45 m]

14 To Liverpool Indaiana the next to Lakeport Mi[ch.] [81 m]

16 To Bristol 17 via Matville, White pidgeon, Sturges and Brunsons prairie to Coldwater [83 m]

18 Spent the Sab at Coldwater, & preached both afternoon & eve. Met here with my old friend & minister the Rev J. Fairbank

Mon 19 Proceeded through Jonesville to a B Gay's [35 m]

20th Through Adrian & Whiteford to Sylvania [43 m]

21st Through Maume to Perrysburgh & lower Sandusky [44 m]

22d & 23d Through Clarence to Cleveland [82 m]

24th To Painesville [30 m] where I spent the Sab at a Q. M.

Sab 25 Rev Br Winons P. E. Br Sturges Pr in charge Rev H Kinsley from Cleaveland was also present

Mon 26 Proceeded to Conneaught [43 m] with Br Kinsley

27 Through Erie to Hover creek with Do [37 1/2 m]
28 Through Northeast to Fredonia [37 1/2 m]
Mar 1 Through Lodi & Collens to Springville [38 m]
2 Through Arcade, Eagle, Eastpike to Perry [42 m]
3 Through Moscow, & Geneseo to Richmond [39 m]
4 Sab Rode to Canandaigua [12 m] where I spent the Sab Heard Proff Barker from Lima preach t[w]o interesting discourses. One in the morn, the other in the eve

Mond 5 Pursued my way with diligence and reached Auburn [40 m] in the eve put up with the family of Br Seymour

6 To Chitiningo [40 m] put up at indifferent tavern

7 Passed through the Oneida indian miss called on Rev Br A Torry the Missionary found the mission in a prosperous condition. Passed on through Vernon & Clinton to Paris hill where I lodged with a brother

8 Rose early and traveled twenty miles to Richfield and refreshed with my old friend Br G. Round then went forward to Richfield springs where I happily found my dear wife & some of our children who had been visiting in that part of the country. This was a time of much happiness to us all. And of unfeigned grattitude to the Preserver of our lives. Here we passed the night with Br V. Potter who married a niece of Mrs. S. I left [9th] my family to come in the stage an[d] rode forward to Carlisle [34 m], where I lodged with a friend

10 I reached home in health and saluted the rest of my family and friends with much joy. Here I find much to do by way of preperation to remove with my family to the field of my labours about which I set myself in earnest.

. . . .

Apr 28th Started with my family for the distant field of our future labour. The parting with our dear friends at E. was indeed painful, as it is probably final. They have given us many proofs of their affectionate regard and by which they have become peculiarly endeared. I hope God will be with them and continue to prosper them in things that pertain to the everlasting inheritance— That we may meet in fairer worlds on high. We came as far as Sprakers basin where we remained over the Sab. I preached at Palatine bridge in the morning and at the basin in the afternoon.

Apr 30 We got on bord the canal boat Edingburgh with all our effects and started about 8 A.m. In the afternoon we were de-

tained by a breach in the canal so that we did not reach Little falls till near 10 P.m.

May 1 We reached Utica about 8 A.M. where we made a short stop and then pursued our journey in fine spirit & style. We reached Buffalow on Sat the 5 of May and put up at the Temperance house kept by one of our friends where and with other friends we spent a week with much satisfaction waiting for a suitable boat

On Sat the 12th we went on board the Thos Jefferson and after a delightful passage making the usual stops we reached Southport the 18th where we landed with our effects and the day following removed part of our effects & the Mond after the remainder to a spot designated as our future home Where after spending a few days or weeks in preparing for the comfort of my family I left them & resumed my delightful labours at Pleasant Prairie June 10 & 11 for the Ra[c]ine Miss. We had a verry profitable meeting.

[June] 17 Held Q. M. at Milwaukee. The Missionary Br Goodrich having left I was forced to supply his place by a young man John Hodges who I had engaged at Saratoga Springs for Madison & Fort Winnebago Miss. After the usual services and attending to what business required my attention I left for Green bay & so around the Des[t] Reached Washington the second day The third Sheboygan where I preached in the eve. Here I met Br Frink with whom I traveled the day following to Manatoowoc

23, 24, 25 We visited Twin rivers on Sat & returned to hold Q. M. at M. where we had as many in attendance as could have been expected & a comfortable season. I preached also at the rapids at 5 P. M. On Mond left early for Green bay which place I reached before night

Went to the Oneida west Miss and held Q. M. the following Sat & Sab [June 30, July 1]. Found the affairs of this Miss much as I left them when last here.

Returned to G. bay [July 2] where I spent the week fully employed in the affairs of the church and spent the Sab. Our meeting was profitable. In the afternoon I took up a Missionary Col amounting to 16 dollars. On Mon [July 9] I left & rode to the Pres Miss at the Stockbridge Settlement the next to Brothertown where I preached and the day following proceeded to Fon doo lac

The two succeeding days [July 12 and 13] I rode to Fort Winnebago & on Sat reached Madison where I spent the Sab preached to a respectable congregation both morning and after-

noon. On Mond [July 16] I rode to Janesville On Tues To Troy where I learned that the appt for Q. M. was delayed for a week so I concluded to visit my family & return to attend it.

The next day I rode home [46 m] found all well & rejoiced in the salvation of God. Visited South port returned & preached on the Sab at my own house to my neighbours.

On Fry [27] set out on my return to Q. M. on the Aztalan Miss to be held at Foxville on Fox river where we had a verry profitable season Many rejoiced with exceeding joy.

I returned on Mon [July 29] to my family. On Fry Aug 3 went to Camp meeting at the rapids on Root river in the town of Racine. This is the first meeting of the kind ever held in the territory and although in the midst of harvest it was well attended of the people and abundantly blessed of the Lord. From the commencement to the termination the Divine presence was manifest. Many & fervent were the prayers offered. Simple & powerful the exhortations given & clear & scriptural the discourses delivered. Numbers were awakend & converted during the meeting & many returned weary & heavy laden to their homes. The last eve of the meeting it was judged one half the unconverted persons on the encampment were at the altar for prayers while angels & saints rejoiced over the repenting sinners.

6 On Mon we closed and returned home[32]

The following Sab [Aug 12] I preached in our own neighbourhood

[32] The total distance traveled is given as 5,009 miles, "Dist to Chicago not added 901."

EDITORIAL COMMENT

THE SOCIAL VALUE OF HISTORICAL MEMORIALS

The psalmist gave us a portion of the argument for historical memorials when he sang: "One generation shall praise thy works to another, and shall declare thy mighty acts." He was speaking, indeed, not to men but to his peculiar god Jahveh, and it was the works of his god that were to be celebrated through the ages. But this ancient deity performed his memorable deeds, in part at least, indirectly through the agency of mortal devotees. Even under our Christian dispensation *God* is identified with *good.* Deeds which are incontestably and highly beneficial receive the credit of being inspired by heaven; persons whose virtues transcend those of ordinary men are children of God. And we are plainly told: "The memory of the just is blessed; but the name of the wicked shall rot." (*Prov.* 10:7). Jacob set up a pillar to mark the spot where Jehovah spoke to him in the way. But in like manner he erected a memorial at the grave of his faithful wife Rachel.

The idea which gives rise to monuments appears to be instinctive in all races and all cultures. The native tribes who occupied the area of our own state raised mounds or carved out strange figures in the surface of the earth. The Alaskans set up curiously wrought totems. The later Romans left busts of the master and mistress over the gates of their villas. They built stone monuments to mark the sites of important military triumphs, and placed temples over the places where, according to their mythology, gods and heroes trod the earth. The record of man's warfare against oblivion appears not alone in a million parchments and folios, but in the obelisk of Heliopolis, the pyramid of Gizeh, the inscribed surface of the Rock of Behistun, the

temple of Castor and Pollux, and the ruins of once glorious cathedrals raised over the mortal remains of canonized saints.

Coming to later times and to our own land, we find at Old Jamestown a monument to Pocahontas, on Plymouth Rock an inscription celebrating the landing of the Pilgrims, in Boston a memorial of the Battle of Bunker Hill, in Washington the noblest of all the heaven-piercing shafts to preserve in ourselves and the world the memory of our nation's founder. From Fraunce's Tavern, near the boat landing in New York City, where graven in enduring bronze is the now sacred record of Washington's farewell to his generals, to the far-off river bank in Oregon, where stands the pillar bearing the names of those who erected the first government on the Pacific, there are thousands of memorial tablets, on buildings, on boulders, on granite shafts or concrete bases.

When we ask the reason underlying the great and growing interest in such memorials, no better answer occurs to us than is contained in the words of Montalembert, uttered almost a century ago, "Long memories make great peoples." The universal preoccupation with the things of the moment is a recognized weakness of our common humanity. The world, indeed, as the poet said, "is too much with us." Its cares, anxieties, loves, hates, jealousies; its sorrows and its joys, make up very nearly the sum total of the natural man's mental and spiritual reactions. Ordinary conversation is but slightly charged with thought or tinged with imagination. "Most people," so runs a useful adage, "talk about persons, some talk about things, a few talk about subjects." The talk about persons is the gossip of the sewing circle, talk about things is the inanity of the Main Street house-party, talk about subjects is the soul-renewing experience of the intelligent or the wise. Men differ widely in their ability to get rid of "the world" temporarily by projecting their minds either back over the ascertainable life of the past or forward into the mists which veil the potential

life of the future. Most men try to walk this tight-rope of a world without the balancing rod which knowledge of the past and interest in the future supply. No wonder the way is strewn with tragedies.

Concern about the future is doubtless the highest duty of an enlightened citizenry, but anything that releases from the thralldom to the present is a step toward the attainment of intellectual wholeness. It is easier to cultivate interest in the past than to promote an attitude of intelligent social inventiveness toward the future. Men and women of powerful constructive imaginations have arisen from time to time who, by concentrating on the problem of improving society in relation to its past and its present, have been able to perform feats of statesmanship to which the world looks back with admiration and gratitude. Mankind as a whole are gradually—during the past hundred years rapidly—becoming more conscious of the future as the product of a developmental process which can be predicted with some measure of certainty, and planned for with considerable confidence. The threads of that process can often be found deep buried in the past, and they can be followed, through all the tortuous windings of the social maze, to the present and thence projected forward.

When about forty years ago Mr. H. G. Wells wrote his brilliant and suggestive essay on *The Discovery of the Future,* he was describing, he said, an attitude of mind which was essentially new and had been created mainly by the recently awakened interest in history. The world in earlier ages was commonly looked upon as something fixed, finished, and unalterable. States, churches, schools, military organizations, families, and tribes were regarded as static institutions. Hence the prime duty of the subject was to support the monarch in resisting change. "Unvarying as the law of the Medes and Persians" is a phrase describing not alone the civilization of Mesopotamia, but that of Egypt, Asia Minor, and with more or less exactitude that of all other ancient and medieval peoples. Today all

this is changed. We accept as a commonplace the doctrine announced half a century ago by a great English ecclesiastical historian, that "the roots of the present lie deep in the past," and the trained mind assumes toward social facts the attitude of an observer bent on interpreting tendencies. In order to do so he marshals the facts held in memory, which he gained from historical records of one kind and another, compares them with what he sees in the life about him, estimates the forces controlling and driving them on, and plots the curve of their probable future course.

The ideal citizen of a modern commonwealth is the historically minded man, such as we have just described him to be—one interested in the present, but also in the past and perforce in the future. Unfortunately, not all of the adult generation have been trained as yet to the historical attitude any more than to the scientific attitude; and a new generation is always coming on for whose education the active workers of the day are directly responsible. Besides, even the best of us need the intellectual challenge which thrills us when we behold history arrayed in unusual and dramatic garb.

As one walks over Observatory Hill at the University and reads the tablets marking the "turtle mound" and the "bird effigy," a train of reflection is awakened which carries the mind far back into the dim past. One is tempted then in imagination to restore this region of southern Wisconsin to its pristine character—to remove cities, homes, fields, and roads, and replace the forests, prairie grass, and flowers; to substitute for our own civilization the life of barbarous tribes, with their wars, their trade and commerce, their relations with the whites, and their tragic overthrow by the grimly fighting hosts of our own people. Life is too much in one plane; it has length and breadth, but no depth. The shock of the historical inscription encountered at the turn of the road gives it a third dimension, rouses the imagination, stimulates the memory, and throws down the gauntlet to the reason.

As the poor boy of the old school-book story learned to read words by spelling out the signs over the shop doors, so the unschooled or the imperfectly schooled in local and national history can learn to read many a useful lesson from our country's youth time by conning the records inscribed on metal plates conveniently placed by the highway. Humanity in this age goes so much on pneumatic tires, that a road-side gallery of pictures from the past is bound to have a large educational significance. It will tend to develop the habit of recalling incidents of a more heroic if more primitive time; and "Long memories make great peoples."

JOSEPH SCHAFER

COMMUNICATIONS

A CORRECTION

On page 58 of the September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* Mr. Cole in his article on "The Old Military Road" says that Burnett's home was at Wingville (now Montfort). This is a mistake: Burnett lived about two miles northwest of the village of Mt. Hope, where his monument still stands. The tradition is that he and his family were poisoned. I have often passed the Burnett monument. When I was a boy, my father told me that Burnett and his family were poisoned. A few weeks ago, a little girl at Mt. Hope, Dorothy Jane Morse, in writing an essay repeated without qualifications that the family was poisoned. Her grandfather lived near there, but now lives at Fennimore, Wisconsin.

CHARLES M. SCANLAN, *Milwaukee.*

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

By Louise Phelps Kellogg

During the quarter ending October 10, 1925, there were eight additions to the membership of the State Historical Society. Five persons enrolled as life members: Mrs. Charles Allis, Milwaukee; Col. Frederick C. Best, Milwaukee; Allan D. Conover, Madison; Dr. Victor C. Jacobson, Albany, N. Y.; Mrs. Charles M. Morris, Milwaukee.

Three persons became annual members, as follows: Ernest A. Bright, Trempealeau; E. G. Eberle, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. D. H. Johnson, Milwaukee.

The following persons changed from the annual membership to the life membership class: Albert O. Barton, Rev. Harry C. Hengell, Frederick L. Holmes, John T. Kenney, all of Madison; Jeanette M. Hays, Columbia, S. C.; Norman A. Knudson, Manitowoc; George B. McC. Hilton, Oshkosh; E. E. Pantzer, Sheboygan; Samuel M. Smith, Milwaukee.

The volume entitled *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest,* by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, senior research associate, which has been noticed hitherto as being in course of publication, was received from the Collegiate Press, October 13, and has been distributed to members. A review of the book may be expected in the next number of the magazine.

The seventy-third annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held at Madison, October 15. The following officers were elected, to serve for three years: President, Harry E. Cole, Baraboo; vice-presidents, J. H. A. Lacher, Waukesha; Barton L. Parker, Green Bay; Frederic L. Paxson, Madison; Albert H. Sanford, La Crosse; Edward B. Steensland, Madison; Robert Wild, Milwaukee; treasurer, Lucien S. Hanks, Madison. The twelve curators whose term expired at the time of the meeting were reëlected, as follows: Hans A. Anderson, Whitehall; Henry S. Butler, Superior; Matthew S. Dudgeon, Milwaukee; Carl Russell Fish, Madison; Howard Greene, Milwaukee; John L. Grindell, Platteville; William Horlick, Jr., Racine; Deborah B. Martin, Green Bay; Samuel M. Pedrick, Ripon; Albert H. Sanford, La Crosse; J. T. Hooper, Janesville; William F. Whyte, Madison. The places made vacant by the death of William K. Coffin and Frank W. Oakley, and by the resignation of Judge E. Ray Stevens, whose terms would have expired in 1927, were filled by the election of W. W. Bartlett, Eau Claire; Arthur C. Neville, Green Bay; and Judge Burr W. Jones, Madi-

son. Frank L. Gilbert, Madison, was chosen to succeed Judge Franz Eschweiler, resigned, for the term ending in 1926.

The annual dinner was held at seven o'clock the same day at the University Club. After the dinner Professor Frederic L. Paxson, of the History Department, University of Wisconsin, delivered a remarkable address on the subject, "A New Frontier in an Old World." This address was highly enjoyed by all present.

ACQUISITIONS

Two large collections of manuscript material have been received by the Society within the last quarter: the Howard papers, which are described *ante*, pages 140-156; and the Fairchild papers, presented to the Society by Mrs. Mary Fairchild Morris, to whom they were bequeathed by her mother's will. We are not yet prepared to describe the extent or value of this latter collection. Mrs. Morris has generously provided a fund to be employed in sorting and arranging the family papers, and they are now in the midst of these processes.

Eva Eleanor Davis of Lake Mills has given our Society a few letters belonging to her grandfather Moses M. Davis, Indian agent and Wisconsin statesman. These consist of letters on the antislavery movement —one from John P. Hale at the time of his candidacy; two from Carl Schurz in 1858; and one from Louis Agassiz.

From William C. Stone of Watertown the Society has received an autograph letter of his father, Jesse Stone, formerly lieutenant-governor of our state.

The autobiography of Robert Fargo, a Lake Mills merchant, who died February 12, 1908, has been lent us by the librarian of the Lorenzo Dow Fargo Library at that place. Portions of it will appear in a later issue of this magazine.

NECROLOGY

In our last issue we promised our readers a more extended notice of the life of Mrs. Lucius Fairchild, who died at Madison July 9 of the present year. Frances Bull was the youngest daughter of Charles Merriam Bull, a descendant of Thomas Bull, a Connecticut statesman of colonial days. She was born at Washington, D. C., November 14, 1845, and was only eighteen years of age when April 27, 1864, she married General Lucius Fairchild, a distinguished soldier, then secretary of state for Wisconsin. Coming to Madison the bride quickly made herself at home in its social and political circles, and was a great aid to her husband during his six years' term as governor (1866-1872). Then followed his diplomatic service for ten years more. Returning to Madison in 1882 Mrs. Fairchild has been an important factor at the state capital during all the intervening years. The following appreciation has been prepared for this magazine by Professor Carl Russell Fish, of the State University:

"Mrs. Fairchild was a woman of great beauty, charm, and magnetism. In her varied career as wife of the governor of Wisconsin, of the American consul-general at Liverpool and Paris, and minister at Madrid, and then again at Madison, first as wife of a leading political figure and later for many years a widow, she made always a powerful impression. The most distinguished of each community frequented her home and brought to it their notable guests. Her acquaintance was in the best sense cosmopolitan, and wherever one traveled the statement that one came from Madison was followed by inquiry for Mrs. Fairchild.

"At the present time the ability of women is judged chiefly by their accomplishments in fields where they come into competition with men, and always convention has placed less emphasis on their ability than on their personal qualities. While still a girl, in the absence of her husband the governor, Mrs. Fairchild exhibited a high degree of executive capacity in directing state relief to the sufferers from the Peshtigo fire. This ability was seldom so apparent, for it was for the most part exerted in creating that smoothness of life which to the superficial seems the absence of effort. To establish, however, in the early eighties a home and a standard of life which for nearly fifty years maintained its dignity and appropriateness amid all the changes of taste and circumstances, is something which few succeed in doing, and is an achievement comparable to those which give high reputation in business and political life.

"Her ability was governed by a philosophy of life early laid and developed by her wide experience and constant contact with the best. With a broad understanding of the factors that make up life, she did not allow fads to engulf her, or new tendencies to excite her alarm. Her judgments of both men and things were broadly human, and her reading of both the ability and character of others was keen. Herself she equally apprized, and refused urgent solicitations to write and speak in public. Her feeling for literature was extremely delicate and her reading of poetry powerful and beautiful. Her religious life was deep, steadfast, practical, and strictly private. It was closely connected with what was perhaps her most outstanding quality, a gallant heroism, which perhaps found its best expression at the very end of her life when infirmities which alone of all things she dreaded came upon her. But a few months brought a new adjustment and invalidism became a tranquillity almost gay and desirable.

"That Mrs. Fairchild not only possessed these qualities, but possessed them in a high degree, is evinced by the influence that for sixty years she exerted in Madison. For even a longer time her opinion was of moment to most of the leaders of the city, and through them affected many others. This was a form of activity which she cared to exercise. Scarcely a week passed, if so long an interval, when her judgment or advice was not presented with a tact and skill that made its usual wisdom doubly powerful. The long exercise of this consistent influence has done much to give Madison its individuality. One of its outstanding features has been that wealth in Madison has not been ostentatious or an important factor in establishing social position; another, the blending

of the university and town more intimately than in most centres of learning."

Death again invaded the ranks of our Society's curators when on August 3 Major Frank W. Oakley was called to his reward. Curator Oakley was a native of New York City, coming in 1856 at the age of fifteen to live with an uncle, Anson P. Waterman, in Beloit. On the outbreak of the Civil War, young Oakley immediately enlisted, opened a recruiting office in Beloit, and then went to the front as lieutenant of Company K, Seventh Wisconsin Volunteers. Just before his departure September 17, 1861, he married Cynthia Gordon of Beloit, who was his devoted companion for almost sixty-four years. It was she who nursed the young soldier back to life after he was severely wounded and lost an arm at Rappahannock Station. After the war Captain Oakley was city treasurer and then postmaster of Beloit, removing to Madison when in 1871 he was appointed United States marshal. His title of major came from militia service. He became somewhat later clerk of the federal district court, a position he held until in 1920 failing health required his resignation. He has been curator of our Society continuously since 1905. A kindly, courteous gentleman, in full sympathy with the objects of our Society, he will be missed from our counsels.

E. P. Salmon, of Beloit and Madeline Island, died at the latter place July 23. No one has done more to awaken interest and preserve the relics of this cradle of Wisconsin history than Mr. Salmon, who at the Old Mission Inn reverently guarded the little chapel built by the earliest Protestant missionaries on our northern shores.

The widow of Honorable Breese J. Stevens, curator of our Society until his death in 1903, passed away at her Madison home on August 21 last.

Just as we go to press notice comes of the death on October 2 of Mrs. George W. Dexheimer of Fort Atkinson. Mrs. Dexheimer was a zealous worker for the preservation of our archeological and historical heritage. It was due to her efforts that the site of the Black Hawk War post that gave its name to Fort Atkinson was located and marked, and that the only remaining intaglio effigy in the state was saved from the plough. As state chairman of the D. A. R. for "Old Trails and Roads," she obtained from many localities valuable information for this phase of our history and filed it with our Society. Her interest and cooperation will be sincerely missed.

LANDMARKS ACTIVITIES

On Labor Day, September 7, friends and members of our Society gathered to the number of nearly one hundred to dedicate the tablet erected by our Landmarks Committee near the site of Old Helena, one

of the earliest villages on the Wisconsin River. The handsome bronze tablet on a concrete base stands near the entrance of Tower Hill State Park, and is under the care of the State Conservation Commission. The inscription reads: "Site of Old Helena. A thriving and important town of lead mining days. Here on July 28, 1832, troops crossed the Wisconsin River in pursuit of Indians under Black Hawk. Among the officers of the army here present, these later became distinguished: Gen. Henry Atkinson, Col. Nathan Boone, Col. Zachary Taylor, Capt. William S. Harney, Col. Hugh Brady, Col. Henry Dodge, Lt. Robert Anderson, Lt. Jefferson Davis, Lt. Albert Sidney Johnston."

At the opening of the exercises Superintendent Schafer introduced as presiding officer of the day Frank L. Gilbert, formerly attorney general, at whose suggestion the tablet was erected. Mr. Gilbert in his introductory address reviewed in accurate and interesting phrases the history of the locality, familiar to him since boyhood. He recounted the origin of Old Helena, its promise and prospects, its invasion by the army following Black Hawk, and in a few well-chosen words paid a fitting tribute to the famous men whose names appear upon the tablet. He then introduced President H. E. Cole, who depicted the later life of Black Hawk. Mr. Cole spoke of Black Hawk's *Autobiography*, wherein the famous chief narrates the traditions of his tribe; he told of his birth at the Sauk village on Rock River and the invasion of the frontiersmen who desecrated the lands and graves of the tribesmen. "Is it little wonder," the speaker continued, "that Black Hawk and his people went upon the war path against the whites? The story of the war is a part of frontier history. Soon after crossing from Iowa into Illinois, there was a small sanguinary conflict, arousing the whole west. Including women and children and old people, Black Hawk had about a thousands souls in all when he began hostilities. Pressed from the rear, there was naught to do on the part of the Indians but move northward, and this inspired the whites to move forward for the purpose of crushing the invaders. At Wisconsin Heights, at Bad Ax, and elsewhere, braves, squaws, and their children were indiscriminately massacred—all of which was but a small part of the effort of the new race to subdue the aborigines. That the Indians were to be conquered if the whites were to possess the land, is admitted; but the Black Hawk War was unfortunate, not only in its beginning on the part of the red man, but likewise on the part of the superior race which brought it to an end.

"The fate of the warrior after the conflict was over is interesting and pathetic. Captured near the Dells, he was taken a prisoner down the Mississippi and up the Ohio to Wheeling, thence by stage over the Cumberland Road and by railroad to Washington. While rumbling along in the stage over the mountains, the vehicle overturned and Black Hawk, and the other Indians with him, were much frightened—an experience they did not soon forget.

"For some time Black Hawk and his companions were confined in the prison at Fortress Monroe, later they were taken to Baltimore, New York, Boston, and to the prairies of Iowa. Black Hawk was im-

pressed with the many things he saw on this journey—the wonderful road over the mountains, the railroads, the ships, the populated villages, and the ascension of a balloon at Castle Garden. For white men to be able to fly away through the air was to him the most astonishing sight he saw during his tour of the east, he said.

"After his return to Iowa, Black Hawk, his squaw, two sons, and daughter took up their homes on the Des Moines River. To show something of the attitude of Black Hawk toward the whites, an address which he gave on July 4, 1838, at Fort Madison, is given here:

" 'It has pleased the Great Spirit that I am here today—I have eaten with my white friends. The earth is our mother—we are now on it—with the Great Spirit above us—it is good. I hope we are all friends here. A few summers ago I was fighting against you—I did wrong, perhaps; but that is past—it is buried—let it be forgotten.

" 'Rock river was a beautiful country—I liked my towns, my corn-fields, and the home of my people. I fought for it. It is now yours —keep it as we did—it will produce you good crops.

" 'I thank the Great Spirit that I am now friendly with my white brethren—we are here together—we have eaten together—we are friends —it is his wish and mine. I thank you for your friendship.

" 'I was once a great warrior—I am now poor. Keokuk has been the cause of my present situation—but do not attach blame to him. I am now old. I have looked upon the Mississippi since I have been a child. I love the Great river. I have dwelt upon its banks from the time I was an infant. I look upon it now. I shake hands with you, and as it is my wish, I hope you are my friends.'

"On October 3, 1838, after an illness of about two weeks, Black Hawk was called by the Great Spirit to make his home in the happy hunting grounds. His family and attendants were about him. He was buried near Eldon, on the Des Moines River bottoms, about ninety rods from where he died. According to the *Annals of Iowa,* 1863 and 1864, the old chief was buried by placing his body on a board, his feet fifteen inches below the surface of the ground and his head three feet above the ground. He was dressed in a military uniform presented by General Jackson, at his left a sword given by Jackson, at his right a cane presented by Henry Clay, also one given by a British officer, and other trophies. About his neck were three medals—one from President Jackson, one from John Quincy Adams, and one from the city of Boston. The body was covered with boards and sod—at the head a flag on a staff and the whole surrounded by a picket fence.

"In July the next year the remains were carried away to Illinois by a doctor, and when the sons of Black Hawk heard of the desecration of their father's grave, they appealed to the governor of Iowa. The remains were then brought to the Iowa state capitol, where they remained for some time, and later they were removed to the rooms of the Burlington Geological and Historical Society, where they were consumed in a fire which destroyed the building.

"Since it is not possible to visit the final resting place of this warrior,

as one may do the graves of many other chiefs, it is eminently fitting that this memorial be unveiled at Old Helena—that we of this generation may not forget and other generations may know something of the success and failure, hope and despair, that were woven into the woof and warp of the frontier history of our great commonwealth."

Colonel Howard Greene of Milwaukee, chairman of the Society's Landmarks Committee, was the next speaker. His address was as follows:

"Early explorers traveling in America describe how at councils of the red men, some old brave, bearing a bundle of sticks in his hand, told the story of their tribe, of their hardships, their wanderings, their wars, and their exploits of valor. As he chronicled each event he took one from his bundle of sticks and handed it to some younger brave and by that token gave it him strictly in his charge to keep that incident that he might tell it to the younger braves, that they might pass it to their children and they to theirs. So was the unwritten history of the Indian tribes handed down from one generation to another, and in time some of the stories paled into insignificance and were forgotten; but the stories of wars and of brave deeds and great victories grew until the ancestor warriors had become heroes, then demigods and were venerated as the tutelary deities of the tribe.

"To each one of us History is personal. Like the red men we have a vast unwritten history that binds us to these scenes far more firmly than what was taught us in the schools of the story of our nation.

"The boyhood memory of father, mother, and of family is framed in the picture of the surrounding hills and meadows. There are the field where you shot your first prairie chicken, the woods where you brought down the predatory hawk, and the pond where you winged your first wild duck. You may perhaps have forgotten the sententious opening lines of the Declaration of Independence which you recited in school, but you have remembered these incidents and the kindly friends among the village people and their simple, honest lives. The vivid memories of our youth were made richer by the stories of the pioneers, of the men who like Lincoln fought in the Black Hawk War, and perhaps your own father's own reminiscences of the Civil War.

"The recollections of our youth bind us to our home, and there are other memories which draw us, for here lie the pioneers and their children and your kinsfolk in their last long sleep in ground which we hold as sacred.

"How this gifted leader of the red men must have felt when returning to his villages in the Illinois country, to lands which he believed were accorded them by sacred treaty rights, he found their villages burned, their crops destroyed, and the graves of their ancestors wantonly desecrated!

"As Black Hawk loved his country so do we.

"The conflict was inevitable. The mastery of the white race recognizes no limit. It makes no halt in its march. The struggle for Wisconsin

was fought in a single short campaign and ended in an almost utter annihilation of the warring Indians.

"Today we meet to mark the scene of the most dramatic incident of the whole story, where the operating columns converged and crossed the Wisconsin River on rafts made from the abandoned houses of the settlers of Old Helena. As the valor of the Norman conquest was embroidered in the Bayeaux tapestries by skillful hands, today deft fingers will weave this story of the Black Hawk campaign into the fabric of Wisconsin history.

"From his bundle of sticks an old sachem hands us a broken withe. It commemorates this incident at Helena of the Black Hawk War. He speaks as of old:—'Remember the story my son—this story of the Indian War. Tell the story to your sons.'

"The tablet has been placed by the Landmarks Committee of the State Historical Society to be a token for each one of us. Bring your children here. Tell them the story and tell them how Black Hawk after his defeat and capture and in his old age and humiliation spoke as you would want your son to speak of his country: 'I loved my country; I loved my people; I fought for them.' "

The presiding officer then introduced to the audience Louise Phelps Kellogg, who said she was expected to catch up the omitted threads of historical association for the neighborhood. After a brief notice of an early fur trade post at Pine Bend near this site, her address concerned itself with the ancient shot tower and its historical significance.

This closed the formal program. Chairman Gilbert then called out Mr. Lloyd Jones, one of the early settlers of the vicinity. His few words of welcome were followed by impromptu talks by Charles E. Brown, Joseph Schafer, and Dwight Parker of Fennimore.

On July 26 at Johnstown, in Rock County, a bronze tablet was unveiled before the house in which Ella Wheeler Wilcox was born. The inscription reads: "Birthplace of Ella Wheeler Wilcox. Johnstown, 1855 —Branford, 1919. Marked by the Loyal Duty Club of Johnstown, June, 1925." Miss Florence Hull, president of the club erecting the landmark, presided and introduced as the chief speaker Curator J. T. Hooper of Janesville. After his address several of Mrs. Wilcox's poems were read, and the exercises closed with prayer and song.

Another of Rock County's famous women was honored when on September 27 a memorial tablet was unveiled on the site of Frances E. Willard's girlhood home. A long letter from Anna H. Gordon, Miss Willard's successor as president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, was read, giving pleasant recollections of the early life of Frances Willard. Dr. Irving Maurer, president of Beloit College, paid an eloquent tribute to Miss Willard's character and achievement, and emphasized the value of the home in which she had been trained. The tablet was erected by the Rock County W. C. T. U., and its unveiling brought out a large audience from all the surrounding towns.

The Madison Council, Knights of Columbus, has restored the chapel of St. Mary's in the Pines in Durward's Glen, which was partially destroyed by fire in May, 1923. This beautiful scenic place in Columbia County was the home of Bernard I. Durward, Scotch poet and painter, who came thither with his family from Milwaukee in 1862. Several of his sons entered the priesthood, and the little chapel, built in 1866, has become a shrine for the devout. A group of Madison Boy Scouts who camped at this place has undertaken to care for the family cemetery.

The Wau Bun Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution at Portage, on October 10 unveiled a marker at the eastern end of the Portage route, or the Wauona Trail. The tablet also memorialized Pierre Paquette. Brief unveiling exercises, in which a descendant of Pierre Paquette participated, were held at the site of the marker, after which the company, some sixty or seventy persons, retired to a hall in the city, where the address of the occasion was delivered by Mr. Andrews, who had made an intensive study of the career of Paquette. Mrs. R. H. Hess, the state regent of the D. A. R., spoke on the history of the organization; and Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society, contributed a few remarks on the significance of the work of marking historical sites and memorializing historical characters. The western end of the trail is marked on the tablet erected by this same organization to the memory of Louis Jolliet and Father Marquette, near the Wisconsin River.

Superior is planning to erect a statue to the late James J. Hill, one of its founders, and while president of the Great Northern Railway prophet of its prosperity. The erection of this monument will, it is believed, intensify the civic consciousness of the city at the head of our greatest lake.

Nearly two hundred descendants of the Skavlem family gathered in September in Luther Valley, Rock County, to recall the hardships of their ancestor Halvor Skavlem, who at the age of eighty-one made the trip in 1839 and joined his son Gullick in Wisconsin. After three months on the ocean and a thousand miles of land travel he died only ten days after his arrival. Two years later the remainder of the family came and made their home in Rock County. On the occasion of this reunion a bronze tablet was erected in honor of the family patriarch, and dedicated by the Reverend Gustave Stearns of Milwaukee, "one of the Skavlem tribe."

C. E. Broughton, editor of the Sheboygan *Press*, has offered to provide a bronze tablet to mark any historical site, on the assurance that the place shall be beautified and kept in good condition, and that the children of the vicinity have a share in the unveiling exercises.

Two tavern buildings, that have stood as landmarks in their localities, have recently been demolished by the unsparing hand of progress. One

of these, an old brick structure in Rock County near Leyden, was called the "house of the hundred windows." It was for many years kept by two Englishmen. The other was the old Red Tavern, halfway from Kilbourn to Mauston, on the main road of emigrant travel from Milwaukee to La Crosse. During the fifties and sixties, when Wisconsin farmers were removing to the wheatlands of Minnesota and Iowa, this old Red Tavern had many visitors, ten thousand being reported on the road in one season. It was also a prominent stopping place on the stage routes, and thither came lumbermen, raftsmen, and Indians, as well as emigrants.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

October 10 will be a day long remembered in the annals of La Crosse, for then was most successfully launched the La Crosse County Historical Society. The meeting for this purpose had been long in contemplation, and on the selected evening an audience of over one hundred and fifty greeted the speakers, Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, of the State Historical Society, and Mr. Ellis B. Usher, now of Milwaukee, but formerly of La Crosse. Miss Kellogg's address was on the French period of the Upper Mississippi's history; this was appropriately followed by Mr. Usher's account of the early New England pioneers who peopled this region. At the close of the program, arrangements were made for the organization of a local society, affiliated with the State Historical Society. Over seventy charter members signed the roll, and the following officers were elected: Professor A. H. Sanford, president; D. H. Shepardson, vice-president; Wells E. Bennett, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. C. S. Van Auken and Mark R. Byers, directors. Judging by the ordered enthusiasm at the meeting, a bright future may be predicted for this youngest member of our historical family.

The Sheboygan *Press* continues to devote one issue a month to historical interests by publishing as a supplement the *Sheboygan Pioneer*. In July an account of the first newspaper, the Sheboygan *Mercury*, was given; also a list of Sheboygan's famous men. The September number describes "Vehicles 60 Years Ago," "Kerosene Days," and recent donations to the historical museum in the city library.

The Marathon County Historical Society has no exhibit room for its treasures, but only storage space in the city hall. Nevertheless its officers are trying to preserve Wausau history until the period when a new county or city building offers the opportunity for a room and a librarian. A strong society will no doubt be built up in time, affiliated with our state society.

The Old Settlers Association of Kenosha County owns extensive grounds on Paddock's Lake, along the Lake Geneva road. This association, organized in 1877, is in a very flourishing condition both as a land owner and a community center. Its annual picnics bring out large num-

bers, and pioneer recollections and good will abound. Don J. Vincent, of the town of Randall, is president.

ANNIVERSARIES AND PAGEANTS

The Wisconsin State Fair held its seventy-fifth session this autumn, and in this connection the history of the fair was written up for the Milwaukee *Sentinel* of August 28. The first fair inaugurated by the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society was held at Janesville in October, 1851. It was conducted by funds raised by private means, and was held upon a six-acre tract. A ploughing match was the chief attraction, and the gate receipts were $570. Now the fair grounds cover almost one hundred and fifty acres, and the value of grounds and buildings is approximately $2,000,000. After the first fair at Janesville, the annual fairs were migratory, going to Madison, Watertown, Fond du Lac, and Milwaukee. Since 1884 the grounds at West Allis have been the recurring home of the institution, which has now grown to large proportions, and which has for seventy-five years had an important share in the promotion of the state's chief industry.

Our Society has always been interested in the founding of the Swiss colony of New Glarus in Green County, and has published several articles and documents on this movement. We, therefore, note with interest that the eightieth anniversary of the coming of these Swiss settlers was celebrated at New Glarus on August 16. Only two of the original immigrants are living—Oswald Babler of Monticello, who was a boy of ten on the overseas voyage; and Mrs. Anna Engler, who was six years old at the time of migration. One very interesting feature of the celebration was the presence of the Reverend Abel E. Burckhardt, who brought greetings from the home canton of Glarus, Switzerland, where he has been serving a pastorate. The day was spent in religious exercises, and the exchange of greetings between those who came from many regions to the old home town.

An anniversary of another nature was remarked at Viroqua, when the town recalled the disastrous tornado that visited there sixty years ago on June 28, when one-third of the village was swept away, seventeen persons killed, and nearly half a hundred wounded. The descriptions of this calamity were obtained from the newspaper files preserved by our Society.

Chippewa Falls has never forgotten the day the first railroad came to connect it with the outer world, and June 29 recalled that a half-century had passed since what was then the West Wisconsin at Eau Claire was connected with its sister city of Chippewa Falls by the Chippewa Falls and Northwestern Railway, of which Lieutenant-Governor Thad. C. Pound was the moving spirit. George B. Ginty was then editor of the Chippewa *Herald,* in which appeared long descriptions of the

festivities on the occasion of the opening of the road. The governor of that date was present, and prominent people were invited from all over the state. It is said that luncheon was served to three thousand persons on a pavilion erected for the purpose.

Stevens Point noted this summer that it was seventy years since the first ferry across the Wisconsin River at this place was chartered for the benefit of Francis La Mear. Rates were five cents for each foot passenger; twenty-five for each horse or mule with or without a rider; forty for each two-horse or ox team, whether drawing a loaded or unloaded vehicle. After nine o'clock at night the fares were doubled. It is notable that horseless vehicles were not considered.

What is now the West Side of Green Bay, formerly the city of Fort Howard, is seventy-five years old this autumn, and plans to celebrate its birthday.

The Bayfield pageant representing Indian life around Chequamegon Bay, and the coming of the first explorers—Radisson, Allouez, Duluth, etc.—was presented August 1-16 of this year, and attracted many visitors. The pageant, which is intended as an annual festival, was much improved over the one given in 1924.

We noted in our last number the arrangements for celebrating the centenary of the famous Indian treaty signed August 19, 1825, at Prairie du Chien. The celebration at McGregor Heights in full view of the Prairie was finely carried out under the auspices of the School of Wild Life Protection. Bruce E. Mahan of the Iowa Historical Society, Edgar R. Harlan of the Iowa Department of History, Dr. Melvin R. Gilmore of the New York Museum of the North American Indian, Louise P. Kellogg and Charles E. Brown of our Society, spoke at the anniversary meeting. In the afternoon the pageant of the treaty was presented under the care of Mari R. Hofer, pageant mistress. About forty Indians were in attendance, including Simon Kaquados and another Potawatomi from Wisconsin, Oliver Lemere and daughter from the Winnebago of Nebraska. The treaty negotiations and signing were reproduced with accuracy and care.

Lake City (Minn.) was the seat of the presentation last autumn of the "Pageant of Lake Pepin," celebrating the early discoverers and settlers of that historic region.

CHURCH ANNIVERSARIES

The outstanding celebration of the autumn was that of the golden jubilee of the arch-episcopal diocese of Milwaukee, which took place Sunday, September 27, in Marquette University stadium. Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago honored the occasion with his presence and gave

an inspiring address. Pontifical high mass was celebrated at the cathedral in the morning. It was much regretted that ill health prevented Archbishop Messmer from attending the afternoon exercises. The archdiocese embraces Wisconsin and the upper peninsula of Michigan.

St. Isadore's Catholic congregation at Osman in the town of Memee, Manitowoc County, is building a new church to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding. It was named St. Isadore by Bishop Henni to settle the dispute between its Irish parishioners, who wanted it called St. Patrick, and its German founders, who preferred the title of St. Joseph. The first structure of logs was superseded in 1864 by the present church.

In the neighboring county of Sheboygan the Zion Evangelical Church at Batavia held early in September a four days' celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding.

September 5-7 the Baptists of Kossuth in Manitowoc County gathered to recall the three-quarters of a century that has passed since this organization was begun for the German families of that vicinity. Former pastors were present from Iowa, Milwaukee, and other places.

Sunday, September 20, was a day of remembrance for the Welsh church of Aurora in Waushara County, for with song and praise were commemorated the beginnings seventy-five years ago of the first log church of that community. Dr. Silas Evans, president of Ripon College, gave an address.

St. Augustine Catholic parish in the town of Trenton, Washington County, held its first mass in 1850, and this year celebrated on September 7 its diamond jubilee. The present church was built in 1861.

Services incident to the sixtieth anniversary celebration of the First Norwegian Lutheran Church at Eau Claire were held in late June of this year. Only one of the charter members is still living.

St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Milwaukee was organized in September, 1865, with nine members. This event was commemorated last September. The present pastor has been with this parish for thirty-five of its sixty years.

At Janesville, St. Paul's Church of the same denomination held in August a special commemoration service for its sixtieth birthday. During these six decades there have been over two thousand baptisms, one thousand confirmations, and the present membership approximates eight hundred and fifty.

August 15 at Robinsonville in Brown County the Belgian settlers flocked to the little shrine of Adele Bierce, by whose intercession hundreds of pilgrims have been healed of their infirmities. This young girl, who

died July 5, 1896, was believed to have had visions of saints and the madonna, and her chapel is called the "Wisconsin Lourdes." The services are still held in the French language.

St. Peter's Lutheran Church of Forestville, Door County, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in September, and on October 11 heard the farewell sermon of Pastor G. H. Berger, who has been with this parish for twenty-two of the years of its half-century's progress.

St. Fidelis Catholic Church of Memee, Manitowoc County, held a golden jubilee in July, when the parish had been in existence for fifty years.

At Paoli, Dane County, the church of St. Williams was burned when five hundred people were attending the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding. It will be soon replaced by a new structure.

One of the notable gatherings this quarter was that at Spring Prairie, Columbia County, when on August 23 was commemorated the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Herman A. Preus, a pioneer Norwegian minister of the Norse-American settlements. Nearly four thousand people were in attendance, among them former Governor J. A. O. Preus of Minnesota, a grandson of the noble old pioneer.

WISCONSIN HISTORY IN NEWSPAPERS

Father Louis Charron of Ashland in the *Press* of that city for April 13 presented a long, carefully prepared article on the earliest explorers of Chequamegon Bay, locating the sites of the first huts known to have been built in Wisconsin over a quarter of a millennium ago.

The Brodhead *Independent* carried several articles in June and July by Jessie E. Sprague, entitled "Tales of the First Settlers."

The West Bend *News* for July 8 described the "Decorah Military Road" from Port Washington to the town of Dekorra on the Mississippi River, giving especially its route through West Bend. The twenty-second of the same month it added to its local history series a glimpse of the city a year after its founding.

The history of the Eighteenth Wisconsin Volunteers, drilled at Camp Trowbridge, Milwaukee, during the winter of 1861-62, was told by Fred Ties, one of the veterans of its Company B, in the Brodhead *News* for July 10.

The La Crosse *Tribune* of July 14 printed an interesting account of the first land entries made for the La Crosse vicinity, and the troubles connected with the removal of the Indians in 1848 and 1849.

The Whitehall *Times*, July 16, gave the names and historical data on the first settlers of that village in 1873 and 1874.

The Sheboygan *Press-Telegram* on the same date recounted the settlement April 28, 1844, of Sylvanus Wade in the town of Greenbush; also, the changes in transportation from the mud roads of the early territory to the Sheboygan and Fond du Lac plank road and its superseding by the coming of the railroad.

The origins of Kenosha or "Southport" were written for the Kenosha *News*, July 24, describing the first arrivals in 1835, the earliest churches of the village, the first manufactures, schools, singing schools, and pioneers.

An article on Nicolas Perrot, a French founder of several forts on the upper Mississippi, by Lillian H. (Mrs. C. S.) Van Auken, appeared in the La Crosse *Tribune* of July 26.

Frances M. Stover in an illustrated article in the Milwaukee *Journal* of the same date suggests the name of Christopher L. Sholes, inventor of the typewriter, for the Hall of Fame at New York University.

W. W. Bartlett, historian of the Chippewa Valley, has found and published in the Eau Claire *Leader* in July and August several letters of the Warren and Ermatinger families, who belonged to our fur-trading aristocracy of pre-territorial days.

The Stoughton *Courier-Hub* for July 28 gave in the form of a dialogue some interesting facts about the beginnings of this Dane County community.

Ferdinand Bohte, who came to Two Rivers in 1867, published his reminiscences in the *Chronicle* of that city for July 29.

The veteran Norwegian Lutheran pastor, Rev. J. E. Nord, now living at Rice Lake, gave his reminiscences of over forty years in northern Wisconsin in the *Barron County News-Shield* for July 31.

C. A. Storke, now living in Santa Barbara, California, has written his recollections of the battle of Richmond, June 2, 1864, in which the Thirty-Sixth Wisconsin Infantry took part. Seventy per cent of four companies were killed and wounded, and of thirty-eight who were captured only three survived their prison experience; of these the writer was one. The Madison *State Journal* of August 5 printed this Civil War story.

The Waterloo *Courier* for August 6 was filled with accounts of a recent homecoming at Marshall, of the reminiscences of those who at-

tended, and the letters of regret from those who could not come, many containing recollections of local interest.

Mrs. Matilda Wilson in the Fort Atkinson *Union,* September 3, printed an account of "Early Days at the Fort," including the westward migration of Stephen Rice, Milo Jones, and Jesse Roberts—early Fort Atkinson pioneers.

Colonel Lucas M. Miller, one of those who gave the site for the Winnebago County courthouse, had a romantic history, which was recounted by William L. Lowry in the Milwaukee *Journal,* September 20. Colonel Miller was born in Greece, of Greek parents, orphaned during the war for its independence, and adopted by J. P. Miller, an American in the Greek army. The young Greek lad was brought to America, educated in Vermont, and changed his name Loukas Miltiades to Lucas M. Miller. He was educated by his adopted father, admitted to the bar, and in 1846 migrated to Wisconsin, where he helped to build up the pioneer community at Oshkosh.

HISTORICAL NOTES

A notable Indian treaty was held at Prairie du Chien in 1829 whereby the allied tribes of the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi on the one hand, and the Winnebago on the other, made extensive cessions of the lead-mining region of Illinois and Wisconsin to the United States government. Such treaties were engrossed on parchment and signed in triplicate (sometimes more than three copies were prepared). One of the originals of this treaty of 1829 has recently been found and purchased from its Indian owners by Walter C. Wyman of New York, who is much interested in identifying all the signatories.

One of the pioneer traders of the Menominee River region was Stanislaus Chappu (usually spoken of in local histories as Louis Chappee), who came from Canada in the latter years of the eighteenth century, and "held the fort" for a quarter of a century for the Menominee fur trade. Chappu was a subordinate and clerk of John Lawe of Green Bay, and among the fur trade manuscripts of our Society are many letters exchanged between the two pioneer traders. Chappu was a loyal, faithful employee, although somewhat unenterprising, and he was driven from his post on the Menominee by more hustling traders, who preempted his location. He opened a farm on the river above Marinette, and is said to have died there about 1854. The location of his grave has recently been discovered in the following curious fashion. Upon wrecking the office of the old Menominee River Boom Company at Marinette, which is supposed to have stood on the site of Chappu's old post, an old print was found bearing the title "Grave of Louis Chappee, founder of Marinette." Careful search was rewarded by finding five miles above the city in a tangle of hazel brush and wild grape vines, in the middle

of a pasture of a long abandoned farm, a grave answering to the appearance of the old print. The only monument, possibly a fitting one, is a blasted pine stump, reminder of the early forests in whose depths lived the red men among whom Chappu lived and with whom he traded over a century ago. A correspondent of the Milwaukee *Journal* was instrumental in the discovery of this forgotten grave.

The question of the oldest house in Wisconsin recurs at frequent intervals. Possibly the oldest habitation successively occupied by the descendants of its first builder is one eight miles from Prairie du Chien, on Wisconsin state highway number twenty-seven. The cabin was built of black walnut logs and was whitewashed and added to at a later date than its erection by one Delury, whose great-grandsons now dwell in the home their ancestor built at least one hundred years ago. Another ancient house in the northern part of the state is soon to be destroyed. That is the house near Odanah, built by the missionary to the Chippewa Indians, the Reverend Leonard H. Wheeler. An account of the career of Mr. Wheeler, who came to La Pointe in 1841, is given in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, 447-451. He moved to Odanah in 1845, and it was probably at this time that the fine old log house was built. When the Wheelers left the north in 1866 the homestead was sold to W. G. Walker, then farmer for the Indian reservation, and has been in possession of the Walker family during all the years until the present.

Sheboygan has mounted in its Wildwood Cemetery a cannon of unusual proportions and historic interest. It was made in England in 1708 and termed at that time a carronade; during the Revolutionary War it was utilized by the British; and seventy-five years ago was fished out of Wood Creek, central New York State, where it had undoubtedly been abandoned by St. Leger on his retreat in 1777 from Fort Schuyler. Herman H. Phelps, who retrieved the old weapon, carried it to Oneida and had it repolished and mounted, and his son presented it in 1854 to J. B. Cole, a pioneer settler of Sheboygan. There it stood for many years in Born's Park, whose proprietor was captain of the local militia unit, the Evergreen Guards. It now is mounted as a monument to the Born brothers in the city cemetery.

Among the inventors of Wisconsin, Myron R. Martin, who was born in Dane County in 1858 and afterwards became a manufacturer at Superior, should be remembered. Mr. Martin in 1899 built in his bicycle shop at Superior a self-propelled vehicle of his own design, known to the local neighborhood as the "gas buggy." The motor was a two-cylinder-opposed type, the axles were of steel tubing, the crank shaft forged in a solid block by a steam-hammer at the Superior ship yards. Martin's "gas buggy" went at the rate of twenty miles an hour and was a great curiosity to the entire neighborhood. Had its inventor decided to enter the lists of automobile manufacturers his name might by now have become a household word. As it is, his motor is one more illustration of the fact that inventions, like troubles, seldom come singly.

Delavan, a small community in Walworth County, has been the home of several men of national note, among whom are William Thorne, Frank V. Dudley, and Adolph R. Shulz, who have become artists of more than local fame. Dudley is known as the "painter of the Dunes," having been largely instrumental in making the beauties of these sand hills known to Chicagoans and other Westerners. Shulz is also a landscapist, has studied abroad, and won many prizes. He keeps a summer home in Walworth County, and many of his paintings depict Wisconsin scenes. Thorne is an academician, now living in New York, a friend of Sargent, by whom his portrait was painted. He is chiefly a portrait painter, and maintains a studio in his early home at Delavan.

An historic picture was recently presented to the First Methodist Church of Madison by Mrs. J. M. Boyd of that city. It represents the Holy Club of Oxford, of which John and Charles Wesley were members and founders. Mrs. Boyd after searching for many months finally unearthed an old print of this picture, which was painted in England during the lifetime of the most of the members. By a skillful photographic process the picture, the original of which is in London, has been reproduced on almost a life-sized scale, and then beautifully colored to simulate a painting. On the occasion of its unveiling the Reverend E. D. Eaton gave an historic paper on the members of the club, which was the result of considerable research. Frank W. Hall also spoke on the mother of the Wesleys and her remarkable influence on her sons, whose future lives so notably affected the course of the religious life of England and America.

Among Wisconsin's poets is the late Eben Rexford, who lived at Shiocton and is best known as the author of "Silver Threads among the Gold." A manufacturer of Clintonville is collecting Rexford manuscripts and plans to have an exhibit of the works of this poet in the near future.

AMONG OUR NEIGHBORS

The Clark County Historical Society of Ohio erected some months ago a monument to General George Rogers Clark, conqueror of the Northwest, many of whose papers are in the Draper collection of our own Society. On the occasion of the dedication of this monument a notable address was given by Dr. W. O. Thompson, now president emeritus of Ohio State University; and the unveiling was performed by Honorable George Rogers Ballard Thruston of Louisville, a descendant of one of Clark's sisters. A descendant of the Indian chief Tecumseh was also present at the ceremony.

The Minnesota legislature of 1925 established a state park at the famous Pipestone quarry, where for untold generations the red men had found material for their sacred calumets. The stone, which has the peculiarity of cutting easily from the quarry and then hardening

by exposure, has long been known as "Catlinite," because the Indian artist George Catlin was supposed to have been the first white man ever admitted to the sacred precincts of the quarry. Many of the sacred Indian pipes in our historical museum are made of the stone from this Minnesota deposit.

The Great Northern Railroad was sponsor last July for an historical expedition, honoring the discoverers and explorers of the trans-Mississippi West—the La Vérendryes of the French régime; David Thompson, the British explorer; Lewis and Clark of early American fame; and Kenneth McKenzie, founder of Fort Union, as well as other dauntless members of the North West and American Fur companies. The historical societies of Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Missouri, Oregon, and Montana cooperated. The start was made at St. Paul and the first stop at the new town of Verendrye where Lawrence J. Burpee of Ottawa, Canada, made an address. Others who had part in the exercises were T. C. Elliott, Doane Robinson, Agnes Laut, Lawrence F. Abbott, and Stella M. Drumm. Other sessions were held at Fort Union, the battle field of Chief Joseph (1877), Meriwether, Montana, and Marias Pass in the same state. Several valuable pamphlets were prepared for distribution, illustrating the historic significance of the region traversed. As a souvenir a small replica of the Vérendrye plate, found at Pierre in 1918, was given to the invited guests, with a booklet describing its significance.

Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul has been the last year presenting the history of navigation on the Mississippi above St. Anthony's Falls. This appeared in three divisions: from Minneapolis to Sauk Rapids; from the latter to Pokegama Falls; and above the latter obstruction. These articles have appeared in the Burlington (Iowa) *Post,* and are valuable in rescuing from oblivion the records of a by-gone system of transportation.

Captain Bill is now planning a series of studies of Chippewa River navigation. Members of our research staff are aiding him in the newspaper work necessary to recover the details of steamboating days on our western rivers.

The Institute of Historical Research established in 1921 in connection with the University of London, began in June, 1923, a publication entitled the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* issued in February, June, and November of each year. It contains material of great value to research workers and editors. In the initial number appeared the "Report on Editing Historical Documents," which was prepared by six English historians, with one American member added. While relating in large part to medieval documents, it is most suggestive for all transcribers of source material, and especially for those that prepare such material for printing. The same number contains a report on the recent acquisitions and facilities in the Public Record Office,

useful for all historical workers in that repository. The date limit has now been increased to include the documents and archive material down to 1860.

Among the other papers of especial interest to American readers is the account given in the third number of the Shelbourne manuscripts, now in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. Concerning this collection Dr. C. W. Alvord says: "If the Shelbourne Manuscripts, by decree of Fate, were doomed to leave England, no more fitting depository could have been chosen" even though the selection resulted from the lottery of an auction room. Dr. Alvord then describes the library where they now rest, and discusses the proper title for these papers as "Shelbourne" rather than "Lansdowne," because it was as Lord Shelbourne that the statesman was known in American history. The value of this collection to the source study of the Middle West cannot be overestimated.

In number five of this periodical Dr. Alvord appears again, this time on "Co-operation with regard to historical periodicals published in the English language." In this article he recites some interesting opinions on American historiography; and narrates his experiences in the founding of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, equally interesting to both an English and an American audience.

We wish to call especial attention to the excellent account on the "Public Archives of Canada," by H. P. Biggar, begun in the February number for the present year. As Wisconsin was for over one hundred and fifty years a constituent part of the Dominion, this report has especial significance for its historical workers.

The publication of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* is a sign of the progress in the technique of things historical, which is noteworthy.

MUSEUM NOTES

A notable collection of historical material has been presented to the State Historical Museum by the late Mrs. Lucius Fairchild of Madison. A fine, full-length oil portrait of General Fairchild by John Singer Sargent hangs at the entrance of the main hall of the museum. This portrait bears on a metal label the inscription: "Presented to Comrade Lucius Fairchild, past Commander-in-chief by the Grand Encampment as a Token of Esteem and Regard, September 12th, 1888." So far as is known, this is the only Sargent portrait in Wisconsin. Among many other historical treasures presented by Mrs. Fairchild to the museum are the General's fine collection of forty or more old Spanish china and metal barber bowls, an artistically decorated seventeenth-century Spanish-Moorish chest, and a rare collection of Moorish earthenware. There are also many mementos of the General's distinguished service in the Civil War. The Fairchild collection has not yet been classified or catalogued. A more complete description of it will appear in a later issue of the magazine.

Mr. Brown calls attention to the fact that among other visitors to the State Historical Museum are a number of boys and a few girls who are enthusiastic collectors of United States and foreign postage stamps. These young people the museum is endeavoring to assist and encourage. They bring their collections to the office and the museum aids them by occasionally presenting to them specimens and packets of stamps to help fill the gaps in their collections. Members and friends of the Society may aid in this educational work by presenting to the museum any duplicate stamps which they possess.

At Mauston the Wisconsin Archeological Society has identified an interesting Indian effigy of the water-spirit type. This mound was visited by Charles E. Brown, secretary of the society, and H. E. Cole at the request of Assemblyman Clinton J. Price. It lies on the edge of the mill-pond marsh into which its long tail extends. Its total length is about 120 feet. Its head is 24 feet long. Its two feet are each 30 feet, and its tapering tail 60 feet long. Its surface has been much disturbed by the water of the mill pond, which, in the course of years, has converted this land from solid ground into springy and marshy soil. This mound is the only survivor of a group of Indian earthworks which Dr. Increase A. Lapham in 1850 found at Maus Mill, now Mauston. Being within the city limits of Mauston and not far from the edge of a much traveled state highway, Mr. Price is endeavoring to assist the society by encouraging a local organization to undertake the preservation and marking of this ancient Indian monument.

A joint meeting of the Wisconsin Museums Conference, the Wisconsin Archeological Society, the Green Bay Historical Society, and the Winnebago County Archeological and Historical Society was held at Green Bay, Wisconsin, on Thursday and Friday, October 22 and 23. Dr. S. A. Barrett, Miss Deborah B. Martin, and Mr. Charles E. Brown were in charge of the program, which included meetings at the Green Bay Woman's club house and Kellogg Public Library, the unveiling of several markers at the Green Bay Reformatory, and a pilgrimage to old Indian village sites and mound groups on the shores of Green Bay. At the dinner given by the Conference October 22, Governor and Mrs. Blaine were present, and the former spoke briefly on the value of the contributions of archeological and historical agencies to the commonwealth.

The July 1925 issue of the *Wisconsin Archeologist,* which has recently appeared, contains a number of interesting papers. The first of these, on "Indian Mounds and Village Sites at Plum City," in Pierce County, is written by Mr. Franklin Tomlinson. Other papers bear the titles of "Marking of the Delavan Lake Mounds," "The Prairie Potawatomi," "Stone Balls," and "Religion of the Wisconsin Menomini." In one paper on "Indian Names of Our Wisconsin Lakes," Charles E. Brown makes a plea for the collection and preservation of the names

given by the aborigines to many of the thousands of lakes which dot the surface of the state. These are in danger of being lost.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Robert Wild ("Chapters in the History of the Turners") is a lawyer in Milwaukee, and one of the curators of our Society.

Joseph Schafer ("The Epic of a Plain Yankee Family") is the superintendent of the State Historical Society.

Mrs. J. O. Hayes ("William Penn Lyon") continues the biography of her father, which the Society began publishing in the September number of this magazine.

Ellis B. Usher ("Some of Our Pioneers") reviews the beginnings of some well-known families in La Crosse, where for many years he resided, previous to his removal to Milwaukee.

Albert O. Barton ("More Napoleonic Soldiers in Wisconsin") supplements in this article the material which we have hitherto published on this subject.

BOOK REVIEWS

Public Education in Wisconsin. By Conrad E. Patzer. Issued by John Callahan, State Superintendent. (Madison, Wisconsin, 1925). 511p. Illustrated.

Patzer's *Education in Wisconsin,* awaited with interest for several years, is at last printed and bound in a very creditable form. The book represents a vast amount of patient study on the author's part and is, as Superintendent Callahan says, a "labor of love." It was prepared in the vacation seasons and the odd leisure moments of a busy teacher with the purpose mainly of smoothing the way to a thoroughgoing reform of public education so far as its organization is concerned.

The outline of the volume is best stated in the author's preface: "In Part One of this volume," he writes, "I have presented a brief history of the evolution of the public school system in Wisconsin; in Part Two I have discussed a plan of what, I believe, should constitute the basis for the reorganization and redirection of certain large units in our public school system, together with a program suggesting the necessary legislation to effect these changes; and in Part Three I have introduced summaries of educational laws passed by the legislative assemblies and the legislature from 1836 to the present time."

As might be anticipated, from the author's constructive motive, the emphasis throughout the book is upon organization and administration. The matter he presents possesses its maximum value for those who, hereafter, shall devote themselves to the problem of reform in the state educational field. The summaries of laws, occupying Part Three of the book, should also possess a very considerable value in the same connection.

It would be gratifying if a similar statement could be made for the more strictly historical portions of the book, but such examination as I have been able to make, in the absence of cited authorities, seems to indicate that these features were compiled by the author from existing writings most of which are of doubtful authenticity. What was needed to clarify the history of education in our state was a rigorous investigation based on sources, and for this, it is to be feared, Mr. Patzer did not find time. At all events, the old misconceptions about the beginnings of the free school system in Wisconsin are repeated and no adequate attempt is made to trace genetically the origin of our educational institutions.

Briefly, this book is not and probably does not aim to be a contribution to the culture history of the state. On the other hand, assuming that the author's educational views are sound, it is a very distinct and valuable contribution to the means of procuring cultural development through educational reform. The handbook style in which the matter is cast emphasizes the purely practical character of the publication.

Social Politics in the United States. By Frederick E. Haynes, Assistant Professor of Sociology, State University of Iowa. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 1924. $3.50). 414p.

The potency of social and economic problems as factors in American politics, emphasized long since by Professor Turner, is illustrated on nearly every page of this volume by the author of "Third Party Movements Since the Civil War." The subject is attractive. Presumably the reception accorded to his earlier performance encouraged Professor Haynes to essay a similar task on a broader scale, covering a full century of the life of the nation. Utilizing results of his own research, and drawing information from various writers committed to restricted studies in different portions of the extended field, he presents a survey of the principal parties, organizations and movements involved in the processes which have tended toward the socialization of government in the United States.

In the opening chapters, a hasty glance is taken at "Utopian Socialism"—Robert Owen's New Harmony experiment, the Fourier phalanxes, Brook Farm, etc. Separate chapters are devoted to "Marxian Socialism," "The Labor Movement," "Henry George and the Single Tax," and Edward Bellamy's "Nationalism." Then follow a chapter on "Third Parties," with compact reviews of the rise and decline of the Liberal Republicans, the Grangers, the Greenbackers, and the Populists, and an account of the election of 1896 and the period immediately thereafter. A chapter on "The Progressive Movement" deals with the striking personalities and dynamic public activities of Senator La Follette, Hazen S. Pingree, "Golden Rule" Jones, Tom L. Johnson, and Joseph W. Folk; sketches "The Oregon Plan," and recalls the split in the Republican party which contributed to the formation of the Progressive party. Later chapters relate to "The Industrial Workers of the World," "The New Unionism," "Socialists and the War," "The Non-Partisan League," "The New Farmers' Movement," and "Recent Social Progress." The prohibition movement and the agitation which resulted in extending the suffrage to women are not ignored.

One of the noteworthy generalizations of Professor Haynes is that "social progress in the United States has been largely independent of politics." He says: "Successive minor parties from the seventies to the nineties forced the older parties to face the most urgent issues, but the actual accomplishment of the reforms was really due to non-partisan activity, sometimes the Republican party and again the Democratic party being the instrument used. Since the Civil War no new party has replaced either of the older organizations, but the platforms and issues put forth by the Republicans and Democrats have responded slowly and haltingly to the changing demands of the years." In another place he remarks: "This socialization of the Democratic and Republican parties under the leadership of Bryan, Roosevelt and Wilson explains the insignificance politically of organized socialism in the United States. So long as the two major parties and their leaders remain so amenable to

permeation from outside, no socialist party will have more than temporary importance and success. Social democracy will come and is coming rapidly, and its advent has been hastened by the great European upheaval, but that social democracy will prove to be only an orderly progress from one reform to another, and will be no more revolutionary and disturbing than the changes through which we are now passing." Elsewhere he observes: "The years since 1912 seem to indicate that the Progressive movement has ceased to be an active factor in our political life. Apparently both Progressives and Standpatters were united in supporting the candidacy of Senator Harding. Again, in the contest over the League of Nations and the ratification of the Peace Treaty, Progressives and Conservatives agreed. The Progressive movement may revive after a time, but for the immediate future there is little prospect of its influence, except as a historic force growing out of the conditions of Western life."

Despite the prohibition and suffrage amendments, and in the face of four radical changes brought about since 1913, Professor Haynes quotes with seeming approval the observation of Croly in "Progressive Democracy" that Professor Munroe Smith is justified in declaring that "the first article in any sincerely intended progressive programme must be the amendment of the amending clause of the Constitution." He says: "Such recommendations are not wanting in respect for and loyalty to the Constitution or to the Supreme Court. They merely point the way by which it [they?] may be made a little more amenable to changes in public opinion and judgment, but not responsive to mere whims of the people or to gusts of passion or prejudice." If there is serious criticism of any position taken by Professor Haynes, it is likely to come from Americans profoundly regardful of the happy compromise between undue rigidity and perilous flexibility embodied in the nation's organic law.

J. G. GREGORY.

Old Peninsula Days. By Hjalmar R. Holand. (Pioneer Publishing Company, Ephraim, Wis. $1.60). 244p.

Mr. Holand has had an opportunity in the preparation of this volume to present to lovers of Wisconsin's beauties as well as to a large tourist population the history and romance of one of the wildest and most picturesque portions of our state—the Door County peninsula. This section is sometimes called Wisconsin's thumb, since it projects from the mainland something like that member from a human hand. Wisely enough the author has not attempted a history of the region; that he has already done in his *History of Door County,* published in 1917. "Only such matters have been selected," he writes in his preface, "as are considered typical or have a common human appeal." It is not strange, however, that Mr. Holand has repeated many chapters of his earlier history, having made in them careful research and having found in the stuff of which history is made the typical instances and human appeal that he sought.

In the earlier chapters the author gives the Indian lore of the region in vivid phrases and with truly imaginative zeal. On the whole he has interpreted the early authorities very well, and presents the "Days of the Indians" much as they must have occurred. The chapter on the early French explorers is also well worked up. We might cavil at the statement that the fur trade was "Champlain's chief object in establishing a colony in the new world," nevertheless we must admit that he was forced to make this traffic the economic basis of the commonwealth which he anticipated would arise in the valley of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. We note that "Groseilliers" is misspelled, and Nicolas Perrot's name given in its English form, Nicholas. These are, however, but small discrepancies compared with the careful way the author has worked out the data concerning the earliest traders and missionaries and related it to what he knows of his own region. The chapter on the missionaries is especially well done.

If this were a complete history we might be censorious of the gap between 1680, where our author leaves his French discoverers, and the time of the coming of the first Americans in 1835-36. However, as he is only sketching in the salient features of the region, he may be justified in ignoring the remaining eighty years of the French régime, and the British and pre-territorial period that followed. Certain it is that Door County was a wilderness, and for the most part an uncharted wilderness, until about seventy-five years ago.

The most significant portions of the book, as well as those the author knows the best, are the two chapters on the history of Ephraim, an interesting postscript to a European romance, and a shadowing forth of a strong personality among our foreign immigrants. Nils Otto Tank, the son of a Norwegian prime minister, planned to found a religious community on the banks of Fox River, comparable to the Moravian settlements in America supported by Count Zinzendorf nearly a century earlier. But the communistic features of Tank's plan were uncongenial to the independent immigrants. In 1853 they purchased on their own account land in Door County, and thither, led by their pastor the Reverend A. M. Iverson, they removed their church and homes, and the present village of Ephraim was begun. Mr. Holand calls their early days "a struggle with the wilderness," and it seems certain that only the hardiest of pioneers could have survived the isolation consequent upon their removal.

Other settlements on the peninsula, such as Fish Creek, Egg Harbor, and Hedgehog Harbor, are memorialized in this volume. Doubtless much of romance and charm has been left untouched by our author. Many other localities than those he has particularized may claim the devotion of the local historian, and there yet remain rich gleanings for those who will follow and supplement Mr. Holand in recounting old peninsula days.

Wisconsin's Wood-Using Industries. By B. G. Packer, Director of Immigration. *Bulletin No. 67* of the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture. (Madison, 1925). 58p.

This little pamphlet is more than a mere enumeration of the industries in Wisconsin that depend upon forest products. It is, in its earlier pages, a sketch of lumbering in Wisconsin, and an indictment from damning statistics of the terrible waste of our vast woods area. Our state was once eighty-four per cent or nearly 30,000,000 acres forest land. It is estimated that now 2,000,000 acres of commercially valuable timber are left, of which 100,000 to 125,000 acres are being cut annually. In 1879 Wisconsin ranked third in lumber production; in 1899 first, with 3,000,000,000 board feet to our credit. In 1923 we had dropped to fourteenth place; nevertheless our wood-using industries are among our most valuable products, and it behooves the entire state to consider the depletion of supply and the importance of scientific reforestation.

The paper industry, which began at Milwaukee in 1849, now amounts to 795,877 tons per year; or stated in another way, we manufacture six tons of paper for each ton of cheese; ten tons of paper for each ton of butter. The question of the continuing supply of pulpwood is becoming serious. Other wood-using industries are the making of furniture, boxes and crates, staves for barrels and kegs, excelsior, cedar poles and posts, railroad ties, boats, coffins and caskets, pianos, and automobile bodies. We recommend this compact, statistical study to all persons interested in Wisconsin's industrial history.

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